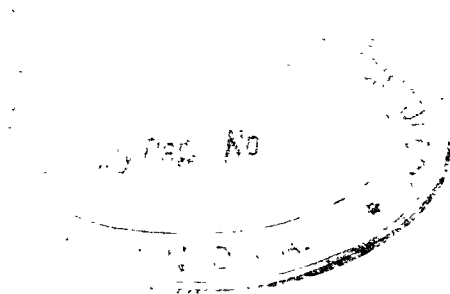


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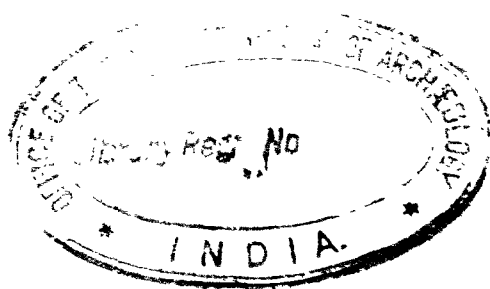
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THREE NORTH DELTA NOMES.

[PLATE I.]

BEING desirous, after the revelation of intimacy between prehistoric Crete and Egypt which the Cnossian excavations had made, to know if there were indeed no 'Aegean' remains in the Lower Delta, I searched the authorities for an account of the extant antiquities of its north central region—north, that is, of the 'Berari' railway, which links Dessuk on the Rosetta Nile with Sherbin on the Damietta arm. But in vain. Nor, for that matter, could I find any description of the scenery of the region itself, more detailed and recent than the romantic sketch of the marshes with which Heliodorus opened his *Aethiopia*. I had myself visited the extreme south-west corner of it in 1896, following in the steps of Messrs. Petrie¹ and Griffith to Tell al-Farain: and the last named scholar had gone on thence a few miles north to the district of Tida. North and east of that point stretched unknown land. So I was forced to undertake an exploration of the region for myself. The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies generously gave a grant in aid: and almost every kind of assistance was furnished on the spot by the *Société Anonyme du Béhéra*, through the great goodwill of its Managing Director Mr. E. W. P. Foster, C.M.G. I should have fared badly in the marshes without the use of the Inspection Houses, men, animals, and boats, of that Society, and the unique local knowledge of its officers, among whom (after Mr. Foster) I must thank especially Mr. Smith, the Agricultural Director at Constantinia, Monsieur Monnerat, the Assistant Manager in chief, and Messieurs Boutros and Passalides, the local Directors at Sidi Salem and Kum Wahal respectively. If I did not find anything 'Aegean' in this North Delta district, I hope this article will shew that its exploration was not made wholly in vain.

The coastal belt of the Delta is divided by Ptolemy into five Nomes. (1) The *Metelitic*, capital, Metelis; (2) the *Phthenitic*, capital, Buto; (3) the *Sebennytic Inferior*, capital, Pachmemounis; (4) the *Mendesin*, capital, Thmuis; (5) the *Nesytic*, capital, Panephris. But a sixth coastal Nome,

¹ See Petrie, *Naukratis*, i. p. 93. and compare his remarks on our ignorance of the Delta. *Ibid.* p. 1

known from the local coinage of Hadrian's reign, that of *Diospolis Inferior*, was certainly in existence just before Ptolemy's day².

My exploration, however, extended over only some of these Nomes. Parts of the Phthenetic, and the Lower Sebennytic and Diospolite Nomes form the subject of this paper. I found the second of these (assuming for the moment the lines of division between the three nomes to fall on or about the existing Bahr Nashart and Bahr Tirah) to be studded with large mounds: the third to contain only one site of importance, and not many minor mounds. No one of these mounds was identified before my visit with any known ancient town; and, that being the case, no probable courses could be assigned to the branches of the Nile, which, according to Ptolemy and others, divided or traversed the Nomes, wherein the known towns lay; nor could the Nomes themselves be placed precisely on the map.

Thanks to various authorities, principally lists of Coptic bishoprics, certain town-names can be relegated generally to that area of the North Delta which I visited. As the precise situations of some of these towns depend on the situations of others, I shall take the names in groups; and then discuss the question which their identification with certain sites raises as to the courses of the ancient Nile arms.

A.—BUTO (PTENETO); PHRAGONIS; PACHNEMOUNIS; DIOSPOLIS INFERIOR.

The last three names (the first two as *Φραγώνης* and *Παχνημόνης*) are in the order in which they occur in Hierocles' *Synecdemus*, the trio being enumerated between *Ζωῆς* (*Xois*) and *Σεβόννυτος* (*Sebennytus*), whose sites are certainly identified with the mounds of Sakha and Samanud. In the same order they precede Sebennytus, but succeed *Κάβασα* (modern Shabas), in the earliest Notitia³.

Hierocles' order is always most intelligible if related to main avenues of communication. In enumerating the towns in the Lower Deltaic Eparchy, he first ascends the western Nile from Alexandria to the southern limit of the province at Nikiu, mentioning every town within easy reach on either hand, *e.g.*, on the east, Buto and Kabasa (Shabas), the latter of which towns was certainly not on the stream itself. Thence he passes to Xois in the north-western interior; takes next three towns, of which we know this at least, from other sources, that they all lay in the north of the province; and next

² The variations in the Nome-lists, as given by divers authorities, present an insoluble puzzle. See *e.g.* the discrepancies between Strabo's list and the lists in the *Revenue Papyrus of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (cols. 31, 60, ed. B. P. Grenfell). No one of Ptolemy's five coastal Nomes, except the Mendesiae, appears in that Papyrus: but it is not impossible that Nome No. 7, in col. 31, *Δέλτα*, included one or more of them. Evidently there were frequent changes made in the distribution and nomenclature of Nomes,

especially in the Delta, perhaps owing to gradual changes which took place in natural conditions by processes of reclamation. It is impossible to regard any list as final, but it is equally impossible not to regard certain lists, *e.g.* this in the *Revenue Papyrus*, as authoritative and comprehensive for the moments at which they were compiled.

³ *Ed.* Parthey I. nos. 730-734. Later Notitiae seem to follow no geographical order; cf. *Byz. Zeitsch.* ii. p. 25.

again Sebennytus on its extreme eastern limit. Thereafter he makes a circuit westward through a series of towns, known to have lain in the south interior, and swings round east again to Busiris. And finally he adds three towns, of which one, Paralos, is known to have lain on the coastal sand-belt, north of the marshes, and another to have been also in the extreme north. It is probable, therefore, that all these three last were cut off by the lagoons from the interior, and lay in a district reckoned apart. In the early Arab period at any rate, when the province of Gharbieh did not include the province of Nesteraweh, the central coast-belt was certainly so divided administratively from what lay to south.

In our ignorance, however, of the ancient lines of communication in the central Delta, we need independent evidence for the precise position of certain towns in Hierocles' list.

(1) **Phragonis**, besides its occurrence in the town-list of Hierocles, and in bishopric-lists, Greek and Coptic⁴, appears in the Athanasian *Tract to the Antiochenes*⁵ as the see of a bishop, who signed *Φραγώνεως καὶ μέρους Ἐλεαρχίας τῆς Αἰγύπτου*. This was in 362 A.D. In a Greek, Coptic, and Arabic list of famous bishoprics, of which de Rougé and Amélineau have made great use, and the latter has published two MS. versions as the fourth appendix to his geographical work,⁶ this bishopric is cited as *ΦΡΑΓΩΝΙΝ ΘΕΝΕΩ = ΤΘΟΙ+* = *Tida and al-Faragin*. *Tida* and *al-Faragin* are found similarly conjoined in several Coptic *scalae*, which equate *ΘΟΙΤΕ ΦΕΡΟΥΩΙΝΙ* (or *ΠΕΡΥΟΙΝΙ ΘΟΙ+* or similar corruptions) with the same pair of Arabic place-names, connected by the copulative. The latter appear also in connection, both in the work of Calcashandi⁷ and in the valuable list of provincial assessments, made in 1376, and first printed by Sylvestre de Sacy.⁸ Now *Tida* exists still as a village territory some fifteen miles N.N.E. of Sakha (Xois). About seven miles on a bee-line west of it and beyond the Bahr Nashart are the great mounds known as *Tell al-Farain*. The latter name, occurring just in the locality where the relation of Phragonis to Xois in Hierocles' list, and to Kabasa in Notitia I., would incline us to put that bishopric, can hardly but be a survival. The form in Hierocles, *Φρανύνης*, pronounced probably *Fravínis*, is very close.⁹

Must *Tell al-Farain*, then, be identified with the site of Phragonis? It has been claimed by Mr. Petrie for no less a city than **Buto**; and after much

⁴ Cf. Amélineau, *Géog. de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte*, p. 179.

⁵ *Athanasius* ed. Migne, p. 619.

⁶ De Rougé published it first as app. to his *Géog. de la Basse Égypte*. He had got his copy from Revillout.

⁷ See Wustenfeld's trans. in *Abh. d. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, vol. xxv. Hist. Phil. Classe 1. 2.

⁸ At the end of his edition of Abdallatif's *Relation de l'Égypte*, pp. 593, ff.

⁹ The signature of a bishop at the Council of

Ephesus, *Φλαβωνίας*, is interpreted by an ancient gloss as *Φραγώνεως Αἰγύπτου* (in the Coptic Acts ed. by V. Bouriant in *Miss. Fr. au Caire* viii. 1, the reading is *Πλακωνεος*); so perhaps there was some phonetic uncertainty about the sound, variously rendered by γ, υ, and β. In the Arabic form (if one may trust de Rougé and Amélineau for exact collation of MSS.) this sound appears variously as *jim* and *hâ*: and in local pronunciation to-day there seemed to me to be the trace either of a soft *g* or an *ain* in this place.

doubt, I incline to accept his identification still, on the double ground that (1) these mounds are so large and have so important a temple-area in their midst, that if they do not represent the one Pharaonic city of the first rank in this corner of Egypt, one does not know where else to look for a site which will satisfy the geographical data concerning Buto: (2) the little hamlet at their foot is still called *Bhta*, which seems a survival of the old name. Nothing has been found in the mounds in question, I believe, of Pharaonic date: but they have never been excavated except by *schakhin*. The site lies about ten miles on a bee-line from the east bank of the Rosetta Nile, and therefore comes as appropriately into Hierocles' enumeration, as Kabasa (Shabas).

To justify, however, the consequent hypothesis that the site of Buto bears now a survival of the name of Phragonis which Hierocles shews to have been a town distinct from Buto up to the sixth century at any rate,¹⁰ I must call attention to two points. (1) In what I will call henceforth for convenience the 'Equivalents List,' published by de Rougé, the name ΘΕΝΕΩ is associated with ΦΡΑΓΩΝΙΝ. That can hardly be anything but a slight corruption of ΦΘΕΝΕΟΥ, inscribed on the Hadrianic coinage of the Phthenetic or Butonic Nome. (2) Buto does not appear as a bishopric either in the Equivalents List, or any of the *scalae*. But its name does occur in the first named list coupled with that of Pachnemounis, apparently as descriptive of the locality of the latter (see below p. 5). It seems fair, therefore, to infer that the old name clung to the district and even the town. Buto perhaps still existed as *Phtheneo*, after the Arab invasion: but the town was utterly decayed, while a neighbouring place, Phragonis or Faragin, had taken its place as the local centre.¹¹ But the old and the new centres were so close together, that the name of the old may have been still in use as an explanatory title of the new—*Phragonis of Phtheneo*, in Coptic *Thoiti*; and when both had fallen equally into the ruin and oblivion in which they now lie, the name which was last of importance, *Faragin*, possibly attached itself in Arab tradition to the more extensive of the two desolate sites.

Where, then, is the lesser site, that of Phragonis? Obviously near Tida. There are two mounds near the locality (for the village has come to be split up into two or three small groups of huts, widely separated). One is a small mound, *Kum ed-Daba*, very near the northernmost group. It is probably an older Tida. The other is a much more important site, situated about two miles further to E.N.E., and now called *Kum al-Hawalid*. Nearly a mile in circumference and some thirty to forty feet high, it is the third mound in point of size in the western half of the north-central Delta. It yields the best Roman brick found in the district, and an exceptional amount

¹⁰ Cf. also the occurrence of both names in the signatures to the Council of Ephesus.

¹¹ A see, ΠΤΕΝΕΤΟ, also occurs both in the Equivalents List and the *scalae*; and Amélineau (p. 105) is probably right in locating

it beyond Shabas and near the river. But its name must also be a survival of the old Nome title (*Ptenetu* in Pliny), and doubtless the place was a successor to Buto on the western side, as Phragonis on the eastern.

of worked stone. I noticed two Byzantine capitals of good workmanship lying on the surface. Here I suggest was the see of the western Marshes, Phragonis — Thoiti.

(2) **Pachnemounis.** The position of Phragonis being narrowed in any case to the immediate neighbourhood of Tida, Pachnemounis is to be looked for east or north-east of that point. Its bishop signed the Athanasian Tract, quoted already, as *Παχνεμούνεως καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μέρους τῆς Ἐλεαρχίας*; which distinction leads one to expect to find its marshes divided from those of Phragonis by some considerable interval. The Equivalents List cites it as ΠΑΧΝΟΜΕΝΟC = ΚΒΟΥΤΟ ΘΕΡΟC (see above), but unfortunately omits to add an Arabic identification: and there is no other literary authority but Ptolemy's for the location of a place important enough to have been the capital of the Lower Sebennytic Nome.¹²

In the course of my journey, however, I came across a piece of epigraphic evidence. At the Behéra Society's Inspection House near Kum Wahal are preserved three inscribed slabs, found by diggers for brick in the large mound of *Khanziri*, about ten miles due north. Two of these bear parts, not consecutive, of a single text, and it is probable they were once facing slabs of a pedestal. A head was found near them; but this well preserved life-size portrait in Parian marble, (also at Kum Wahal) cannot be that of Marcus Aurelius, and, though not unlike both Trajan and Domitian, represents probably neither one nor the other, but a private individual. The inscription, so far as recovered, is as follows:—

(1) Two slabs of coarsish white marble with rough backs, displaying parts of one inscription. The longer (right-hand) fragment measures $\cdot 845 \times \cdot 413 \times \cdot 044$. The letters are slender and of very varying height and disposition: they are without apices. The right-hand slab is the most worn, and appears to have been used at some period in a pavement or threshold. Copy and squeeze of the most worn parts. Complete except at bottom.

¹² The name probably occurs also in the *Anon.* does not help us to locate it. *Ravennas* disguised as *Pessimines*: but this

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Α. Τ. ΝΕΙ... ΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ
 ΤΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝΚΑΙΣΩΗΡΑΤΗΣΟΛΗΘΙΚΟΥΛΛΕΝΗΣ
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 ΟΛΟΥΚΑΙΕ. Η... Κ... Σ... ΡΧΟΥ
 ΝΟΥΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥΤΟΥΕ... ΑΧΝΕΛΟΥΝΙ
 ΗΓΗΤΟΥΚΑΙΓΥΛΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΚΑΙΔΙΔΥΛΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΓΥΛΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΥΙΩΝΟΥΘΕΩΝΟΣΔΙΟ
 ΩΝΟΥΓΑΤΡΙΔΟΥΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΥΓΕΝΟΛΕΝΟΥΑΓΟ
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 ΣΚΟΡΟΥΑΡΖΑΝΤΟΣΤΑΣΑΥΤΑΣΑΡΧΑΣ
 ΣΑΥΤΑΣΑΡΧ. ΣΑΝΕΨΙΟΥΔΙΔΥΛΟΥΔΙΔΥ
 ΑΡΖΑΝΤΟΣΤΑΣΑΥΤΑΣΑ... ΑΣ. ΝΕΨΙΟΥ
 ΝΤΑΣΑΥΤΑΣΑΡΧ... ΙΣΙΔΩΡ
 ΟΥΑΡΖΑΝΤ... ΑΥΤ... ΑΝΕΨΙΑΔΟΥ
 ΣΤΑΣΑΥΤΑΣ... ΩΝΠΡΟΣΛΗ
 ΩΝΤΑΣΑΥΤΑ... ΧΑΣΑΝΕΨΙ... ΡΙΑΛΟΥ

Ἀντοκριτορα Καίσαρα Μίρε[ον Ἀνρήλιον] Ἀ[ν]τ[ω]νεί[νο]ν Σέβαστον
 Ἀρμενιακὸν Μηδικὸν Παρθικὸν Μέγιστον τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης

[ἡ Πόλις].

Διὰ Ἰσιδώρου ἐνίρχου ἐξηγητ[οῦ καὶ γυμνα]σιάρχου πρώτου τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἕκτου
 5 καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἀποδοδειγμένου ἀρχιερέως τ[οῦ Ἀπόλλ]ωνος καὶ νεωκό[ρου τοῦ

ἐν Παχνέμουσι Σαραπείου γενομ[ένου ἀγοραν]όμου καὶ ἐξ[η]γητ[οῦ] κ[αὶ αἰ] γυμνα[σ]ι[άρχου]
 γενομένου στρατηγ[οῦ]. ἀδελφ[οῦ Ἰσι]δώρου γενομ[ένου] νεωκόρου τοῦ ἐ[ν Π]αχνέμουσι

Σαραπείου καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἀγορ[αν]όμου καὶ ἐξ[η]γητ[οῦ] καὶ γυμνασιάρχου· καὶ Διδύμου
 ἀδελφ[οῦ] γενομένου ἀγοραν[όμου] [καὶ ἐξηγητ[οῦ] ?] καὶ γυμνασιάρχου· υἱοῦ Θέωνος Διο-

10 σκόρου πρώτου τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος γυμ[να]σ[ιαρχ]ιστ[ῶν]· θυγατρ[ίδος] Ἰσιδώρου γενομένου ἀγο-
 ρανόμου καὶ ἐξηγητ[οῦ] καὶ γυμνασ[ιαρχ]οῦ· ἐκγόν[ου] Ὀρείωνος πρώτου τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος
 ἐξηγητευσάντων· ἐκγόνου Διδύμου· γε[νομένου] ἀγοραν[όμου] καὶ ἐξηγητ[οῦ]
 καὶ γυμνασιάρχου· ἀδελφιδ[οῦ] πρ[ὸς] πατρ[ὸς] Διοσκόρου ἄρξαντος τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχάς·

ἀδελφιδ[οῦ] πρὸς μητρ[ὸς] Διδύμου [ἄρξαντος τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχ[άς]· ἀνεψι[οῦ] Διδύμου Διδύ-

15 μου πρὸς μητρ[ὸς] γενομένου ἀγ[ο]ραν[όμου] καὶ ἄρξαντος τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχ[άς]· [ἀ]νεψι[οῦ]
 πρὸς πατρ[ὸς] Ὀρείωνος καὶ Ἰσιδ[ω]ρου ἀρξάντων· τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχ[άς]· ἀνεψι[οῦ] Ἰσιδώ<ρ>

ρου Διδύμου ἄρξαντος τὰ[ς] αὐτὰς ἀρχάς· υἱοῦ αὐτ[οῦ] ἄρξαντος τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχάς· ἀνεψιαδ[οῦ]
 πρὸς μητρ[ὸς] Διδύμου υἱοῦ τοῦ [Διδύμου] ἄρξαντος τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχάς· ἀνεψιαδ[ῶν] πρὸς μη-

[τρὸς ἀρξάντων ἀνεψιαδ[ῶν] τοῦ Κ]υρίλλου

The slab on the right is a little longer than that on the left. Beside the narrow slab which is wanting between these two, others doubtless are missing from below, which continued the catalogue of honours to even remoter relatives. The date of this inscription must fall later than 166 A.D. when the titles here enumerated were first assumed by Marcus Aurelius.

Ll. 4, 5. *πρώτου κ.τ.λ.* As this phrase, so common in inscriptions of Asia Minor, refers invariably to the office which follows it (cf. ll. 10, 11), we can hardly translate *ἔκτου* . . . *Ἀπόλλωνος* as it would most naturally be translated '26th to be designated high priest, etc.', but must suppose the office to have been annual and translate the whole phrase '*first of men in all ages to be designated for the 26th time high priest, etc.*'

Beyond its general revelation of the complete civic organization of the town on Khanziri, this text contains nothing else worthy of special remark except its mention of Pachnemounis. At first sight this specification of the locality of the Neocorate might seem to argue that Pachnemounis was a foreign place, not the *πόλις* in which all the other offices were held. Some will probably take this view,¹³ and be inclined, therefore, to look elsewhere for Pachnemounis. But the superior size of the site itself and the full civic organization, shewn by the inscription to have been enjoyed by the *πόλις* on Khanziri, strongly suggest that on this mound stood Pachnemounis itself; and its situation suits best with Ptolemy's position for the Nome capital, due north of Xoïs and far down towards the sea. I therefore propose definitely to place Pachnemounis at Khanziri, and to suppose the particular mention of the city-name in connection with the Serapeum to imply that, had the latter stood without qualification, there was danger of its confusion with some more famous Serapeum, *e.g.*, that in Alexandria, with which town the two other inscriptions¹⁴ shew the *πόλις* on Khanziri to have had intimate relations.

I spent two days on Kum Khanziri, and, by the kindness of M. Passalides, the local Director of the Behéra Society, had the disposal of four labourers, who probed the site to the basal mud at several points. The mound has also been deeply and extensively cut into by diggers for brick. I found a contractor employing there some forty hands and a Decauville railway; and from his men learned the exact spot at which the head and slabs, now at Kum Wahal, were found. It is in the south-western part of the hollow, which divides the high western mound from the lower eastern. Many Delta and Fayum mounds shew this sort of division; and the hollow in them probably represents the ancient market-place with surrounding temple-enclosures, in which the rise of level by accumulation was naturally much

¹³ I took this view myself at first, and still feel a difficulty in rejecting it. But there is not another unassigned site in the whole N. central Delta of sufficient obvious importance to be that of a Nome capital, except Tell al-Balamun close to the Damietta Nile (see below

p. 11): and to place the capital of Sebeanytes Inferior so far east is to introduce great difficulty into the understanding of Ptolemy's geographical arrangement of Nomes and Niles.

¹⁴ See *infra*.

slower than in residential quarters. Neither here nor in any part of the Mound did I find the accumulation so deep as I had expected. The core of the site is a mound of solid Nile mud, no doubt artificially heaped to raise the settlement, at its foundation, well above flood-level. The buildings, architectural fragments, pottery, and coins, which I saw on the site were none of them older than the Roman period. Nor, I am convinced, does anything earlier lie under the surface. If the site of Pachnemounis was indeed here, then the place must have owed its existence as a Nome-capital to some late re-arrangement of the provincial division.

The town was connected with a water-course passing to south-west, by a canal, whose bed and embankments are still visible. This can hardly be other than the stream of which the Bahr Kassed is the modern representative. This canal now runs out into the swampy tracts west of Khanziri. Except in late spring and summer, Khanziri is now surrounded by water. I append a photograph shewing the Mounds at the head of the ancient canal.



KUM KHANZIRI AND ITS ANCIENT CANAL, FROM THE S.

The other inscriptions found on this site, and now preserved at Kum Wahal, are as follows:—

2. Slab of coarse marble $885 \times 720 \times 025$. Inscribed on both faces. The obverse is broken top left and much worn below. Long ornate letters with apices, varying from 060 to 040 in height.

// ΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΟΝΙΕΡΑΚΑ > ΤΟΝΚΑ . .
 // ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ > ΚΑΙΩΣΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΖΕ . .
 ΚΑΙΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜ
 ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΝΤΗΣΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣ
 ΤΩΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝΥΙΟΝΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΙΩΝΟC
 . ΘΜΟΝΙΩCΕΚΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝΕΥΓΕΝΗ

..... ΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ
 ΗΠΟΛΙΣ
 ΔΙΑΣ . ΤΗΡ////////ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΙΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΚΑΙ
 ΙCΙ//////////ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑCΙCΙΔΩΡΑΣΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ
 ΙΕΡΙ//////////ΗΜΟΝΙΔΟΣΤΗΣΚΑΙCΩΤΗΡΙΔΟΣ
 ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΔΟΥC &

? Λούκ. ? Δικίνν]ιον 'Ιέρακα, τὸν κα[ι .
 . . . 'Αντωνεῖνον καὶ ὥς χρηματίζει,
 βουλευτὴν καὶ ἀγορανόμ[ον] τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως
 τῶν 'Αλεξανδρέων, υἱὸν 'Ανδρομαχίωνος,
 ? ἀρ]μονίως ἐκ προγόνων εὐγενῇ,
 ἀρετῆς καὶ] φιλοτειμίας χάριν
 ἡ πόλις.
 Διὰ Σ[ω]τηρ[ίδος τῆς] 'Ανδρομαχίωνος τοῦ καὶ
 'Ισι[δώρου, ? θυγατρὸς· καὶ] Αὐρηλίας 'Ισιδώρας θυγατρὸς·
 'Ιέρ[αξ ὁ τῆς 'Ηγ]ημονίδος τῆς καὶ Σωτηρίδος,
 θυγατριδοῦς·

The name in l. 1 is restored at a venture from *C.I.G.* 4688, an Alexandrian inscription of about the same time. Four letters seem lost before 'Αντωνεῖνον, of which the last is Λ and the second probably Ο. Read ΙΟΥΛ(?) l. 5 = *noble consistently with his ancestry*. 'Αρ]μονίως fits the epigraphic indications. The end is rather asyntactical, but the readings, so far as given, are fairly certain. Soteris and Aur. Isidora were daughters of the person honoured. Hierax, son of Soteris, and therefore grandson of L. Licinnius Hierax, added his name in the nominative regardless of the *διά* clause. In l. 2 ὥς χρηματίζει would have been more according to common usage.

3. Reverse of same slab. Flat coarse letters, much worn at R. bottom.

ΗΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗΠΑΤΡΙ///'
 ΡΗΛΙΟΣΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΕΛΛΑΔ'///
 ΠΙΚΛΗΝΑΚΩΡΕΙΤΗΣΑΡΞΑΣ'//Υ
 ΛΕΥΤΗΣΤΗΣΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗ'////Ε
 ΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑCΚΑΙΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΑΙΝ'///ΑΙ
 ΒΗΣΟΔΩΡΑΜΑΤΡΩΝΑΣΤΟΛ'////
 ΚΡΑΤΙCΤΗΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΡΗΛΙΑ'////ΔΙΟΣ
 ΚΟΡΟΥΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΕ'////ΑΡ
 ΧΟΥΚΟCΜΗΤΟΥΕΞΗΓΗΤΟΥ
 ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΟΓΡΑΦΟΥ
 ///ΟΥΛΕΥΤΟΥΤΗΣΛΑΜΠΡΟ
 '///ΑΤΗΣΠΟΛΕ'///C'///
 ΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ'////
 ΕΠΑΓ'////

'Η γλυκυτάτη πατρί[ς]
 Αὐ]ρήλιος Διόσκορος (ὁ)? καὶ 'Ελλάδ[ιος]?
 εἰ]πύκλην 'Ακωρειτῆς, ἄρξας [βο]υ-
 λευτῆς τῆς λαμπροτάτη[ς 'Αλ]ε-
 ξανδρείας, καὶ Διοσκόραιν[α κ]αὶ
 Βησοδώρα, Ματρῶνα, Στολ[ίς καὶ
 Κρατίστη, τέκνα Αὐρηλία[ς τῆς] Διοσ-
 κόρου, γενομένου ε[ὐ]θενι[άρ]-
 χου κοσμητοῦ ἐξηγητοῦ
 ὑπομνηματογράφου
 β]ουλευτοῦ τῆς λαμπρο-
 τ]άτης πόλε[ω]ς [τῶν 'Αλε-
 ξανδρέων, [?] ἀνέστησαν
 ἐπ' ἀγ[αθῶ].

Aur. Dioscorus and several granddaughters dedicate to their native town.

I took squeezes of the most difficult parts of this inscription, which (as well as my copy) establish that there is no τ at the beginning of line 1, so we must read as above—a *nominativus pendens*. For the name *Dioscoraena* see Oxyr. Pap. I. 43 v^o iii. 23 (Διοσκούρεια). For *Besodori* see Berlin Pap. No. 34. In ll. 6, 7 the reading is certain so far as I give it; for Στολίς see *C.I.A.* III. (1) No. 2575. Κρατίστη I have not found elsewhere as a name, but Κράτιστος occurs. 'Ακωρειτῆς in l. 3 means evidently a native of the town *Acoris* in the Nome of Cynopolis on the east bank of the Nile (Ptol. *Geog.* iv. 5. 59).

(3) **Diospolis Inferior** is *omnium consensu* the town indicated by coins of Hadrian's time bearing legend ΔΙΟΠΚ [= Διοπ(όλεως) κ(άτω τόπων)], as the capital of a distinct Nome,¹⁵ worshipping the ram of Zeus Ammon. Strabo¹⁶ alludes to the place and αἱ περὶ αὐτὴν λίμναι as lying πλησίον Μένδητος; and according to a fragment of Hermippus, it was the burial place of Demetrius of Phalerum. In the *Equivalents List* it is cited as ΔΙΟΣΠΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΤΩ=ΠΟΥΝΕΜΟΥ=*Al-Fulmun*. The site proposed by de Rougé, namely Kafr al-Baramon, east of the Damietta Nile and north of Mansura, seems not to be ancient. But it is possible he was confusing it with a mound which does indeed exist on the west of the Damietta Nile north of Sherbin. This, the only one which in height and extent is a rival in the north Delta to Khanzir and Farain, is that now known as Tell al-Balamun, about three miles west of Ras al-Khalig railway-station.

I visited this site on May 23. I had noticed the mounds as a conspicuous landmark on the horizon, when staying at the Behéra Society's Inspection House at Constantinia, near Bessendila; but having found no mention of them in any modern book, nor even heard much rumour of them in the

¹⁵ See B.M. *Coin Cat. Alexandria*, p. 343. The lower Sebennyitic Nome had coins with distinct cult type, stamped $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\kappa$, a fact, which, even had Hierocles and the *Notitia* left

any doubt, would serve to negative the proposal of Brugsch and de Rougé to identify Pach-nemounis and Diospolis Inferior.

¹⁶ p. 802.

neighbourhood, I was amazed, on reaching the spot, at their size and importance. Their circumference must be nearly two miles¹⁷: their summit fifty feet above the plain. The western part is low; the eastern high and steep so that the site is very conspicuous from the Damietta railway. The soil being very salt (wherefore the mounds are sometimes known as Tell *Mulha*), it has not been much disturbed by diggers for either *schalk* or brick: nor has it ever been probed by an archaeologist. The Department of Antiquities has no information at all about the site. The skin of the mounds is of course made up of late stuff, but among the sherds of glass occurs more perished blue faience than is usual on north Delta sites.

The coincidence of the name, *Balamun*, with the form in which *Pachnemounis* might well have survived on Arab lips is tempting: but Balamun may equally well represent the Coptic *Pounimou* (perhaps the *Pinamys* of Stephen of Byzantium). In any case it is almost impossible, in the face of Ptolemy's scheme of Nomes, to place Pachnemounis so far east; nor would the latter's name identified with a site in this position agree nearly so well either with the order which the Equivalents List seems to follow in descending to *Tamiathi* (Damietta), or with that of the *Synecdemus* and *Notitia I*. For Hierocles obviously describes a curve from Xoïs through the north of the province to Sebennytus (possibly the line of a road or main canal), just as after Sebennytus he describes a curve through the south to Busiris. We therefore expect to find Phragonis, Pachnemounis, and Diospolis lying in order on this northern curve, the latter farthest to eastward. On this account and relying especially on the hint in Strabo, who resided some time in Egypt, I have no hesitation in proposing Tell al-Balamun as the site of Diospolis Inferior. I reserve till later some remarks about its Nome.

B.—OASES; HELEARCHIA; PARALOS.

There are three names remaining in the list of Hierocles which seem to belong to the northernmost Delta. They are grouped apart (*v. p. 3, supra*) and are all to be looked for with probability in the sandy region north of the marshes.

(1) **Paralos** may be taken first, since its general position is practically certain.¹⁸ It was the town on the sands N.E. of the central Lake, whose name (*Parallos* in the Coptic lists) has survived as *Burlos* (in native pronunciation *Bur'állos*) and given a title to the Lake. Under this name, Abulfeda¹⁹ mentions it as a station on the coast track from Damietta to Rosetta, and the Assessment of 1376 puts it in the province of Nesteraweh.

Its bishop, Athanasius, signed at Ephesus. In the Equivalents List it is cited as ΠΑΡΑΛΛΟΥ = ΝΕΚΕΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ = *al-Burlos*. Now-a-days the name Burlos is given to a district of scattered houses, unusually rich by reason of fisheries, palm-plantations, and gardens, and extending from Borg

¹⁷ The new Survey shows the greatest length, N.W.—S.E., to be about 900 metres, and greatest breadth, 600 metres.

¹⁸ In *Notitia I* 'Πεγέον' occurs between

Ἑλεαρχία and Πάραλος, and it has been reasonably conjectured that this = *Regio Maritima*.

¹⁹ Renaud's trans. ii. p. 161.

on the 'Boghaz' or outlet of the Lake south-eastward along its shores to Baltim (Balkim). I found Roman glass and sherds lying on the sandhills in three places in this belt; but where dunes shift so constantly, the exact site of an ancient town is probably not to be found.

(2) **Helearchia**.—As the lists of Hierocles and the Notitia pass to this group from the south-east of the Province, one would naturally expect the enumeration of the three towns in question to proceed from south or east to north or west; and would look for Helearchia either in the sand-belt east of Burlos, or on the south-east margin of the Lake. As we have seen, the Athanasian Tract mentions *Helearchia* as the name of a large district, divided between the Sees of Phragonis and Pachnemounis. But Hierocles and the Notitia have it as a town distinct from either of these last, and the Coptic lists know it as a bishopric apart.²⁰ In the *Equivalents List* the citation ΗΑΙΑΙΧΙΑ = ΠΙΨΑΡΩΤ = *Al-Sharut*, no doubt refers to ΕΛΕΑΡΧΙΑ. One may suppose it a settlement which grew up as an administrative centre for a part of the newly reclaimed marshes, at a distance from Phragonis, Pachnemounis, or Diospolis. I noticed glass and sherds strewn over a wide area of dunes just east of Abu Madi and some fifteen miles south-east of Baltim: and Mr. Tottenham, the Inspector of the Second Circle of Irrigation (Gharbieh), marks in a map, with which (among other benefits) he most kindly furnished me, two *Koms* immediately north-west of the same Abu Madi. I was not able to visit these, but in a district of such constant superficial change, should in all likelihood have been little wiser if I had. Hereabouts one would be most inclined to place Helearchia.

(3) **Oases**.—Nothing further is known of this place (or these places) which neither the Notitia nor the Coptic lists mention, and Wesseling (*and Hieroclem* s.v.) wished to transfer to the Mariut region. In any case it is uncertain whether the name 'occurring in the relation it does' ought to be reckoned with the coast group at all, or not rather to be located near Busiris. The name suggests, however, palm tracts such as occur in the northern sand-belt, and therefore I group it with Helearchia and Paralos, and propose a situation for it nearer Damietta than either one or the other.

C.—ΑΓΝΟΥ; ΝΙΚΕΤΟΥ.

These two towns are not in the list of Hierocles: but Agnou occurs in the Notitia, and both are in the lists of Coptic bishoprics. The *Equivalents List* cites them thus:

ΑΓΝΟΥ = ΠΙΨΙΝΙΟΥ ΤΕΤΒΑΨΟΥΡ = Nestaraweh.

ΝΙΚΕΤΟΥ = ΠΨΕΝΞΡΟΥ = Singar.

Both these places are mentioned under their Arabic names in the Assessment of 1376 where the second is reckoned in the province of the first, which was distinct from that of Gharbieh, and evidently included all the sand-belt between the Rosetta and the Damietta mouths.

²⁰ Athanasius in *Festal Letter* xii probably indicates this bishopric as *Burelos*. Cf. his *Life of St. Antony* 49.

(1) NESTERAWEH occurs in the Itinerary, given by Abulfeda, between Burlos and Rosetta. In his time it and not Burlos gave a name to the Lake (so also according to Calcashandi). Its wealth was in fish, and its contribution is given in the Assessment of 1376 without mention of lands, —as is the case also with all the other places in its province, which included Rashid (Rosetta). On the "Domains" map of the Delta (revised in 1897) a "*Kum Mostoru*" is marked in the sand-belt some distance west of the Boghaz: and the similarity of name (in Calcashandi the town appears as *Nestoru*) renders the identification of that mound with Agnou-Nestaraweh probable.

(2) SINGAR. From the order in which the names occur in the Coptic lists, this place would seem to have been in the west of the Nestaraweh province: and it should be looked for north-west of the Lake rather than on the desert islet at the east end, still called Sangar. The only other *Kum* marked on the Domains Map west of the Boghaz is *al-Akhdar*; but this is probably the mound of that name, distinguished from Singar in the Assessment under the name *al-Rus*.

D.—BANABAN.

Mentioned only in the best of the ordinary Coptic *scalae*, and not in the Equivalents List. I include it in the north Delta because of the existence of a *Bahr Banawan*, a branch of the *Bahr Belkas*, which turns north above Biela, and runs past two small kums (*Asfar* and *Nus*) and a considerable one (*Kum Kebir*) which is a conspicuous object due N.E. from the Behéra Society's Inspection House at Dar es-Samra near Salahieh. Owing to the flooded state of the marshes I was unable to visit Kum Kebir, which is probably the site of Banaban. In the Assessment List of 1376 I note an entry *al-Binawanein*, which points to two villages near together having borne the same name.

I cannot with confidence place any other ancient name in the district that I visited north of the railway line: but at least three towns which occur in Notitia I between Paralos and Xoïs, may have been there. These are Παριανή κόμη, Κύμη and Ῥηχομήριον. Also Παράλλου and Θάσματος occur later between Agnou and *Tamiathi* (Damietta). The important monastery of *Gemiana* (or *Damiana*), north of Belkas, has a small ancient mound hard by it. Is this the *Dumelliana* of Amélineau's authorities?²¹

There are, however, a score of mounds south of the Lake awaiting identification. I have shewn their position on the accompanying map, which is traced from the hand-chart of the Irrigation Service. For their general characteristics the following notes will suffice. The superficial remains upon one and all are late Roman, Byzantine, and early Arab.

²¹ Mr. W. E. Crum has referred me to various authorities concerning this monastery, which are mentioned by him in *Egypt Expl. Fund*

Arch. Report 1899-1900 p. 51, also to Wansleben, who visited the place in 1672 (*Hist. de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie* p. 160).

Bahr Nashurt District.

(1) *Sidi Salem*: oval, about 500 paces by 200. All bricks baked, late painted 'Coptic' sherds in abundance. Very little stone, and moderate depth. Has been much dug for brick and seabakh.

(2) *Daba*: about the same size as the foregoing, but some earlier sherds, e.g., moulded Samian, and many fragments of worked syenite occur. To judge by the abundance of slag, it must have yielded much stone. Dug out almost to the basal mud by natives.

(3) *Mesk*: about half as big, but higher and hardly dug at all. No sherds of the better class, but necks and bases of 'kitchen' vessels common. No sign of stone.

(4) *Bunduk*: in size between Daba and Mesk, shews many stone fragments on the surface and good baked brick. Painted sherds and fragments of good glass. The bed of a broad ancient water-course is apparent west of the mound. Very little dug.

(5) *Haddadi*: larger than any of the foregoing, but so completely untouched (owing to salinity) that its contents are not apparent. A village called al-Haddada appears in this region in the Assessment of 1376.

(6) *Ahmar*: very small but shewing bits of syenite. Site of a farmstead?

(7) *Khubeza*: unusually prolific in large drums of syenite used as mill-stones, and in good glass, painted 'Coptic' sherds, and copper coins. But in size less than Haddadi, though larger than Bunduk. The line of a large dyke is seen running from S.W. to N.E. to north of the mound, which may be the old limit of the Lake. I picked up an Alexandrian billon coin of Diocletian.

(8) *Hawazin* (or *Nashowan*): about the same size as Haddadi, divided into two parts, north and south, by a deep and narrow depression, looking like the line of a canal. Prolific in brick, and shews more unbaked bricks than the foregoing *Kums*. Looks like a slightly older site than they.

(9) *Khirbeh*: a circular mound of about 250 paces diameter. Fragments of rather good character. e.g., of marble paving and ribbed glass, and painted 'Coptic' ware. Much dug.

(10) *Sheikh Ibrahim* on the west of the Bahr, like *Miyetein*, whose twin mounds lie on both banks, is apparently almost wholly a cemetery, now rifled. But like all the other mounds it has a large red brick vaulted building at one corner, which was probably a tank-house fed from a canal.

(11) *Hawalid* has been described on p. 4. It has about three times the area of any of the foregoing. The only legible coin picked up was a Roman *minimus* of the fifth century.

Kassed Canal District.

(12) *Wahal*: about the size of Haddadi, very much dug, and shewing traces of having contained much stone. A small limestone 'Horus' shrine from it is preserved in the Inspection House. I picked up an Alexandrian bronze coin of Hadrian.

(13) *Shalmeh* (or *Misri*?) : so completely dug that even its area is uncertain.

(14) *Dabaa* : larger than any of the foregoing except Hauaid, which is about the double of it. A double mound. Fragments of brick, ware, glass, and stone of the better class.

(15) *Makhen* : I did not see this, but it is very small.

(16) *Umm Sin* : has a village on it and there is almost nothing left of the mound.

(17) *Khanziri* : See above p. 8. I picked up or bought from brick-diggers fifteen legible bronze coins. Two (of Tiberius and Caligula) precede Hadrian. The rest are later: the last is of Heraclius. The only coin of numismatic interest is thus described for me by Mr. J. G. Milne :

ANTONINUS PIUS.

Æ. 34 mm. Obv. legend effaced; head r. laur.: rev., bust of Helios r. rad., wearing chlamys; in field [L] Z. (Cf. Dattari, *Numi Alex.* 3288 of Faustina sen. for rev. type.)

(18) *Asfir* : very small.

Bahr Tirah District.

(19) *Kharuf* : about the size of Sidi Salem, but very low: of no importance. Picked up an Alexandrian follis probably of Constantine IV.

(20) *Nimra* : unimportant, about the same as Mesk.

(21) *Mansur* : about the area of Haddadi, but very shallow. Double divided by a wide depression, apparently the old course of the Bahr. Superficial remains of poor quality.

(22) *Nus* : both high and large, being about equal to Dabaa. Remains of stone and syenite frequent. The bed of the Bahr passing W. is very clearly marked.

(23) *Tin* : I never reached this mound, but to judge by its appearance at five miles' range it should be as big as Nus.

(24) *Shughraia* : very small.

(25) *Kebir* : See p. 14.

Bahr Shiba District.

26. *Ahmar* : very small = a farmstead only.

27. *Gemiāna* : ditto, ditto.

28. *Naghla* : small, not so large as Mesk, and very shallow.

29. *Terzi* : not visited, but through the glass it seemed not bigger or higher than Naghli.

30. *Daba* : ditto.

31. *Bahmura* : see p. 11.

THE NILES.

All the considerable mounds of the northern Delta are disposed in three chains running north and south. The first chain (reckoned from the east), is that which aligns the old channel of the Bahr Tirah. The second lies along the line of the Kassed canal, and continues the mound of Sakha in Kums *Wahal*, *Dubaa*, and *Khanziri*. The third is a double chain: the eastern part of it runs north from Tida through *Daba*—*Hawalid*—*Khirbeh*—*Huwázin* to *Khubéza* and the Lake; the western from *Tell al-Furain* through *Gir*—*Sidi Salem*—*Mesk*—*Bunduk* to *Haddadi*. I do not propose to place a Nome boundary at the Kassed canal, for that does not divide the space at all equally. But the important Bahr Nashart, which now sweeps north partly through, partly to west of, the double third chain of mounds must represent both a considerable main channel of antiquity and the western limit of the Lower Sebennyitic Nome. Beyond it began the Nome of Phtheneto or Buto, continued up to the Great River (or Agathodaemon) and the Taly stream which are now represented respectively by the upper and lower courses of the Rosetta Nile.

The Bahr Nashart then must represent the *Thermuthiac* (*Pharmuthiac*) *Nile* which issued at the Sebennyitic estuary,²⁰ *i.e.* traversed all the length of the Lake Burlos to the Boghaz. Its earlier course to south of the Lake lay, I believe, somewhat to east of its present course, and close under the Sidi Salem—Mesk—Bunduk—Haddadi chain of mounds. It probably passed close to Tida.

The *Athribitic Nile*, which bounded the Lower Sebennyitic Nome on the east, cannot well be the Bahr Shibin—at least not the lower course of that stream, despite its present independent estuary; for no mounds rise on its banks. We must identify the Athribitic arm rather with the *upper* Shibin, continued by the Bahr Tirah past the eastern end of the Lake to an artificial estuary (*ψευδόστομον*) now blocked. The actual channel, in which the Athribitic Nile flowed in its lower course, may still be seen, dry, but with dykes well preserved, sweeping past the mounds of Nimra, Mansur, and Nus in succession. To come on this conspicuous ancient channel was a complete surprise, since neither maps nor local authority had given me any warning of it. I paced it at several points in the five mile stretch which I followed, and found its average breadth to be about 350 feet.

Ptolemy places so much ground between the Athribitic and Busiric Niles, and in particular the Nome and City of Mendes, that I cannot see how to regard the lower part of the existing Damietta Nile as the *Busiric*, or its mouth as the *Pathmetic*. Unless Ptolemy's authority is to be rejected in a matter of broad division, on which it is hard to see how a resident in the country could

²⁰ Ptolemy makes it clear that Sebennytus itself was not on this Nile, in spite of the name of the estuary; but was on the Athribitic.

Perhaps the Sebennyitic estuary was so called after the Lower Sebennyitic Nome.

go wrong, it seems inevitable that the Busiric arm and the Pathmetic estuary should be placed in the region of Lake Menzala : and the Mendesian, Tanitic, and Pelusiatic estuaries be located still further east. Overcrowding of the Eastern Delta with Nile arms need not result if it be remembered that the Mendesian and Tanitic (Sanitic ?)²¹ were rather estuaries than arms, according to all accounts, and probably branched off low down.

The only ancient channel that the lower reaches of the actual Damietta Nile can therefore represent is the artificial *Diolkos*, which Ptolemy places between the Pineptimic and Phatmetic (Pathmetic) estuaries.

THE NOMES.

Enough has been said to shew how I propose to arrange the three Nomes on the map:—(1) The *Phthenetic* between the lower course of the Rosetta Nile (ancient Taly) and the Bahr Nashart. (2) The *Lower Sebennytic* (temp. Hadrian) between the Bahr Nashart and the Bahr Tirah. (3) The *Lower Diospolite* (temp. Hadrian) between the Bahr Tirah, and the Damietta Nile, the old *Diolkos*. The southern limits must be left uncertain. On the north was the sea. For the last named Nome and its limits there is of course no authority in Ptolemy. It is necessary to add a few remarks on this omission.

The authority for the separate existence of an Inferior Diospolite Nome, in the time of Hadrian at any rate, is the Nome coinage : for the existence of Diospolis, the town, apart from Pachnemounis, we can point to the conclusive evidence of Hierocles. Therefore the contention of de Rougé (and H. Brugsch), that there was not more than one Nome in question, and that Pachnemounis and Diospolis are two forms of the name of only a single town, is untenable. But there is probably this much basis for it. (1) In Pharaonic times there was but one Nome covering all the area in question, that of *Pi-Khen-amen*, the seventh in the hieroglyphic lists (de Rougé *op. cit.* p. 115 ff.), which lay north of the twelfth Nome (Sebennytus), and extended to the sea. Of the full name of this Nome, *Pachnemounis* is a Graecized rendering ; and *Diospolis* is an exact translation of its abbreviated name, *Pi-Amen*. (2) If we follow Ptolemy's authority implicitly, we must assume that there was but one Nome again in the time of the Antonines, that of Sebennytes Inferior with Pachnemounis for capital. That is to say, a more complicated arrangement, made perhaps only in the time of Hadrian, had again been simplified, and the Inferior Diospolite Nome had ceased to have a separate existence. (3) Under the Hadrianic arrangement two Nome capitals were needed and the two seem to have borne names of equivalent meaning, derived alike from the old Nome-name.

Which of these two, then, was the original capital of Pharaonic times ?

²¹ In spite of the easy confusion I do not feel sure that Herodotus' 'Saitic' mouth ought to be read Sanitic. He has no other name for the

Taly, which certainly flowed very near Sais : for 'Bolbitinie' is the epithet of the estuary only, not of the stream.

If either, the present indications are clearly in favour of the city which stood on Tell al-Balamun, *i.e.*, in my view, the Diospolis of later times. The city on Kum Khanziri is beyond doubt of later foundation. Indeed it may well be not earlier than Roman Imperial time, to judge by the remains on the level of its basal mud. I suggest, therefore, that when the old Lower Sebennyitic Nome was divided, a new capital was constituted on Khanziri, on which the old Pharaonic name was conferred in the Graecized form, Pachnemounis. The earlier capital, now the centre of the eastern half only, the original Pi-khen-amen or Pi-amen, had come to be best known under the Greek translated form, Diospolis. When the earlier Nome arrangement was restored by the Antonines, the more central Pachnemounis was found the more convenient capital and it remained, after all, capital of the reunited Nomes. It was perhaps the remote position of the old capital close to the eastern border that led in the first instance to the division of the Lower Sebennyitic Nome. When a new capital had come into existence on Khanziri, it was probably found central enough for both Nomes, and the maintenance of the separation, which necessarily involved extra expense and complication of the administrative machine, was seen to be superfluous.

D. G. HOGARTH.

[I greatly regret that, until the above was in its final proof, I did not know of M. G. Daressy's article in *Rev. Arch.* iii^{me} Série, 25, p. 195; and I must offer all apology to a scholar better fitted than myself to discuss these Coptic questions. M. Daressy has covered much of my ground and anticipated me in many points, especially in the identification of Phragonis, Agnou, and the two mid-Delta Niles. I would gladly accept his general situation for Pachnemounis and place it precisely at Haulid, were his reading of the *Equivalents* List in this connection open to less objection. I believe he is right in identifying the *Leonton* of that List with Buto, and so supplying a see, which is well known to have existed till Arab times: but the further equation with Dantaua is less convincing, entailing as it does a MS. correction and the elevation of a little mound of no obvious importance to the honours of Buto. So much does M. Daressy feel this last objection that he suggests that the Butonic *oracle* was nevertheless at Farain, and so anticipates me in the confusion of Buto with Phragonis, though on other grounds. His low estimate of Ptolemy's authority will perhaps lead him to suggest Diospolis for Khanziri. I own to too much respect for the Alexandrian geographer to admit this. Space does not allow me to add more than that, had I known of M. Daressy's article in time, I should have confined myself to points on which I differ from it, and to an account of the actual mounds.—D. G. H.]

UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CYZICUS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

1. At Robert College, Bebek, Constantinople,¹ small stele 0·36 × 0·69 (letters 0·015) with relief of sacrifice to Apollo Citharoedus by a number of worshippers arranged in rows above each other: the inscription is much worn:

<p>ΙΟΔΩ . Ο /// /// /// Α ΨΝΙΟ . . ΟΥΔΙΟΦ /// /// /// ΝΙΜΕΚΑΣΤΗΝΩΕ</p>	<p>Μην]όδω[ρ]ος . . . ὑπέρ? . . . Ἀπολ]λωνίο[υ τ]οῦ Διοφ[άντου? Ἀπόλλω]νι Μεκαστηνῶ εἰ[υ]χόν.</p>
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The epithet may be connected with the river name Macestus, Mecistus, with which again we may compare the Lesbian mountain Macistum, and the name Macestis in Le Bas 1127. The Macestus valley is possibly the provenance of both the Bebek stelai. A long series of votives dedicated to Apollo Crateanus (*Arch. Zeit.* 1875, 162), is said to come from a spot three hours from Manyas and nine from Balukiser. I was told also by Mr. Bunning of Susurlu that many of the Van Branteghem antiquities were found at a spot near Omarkui.

2. Panderma, in private house: funeral banquet stele, letters 0·03.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ	Ἀπολλώνιε Διογένους
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαίρε.

3. *Ib.* Very late banquet stele of degraded style.

ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΒΑΙΒΙΟΥΕΥΤΥΧΑΟΕ
 ΗΣΕΝΑΥΤΩΟΥΙΟΣΒΑΙΒΙΟΣΓΑΛΑΤΗΣ
 Ὑπόμνημ'α Βαιβίου Εὐτυχᾶ δ' ἐ[ποί]-
 ησεν αὐτῷ ὁ υἱὸς Βαίβιος Γαλάτης.

In line 1 ΜΝΗΜ are ligatured, in line 2 ΤΗ in monogram. All but the first word is written on a rough tooled surface, which suggests that the stele has been used before.

¹ See *J.H.S.* xxiii. 87 (33). That inscription should read *χαριστήρια*.

4. Panderma, in private possession, stele 0·62 × 0·82, with high relief (Fig. 1) of good work² representing Zeus with eagle, standing by altar and sacred tree, and approached by a worshipper: the altar is adorned with a relief representing the sacrifice of a bull.



FIG. 1.—STELE AT PANDERMA.

Inscribed (letters 0·03).

(a) (above relief)

ΖΕΥΣΧΑΛΑΖΙΟΣΣΩΣ

ΓΠΙΛΙΟΝ ΟΥ

Zeὺς Χαλάζιος Σώζω[ν]

Ἐπὶ Διον[υσίου]

(b) (below)

ΘΡΑΚΙΟΚΩΜΗΤΑΙΤΩΘΕΩΤΗΝΣΤΗΛΛΗΝΚΑΘΙ
ΕΡΩΣΑΝΥΠΕΡΕΥΚΑΡΠΙΑΣΚΑΙΑΒΛΑΒΙΑΣΤΩΝΚΑΡΠΩΝ
ΚΑΙΥΠΕΡΥΓΙΕΙΑΣΚΑΙΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΤΩΝΓΕΟΚΤΕΙΤΩΝΚΑΙ
ΤΩΝΣΥΝΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΩΝΕΠΙΤΟΝΘΕΟΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ
ΘΡΑΚΙΑΝΚΩΜΗΝ
ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣΤΩΘΕΩΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΚΩΜΗΤΑΙΣ
ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΑΣΠΡΩΤΟΣΤΗΝΣΤΗΛΛΗΝΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΕΠΑΝ
ΓΕΙΛΑΜΕΝΟΣΑΠΟΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ

² I am indebted to Mr. Henderson for this photograph.

Θρακιοκωμῆται τῷ θεῷ τὴν στήλλην καθι-
 έρωσαν ὑπέρ εύκαρπίας καὶ ἀβλαβίας τῶν καρπῶν
 καὶ ὑπέρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν γεοκτειτῶν καὶ
 τῶν συνερχομένων ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ κατοικούντων
 Θρακίαν κώμην.

Μειδίας Στράτωνος τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖ[ς κω]μήταις
 διοικήσας πρῶτος τὴν στήλλην ἐκ τῶν ιδίων έπαν-
 γειλάμενος ἀποκατέστησεν.

Zeus Chalazios (χάλαζα), obviously a brother of Hyetios, Brontaios, is elsewhere unknown, though Apollo bore the title at Thebes (*Photius*, p. 321, Bekker). The epithet Sozon,³ here used in a deprecatory sense after Chalazios, to imply the (sender of and) protector from hail, is common further south (cf. Ramsay, *C. B. Phrygia*, I 262).

The 'Thracian village'⁴ is known from Plutarch's account of the Mithradatic siege as the site of Lucullus' camp (*Vit. Lucull.* 10); as the camp was within sight of the besieged and cut off Mithradates' communications with Asia, the site may perhaps be placed on the high ground east of the isthmus, at or near Mahmunkeui. The stone has been for some years in Panderma, and I could get nothing but vague answers as to its provenance.



FIG. 2.—STELE AT KAZAKKEUI.

A broken stele of Zeus found by Mr. Henderson at Kazakkeui on the lake of Manyas shews the same type slightly modified: it is common all over the district. In this example the bull and sacrificer are actual figures.

³ The θεὸς σώζων is described (with a bibliography) in *B.C.H.* xxvi. 220.

⁴ Cf. also the 'Thracian harbour' at Cyzicus

(*Apoll. Rhod.* i. 1110), but the 'Thracian gate' of Pliny *N.H.* xxxvi. 33 is to be referred to Byzantium; cf. *Xiph.* lxxiv. 14.

For the terms of the first dedication we may compare *C.I.G.* 2054: ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀμπέλων; Dumont, *Inscr. de la Thrace*, p. 456, 111^c, 42: ὑπὲρ ἰδίας σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν βούων; and Brit. Mus. *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 97, No. 7: ὑπέ[ρ τῆς σω]τηρίας τοῦ Ἀμαθου-σίω[ν δῆμου] καὶ τῶν καρπῶν.

γεοκτεῖται are also mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3695 B. (Gonen), where they are distinguished in the same way from the villagers. They may have leased lands from the Cyzicene government in the neighbourhood of the village.

The 'assembly of the god' is paralleled by the τοῦ θεοῦ συναγωγή of Conze, *Lesbos*, pl. xix, and still more closely by Luders 45, συμπορευόμενοι παρ Δία Ὑέτιον.

The original of this inscription was probably set up by the κωμαρχία (cf. Dumont, 316, *C.I.G.* 3420, 3461 b⁵) in the hipparchate of Dionysius, who is elsewhere unknown; the more ambitious dedications of the Cyzicene are frequently dated in this way. Of this old inscription only the first two lines remain, the lower mutilated by the sinking for the relief, which, with the re-engraving of the dedication, represents the restoration by Meidias.

His own inscription designates him as first *dioiketes*, so we may infer that in the interval the Thrakia Kome had been raised from a simple village to a borough (διοίκησις, cf. Str. 629); the corporation of such a διοίκησις, including διοικητής, γραμματεὺς, five διάκονοι, and the inevitable οἰνοφύλαξ, dedicate a stele found at Debléki near Panderma, and published in *Ath. Mitth.* x. 203 (9): we may compare also the development of the χῶροι at Laodicea (Ramsay *C. B. Phrygia* i. 1, 36). There were both χῶροι and κῶμαι in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus, cf. Berlin Cat. Sculp. 835 (*A.-E.M.* xx. 73).

The curious association of the god and the villagers in the dedication is met with again in *B.C.H.* xvii. 520 (1) Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ τῷ χώρῳ. It is characteristic of a village population worshipping an ancestral hero or earth god.

5. Aidinjik, at the Armenian church: fragment 0·42 × 0·32, letters irregular, about 0·04.

ΔΙΑΦΕ
ΟΜΕΤΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΤΩΝ
ΝΩΝΑΥ

θέσις] διαφέ[ρουσα
Δ]ομετίου
καὶ τῶν [τέκ-
νων αὐ[τοῦ.

6. *Ib.* Marble step 1·29 × 0·40 in mezarlik, east of the road to Panderma, letters 0·03.

ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΕ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΕΛΕΝΗ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΥ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Μητροδώρε Μητροδώρου
χαῖρε.
Ἑλένη Ποσειδίππου
χαῖρε.

⁵ Cf. πρωτοκαμήτης *J.H.S.* xvii. 292. (70) Kbsud. The word is discussed at some length in *J.H.S.* xxii. 359.

7. Mihallitch, Tumbekli Djami : slab forming lintel of doorway, letters irregular, about 0·04 and of late form.

ΗΑΙ
ΟΝΑΝ
ΟΧΗ
ΕΕΝΤΟ
ΜΕΛΟΝ
ΟΛΟC
ΗΟCΜΗ
Σ

8. *Ib.* In mosque wall : fragment, letters irregular, about 0·04.

ΕΝΘΑΚ	ἐνθα κ[ατάκειται]
ΘΕΟ	Θεο[δώρα ? διακ-]
ΟΝΙ	ὄνι[σσα ?]

9. Mihallitch, garden of Hoshkadem Djamisi : funeral banquet stele, 0·61 × 0·50, letters 0·15.

ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝ	Ποτάμων
ΑΣΚΛΗΓΑ	Ἀσκληπᾶ
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαῖρε.

Near it is an uninscribed (?) stele with reliefs of (1) banquet, (2) horseman, and the milestone published by Perrot *Galatie*, 1, 99 (62) from Tchamandra.

10. *Ib.* Near Hoshkadem Djamisi : base 0·58 × 0·49, letters 0·02, with relief of tripod.

ΦΙΛΙΞΤΑ	Φιλίστα
ΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΞ	Ἡροκράτους.

11. *Ib.* In private house : worn banquet stele, 0·50 × 0·37, letters 0·015 ; (the reading is very doubtful.)

ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΕΡΜΑ	Ἀρτέμων Ἑρμᾶ[ς]
ΕΡΜΑCΥ ΡΕΓ	Ἑρμάου (?) . . .

My reading of the inscription in the wall of the Ulu Djami agrees in every respect with Munro's (*J.H.S.* xvii, 271) except in the first word, which I read ΕΠΙ (with Cichorius, *Ath. Mitth.* xiv. 247, 15). The Dindymus referred to can hardly be the Cyzicene.

Perrot's inscription 61 (*Galatie* i., p. 98) lies in the Greek churchyard : it is possibly to be restored :

εἰ δέ τις ἀγο[ράση τὸ μνημα τοῦ]το . . . [ἀποτείσει] λογάριν ὅ,τι κληρον[όμοις δοκεῖ.

12. Ulubad, outside Circassian house: marble slab, much worn, 0·83 × 0·51, letters 0·9.

///NOTOICAGATH
 ///CIETEPONKATAΘE
 ///ΓΕΙΝΕCΤΩIIA ΕΛ
 ΥΡΦΑΥCΤΕΙΝΟCΛΙΩCΩNE
 ΛΙΟΙΝΟΥCΙΑ . Ι
 ΟΝΟΜΟC . ΙΟ . .

κληρο]νό(μ)οις ? Ἀγαθη[μέρου· εἰ δέ τις
 τολμή]σ(ε)ι ἕτερον καταθέ[σθαι . .
 ἢ μετά]γειν ἔστω πα[νώλη]ς α[ὐτὸς . . .
 Α]ῦρ. Φαυστεῖνος ἑαυτῷ ζῶν (?) ἐ[ποίησεν
 λιθίνου ?
 κληρ]ονόμος

A M. Aur. Faustinus is hyphepharch in *C.I.G.* 3665, which probably dates from Severus Alexander, since the Asiarch there mentioned appears as strategos on an unpublished medallion of that emperor in my collection.

13. *Ib.* Round pedestal 0·50 high, 0·51 diam., letters 0·05.

ΟΨΣΙΕΙΩΜΕΝΟC ? Ἀρτεμ]οῦς ἱερώμενος
 ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων

14. Ulubad, outside Circassian house: large fragment of stele with moulding, much worn, apparently a psephisma of Imperial date.

The heading probably read:

Ἀγαθῇ] Τύχη | [ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ, etc.,] εἰσηγ[ησαμένων τῶν ἀρχόντων
 πάντων, γραμματεῦ]οντος, etc., cf. Ditt. *Syll.*² 365, time of Caligula.

15. Ulubad, in a Greek house wall: slab 0·46 × 0·33, letters irregular, possibly texts from scripture, cf. Ramsay, *C. B. Phrygia*, Nos. 674—6.

ΑΛΙΔΙΝΙC
 ΕΙCΥΜΡ
 ΤΟΥΘΥC
 ΦΡΙΞΟΝΤ
 ΚΛΔΥCΟΝΒΛΕΠ
 CΤΟΥΒΙΟΥΔΡΟΝ
 CΚΟΤΟCΚΑΤΟ
 ΤΕCΙCΙCΚΕ
 ΜCΤΟΝΔΝΕ
 ΥΤΙCΟΥCΙ

16. Issiz Han, left of entrance : in well cut letters 0·06 high.

ΘΓΕΝΟΝΤΟΘΓΝΗΛΙΝ

17. Aboulliond, pavement of street : fragment, letters, 0·03.

ΜΑΡΕ	Μαρε[ῖνος : 'Ερμο-
ΓΑΚΑΙΙΩΙ	γά ? καὶ - - - [Δε-
ΚΑΠΟΥΣΤ	κάπους τ[ὴν στο-
ΑΝΣΥΝΠΑ	ὰν σὺν πα[ρα-
ΕΥΗΕΚΤΩ	σκ[ευῇ ἐκ τῶ[ν
ΝΕΣΤ	ιδίων ἀ]νέστ[ησεν.

18. *Ab.* Small base in wall on the southern shore of the island.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗΙ	'Αγαθῇ Τύχηι
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΙ	Αὐτοκράτορι Καί-
ΣΑΡΙΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΙ	σαρι 'Αδριανῶι
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΣΩΤΗ	'Ολυμπίωι σωτῇ-
ΡΙΚΑΙΚΤΙΣΤΗ	ρι καὶ κτίστη.

In line 4 ΤΗ in monogram.

A similar inscription from Aboulliond is published in *J.H.S.* xvii, 270 (11). The formula is common all over the district, which is rich in Hadrianic associations.

19. Tchamandra Chiflik, on the left bank of the Macestus above Mihalitch : banquet stele 0·34 × 0·64, letters 0·02.

ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗ	Μενεκράτη
ΑΓΙΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΕ	'Αγίου χαίρε.

Before the house stand two large Corinthian capitals of fairly good style, which were found, like the stele, on the spot. The mile-stone found here by Perrot (*Galatie*, i, 99, (62)), suggests that the road from Cyzicus to Lopadium crossed the river at this point: there is still a road from Tchamandra by Top-hissar, (where the northern tributary of the Tarsius is crossed by a Byzantine or early Turkish bridge) and Akchebunar to Panderma; but there is no ford at Tchamandra: the site may represent the *Mandrae* of Hierocles.

Ergileh, near the south-east corner of Lake Manyas: The following stelai, all found just above the village, are interesting evidence of the state of Greek culture in the Cyzicene: the work is quite equal to that of the average stelai from Cyzicus, and the names without exception Greek. The name Ergileh suggests Heraclea (cf. Eregli).

20. Broken banquet stele 0·45 × 0·55, letters 0·03.

ΦΕΞΗΔΟΣΤΗΣΕΦΕΞΙΟΥ	Ε]φεσηίδος τῆς 'Εφεσίου
-------------------	-------------------------

21. Do. 0·47 × 0·40, letters 0·02.

ΑΡΤΕΜΩΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΟΥ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Ἀρτεμὼ Μενεκράτου
χαῖρε.

22. Do. 0·75 × 0·57, letters 0·03.

ΜΟΣΣΧΙΟΝ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

Μόσσχιον
Διοδώρου
χαῖρε.

23. Do. 0·61 × 0·48, letters 0·02.

ΠΟΛΛΩΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΕΘΕΩΝΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΝΙΕΘΕΩΝΜΕΙΔΙΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΟΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ .

Ἀ]πολλώ- Διονύσιε Θεών Διονυσίου
νιε Θεών- Μειδίου χαῖρε.
ος χαῖρε. χαῖρε.

24. Stele with two reliefs (broken on both sides) 0·75 × 0·29, letters 0·015.

(relief of banquet scene)

ΣΚΛΗΠ
ΕΝΑΝΑ

Ἀ]σκληπ[ᾶ
Μ]ενάνδ[ρου]

(relief of two persons seated
facing a stele between them)

ΣΚΛΗΠΑΔΗΜ
ΑΙΡΕΚΑΙΣ . ΓΕΩ
ΑΡΗΣΟΤΙΤΟΥ
Ι ΣΕΜΟΙΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ
ΣΕΒΙΗΣ

Ἀ]σκληπαᾶ Δημ[ητρίου]
χ]αῖρε· καὶ σ[ύ] γε, ὦ [παροδείτα,
χ]άρης ὅτι τοῦ[το τὸ σεμνὸν
εἶπε]ς ἐμοὶ χαίρειν [εἵνεκεν
εὐ]σεβίης.

25. Eski Manyas castle: built into the wall, slab, left of entrance, letters 0·02.

ΟΦΟΨΣΛΚΟΛΟΥ . . . Ν
ΤΗΚΛΑΨΔΙΟΨΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ
· ΣΕΙΠΡΟΣΗΝΟΥΚΕΦΗΚΑΝ .

φιλοσ]όφους ἀκολου[θοῦ]ν[τας
· . . τῇ Κλαυδίου Ξενοφών[τος
διαχω?]ρίσει πρὸς ἣν οὐκ ἐφῆκαν.

In line 3 ΗΝ, ΗΚ are ligatured, Υ placed inside Ο. ΤΗ perhaps represents a lapidary's confusion of ΤΗ ΤΙ.

Philosophers are mentioned also at Apollonia (*J.H.S.* xvii, 268, 5) and in another inscription from Eski Manyas (*Rev. Arch.* N.S. xxxiv, 102, 7). The latter stone is now built into the wall of the mosque. My copy supplies Ν

at the end of line 4, and reads ΗΣ for ΗΕ in line 7, and \ΣΤΑΞΕΩΣ in line 9. The inscription perhaps read ? Μαγνίλλη]ς φιλοσό[φου] θυγάτερα [εἰς τῇ]ν πατρίδα εὐ[σεβείαν καὶ φι]λοτειμίαν ἐνδειξαμένην, τοῦ ἀνδριά[ντος πλησίον ?] τῆς μητρὸς αὐ[τῆς, δημ]οσίᾳ ἐπιμεληθῆ[ντος τῆς ἀν]αστάσεως το[ῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ δέινος.

26. Hodja Bunar, west wall of church : funeral banquet stele, 0·67 × 0·47, letters 0·02.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕ ΞΕΝΩΝΟΣ
ΑΙΡ

Δημήτριε Ξένωνος
χ]αῖρ[ε.

27. *Il.* Wall of chapel of Panagia : broken cippus, about 0·55 diam., letters 0·03.

ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ
Υ. ΠΙΟΥΑΜΑΡΑΝ
Ο. ΟΚΑΤΕΚΕΥΑ
ΕΕΝΕ . . ΤΩΖΩ. ς

῾Υπόμνημα
Ο]ὐ[λ]πίου ῾Αμαραν[τ-
ο[ῦ] ὁ κατεσκεύα-
σεν ἐ[αυ]τῷ ζῶν.

28. *Il.* Garden of private house : stele 0·80 × 0·30, broken on both sides and below, said to have been found on the spot : in the pediment is carved a female bust in relief : below relief of (l.) tree with eagle (r.) Zeus in himation, holding hasta with left hand, and extending patera over altar with right.

ΣΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΙΠ
ΟΥΕΠΗΝΓΕΙ . . Τ
ΙΚΑΙΤΟ

ἐπὶ Δρού]σου Καίσαρος ἱπ[πάρ-
χου ἐπηγγείλατ[ο
Δι]ὲ καὶ το[ῖς κωμήταις ?

The form ἱππάρχου is without precedent at Cyzicus, but traces of a possible χ remain in l. 2.

The hipparch is probably the son of Germanicus, of whose official career we have no record (cf. Dessau, *Prosopographia*, ii, 177). He seems to have held some office in Asia from *C.I.G.* 3452, 3612, *C.I.L.* iii, 380. At the date of his father's tour in Asia (A.D. 18) he cannot have been more than ten years old, so that the hipparchate probably falls rather between 25, when he was appointed praefectus urbis, and 33, when he was murdered by Tiberius : his brother Caligula held the same office at Cyzicus in 37 (Ditt. *Syll.*² 365).

29. Sari-Keui Zeleia) in a café : cippus 0·75 high, 0·58 diam., letters 0·04.

ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ
ΚΑΛΛΙΘΕΝΟΨΕ
ΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΕΝΟΥΣ
ΤΕΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ
ΕΑΥΤΩ

῾Υπόμνημα
Καλλισθένους
τ]οῦ Καλλισθένους
ὁ κα]τεσκεύασεν
ἐαυτῷ.

Here also I saw a native copy of a stone reading *Θέσις Ὀλυνπίου*.

At Gonen I was shewn by M. Spirakis a copy of a sepulchral inscription from the neighbourhood beginning *Ἐπόμνημα Νικηφόρου τοῦ Μοσχίου*, which is now on its way to the Imperial Museum viâ Brusa. I note it here for the sake of recording its provenance.

30. Hammamli (above Cyzicus), house of Sali : cippus 0·85 high, 0·47 diam., letters 0·02.

ΟΜΝΗΜΑ
ΜΗ ΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥ
ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΚΑΙΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΣΑΥΤ
ΤΟΥ ΜΟΣΧΙΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ

Ἐπὶ ὀμνημα
Μη[ν]οδώρου τοῦ
Μηνοδώρου
καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐ-
τοῦ Μοσχίου
τῆς Μηνοδώρου
χαίρετε.

31. Harakhi (Kapu Dagħ), about an hour above the village on a spur of Klapsi : rough boulder, inscribed in large letters (the P is 0·27 high).

ΟΡΟΣ
Α Θ

ὄρος
Ἀθ(ηνᾶς ?)

I saw no marble or worked blocks of any sort, so the stone may mark the boundary of a person unknown.

Other evidence points to a small ancient site at Harakhi. I was shewn in a café a fragment of a poor stele of Artemis with torch (a dedication to the *θεὰ φωσφόρος* from Porto Palio is published in *Ath. Mitth.* ix. 63) and a small relief of Zeus is built into the wall of the school. I was told also that a marble statuette of Pan and slab graves had been found ; slight remains of a Byzantine castle crown the headland above the village. The name suggests *Χαράκιον*, though De Rustafjaell calls the place Heraclea (*J.H.S.* xxiii. 175) ; this is probably on the authority of local antiquaries, who attribute the settlement to Cretans from Heracleum ; there is, so far as I know, no other evidence for the supposition.

32. Katatopo⁶ (Kapu Dagħ). Built into belfry of church (S. Basil), relief of three Graces, flanked by youthful Erotes holding drapery ; the composition is gracefully balanced and the work good : below (letters about 0 04)

ΟΔΟΝΚΑΛΗΝΒΑΔΙΖΕΚΑΙΜΕΜΝΗΣΟΜΟΥ

ὁδὸν καλὴν βᾶδιζε καὶ μέμνησό μου.

ME and MNH are ligatured.

⁶ Katatopo is the *Shaitanly* of Kiepert's map. Similarly Langâda = Kodja Burgaz and Diavathy Shahin Burgaz.

33. *Ib.* Ch. of the Panagia Decapedistria: fragment built into W. wall, letters 0·04.

WYWΣIWIMWC

τ]ϕ̂ υ̂ϕ̂ Ζω[σ]ίμω

MW are ligatured; a ligatured C after W may have escaped me.

A worn slab in the same church bears fragments of two lines of letters 0·10 high apparently NVSVO | ASIAT.

Ib. Fragments of door jambs inscribed with columns of letters 0·04 high, twice published by Dr. Mordtmann from copies by Dr. Limnios *Ath. Mitth.* ix. 27. (31). The letters are now free from plaster, which I imagine to have been Limnios' difficulty, and easily legible.

(a) . . ωι μὲν ὅπως εὖρο . . .

(b) ἐτῶν αὐ' (!) τοῦ . . .

34. Monastery of S. George, Egri-dere, (Kapu Dagh): marble slab 0·82 × 0·50, with irregular Byzantine lettering.

+ΘΕCICAYPICTE

+θέσις Αὐρ(η). Τε[ύκρου?

ΤΕΥC

ΚΑΙΤΗCCONNBIOYAY

καὶ τῆς σ(υ)νβίου αὐτ(ο)ῦ.

ΓΥΡΙΙCΝ

?

ΘΕCICΔΙΑΦΕΡῶCΑῖ

θέσις διαφέρουσα Σ(π)υρ(ίδω)ν[ος?

STICCVNBIOYAYC

(καὶ) τ(ῆ)ς συνβίου αὐτο(ῦ)

STONKAIPOH

(καὶ) τ(ῶ)ν κλ(η)ρον[όμων

The church is probably that mentioned in *Acta Patriarchatus* II. 110: a dedication of a well-head dated 1721 shews that the building has only lately been allowed to fall into its present dilapidated state.

35. Langada (Kapu Dagh), church of Coemesis: fragment 0·36 × 0·43, letters 0·03 — 0·025.

ΙΖΗΛΟ

ἰρ]ιζηλο

ΕΤΗΝΘΥΜΩΒΑ

ετην θύμω βα

ΣΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙC

σ ἀθανάτοις

ΕCΑΡΚΟΒΟΡΟΝC

ε σαρκοβόρον μ . . .

ΩΜΑΤΟΛΑΙΝΕΟΝ

π]ῶμα τὸ λαίνεον μ . . .

ΑΛΟΝΤΛΑΙΗΤΙCΕΜ

μηδ' ἄ]λλον τλαίη τις ἐμ[οῦ χωρὶς καταθέσθαι?

ΠΑΗΝΠΑΥΛΗCΠΗ

πλήν Παύλης π . . .

ΔΕΤΙCΑΝΤΙΑΡΕΞΗΑΚ

εἰ]δέ τις ἄντια ῥέξη ἀκ

ΚΑΙΤΕΙCΕΙΠΑΤΡΗΩ

καὶ τείσει πατρ'ίω τ[αμειώ

Ligatures ΤΝΗ in l. 2, ΝΕ in l. 5, ΝΤ in l. 7, ΗΩ l. 8. The lower half of the last line has been broken away; for the threat in verse, cf. Ramsay *C.B. Phrygia* No. 657.

36. *Ib.* Block in floor 0·37 × 0·23, letters 0·03.

ΑΒΑΣΚΑΝΤΟ Ἀβάσκαντο[ς

37. *Ib.* Outside in wall.

+ CYME + Συμέ[ων

38. *Ib.* House opposite church: banquet stele 0·52 × 0·53, letters 0·02.

ΚΛΕΩΝΟΣ ΛΕΜΟ Κλέωνος [τοῦ Τληπο?]λέμο[ν.
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΣΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ Διονυσίας τῆς Ἀρχοντος.

Ib. Ch. of St. Athanasius: sarcophagus fragments.

39. Letters 0·04.

ΛΛΙΔΙ ? Φύ]λλιδι
ΣΙΜΙΤ ? Ὀνη]σίμ(η)
ΧΡΥΣΟ Χρυσο[θέμιδι
ΥΙΟΛΙΜ υἱῷ Δ(η)μ[ητρίῳ

l. 4 is fragmentary.

40. Letters 0·04.

ΥΠΟΙ Ὑπόμ[νημα
ΑΥΙΣΟΥ Αὔ(ρ) Ου
ΑΡΤΟΙ ἀρτοπ[ώλου

41. Letters 0·07.

ΝΒΛΗ ? ἕτερο]ν βλη[θῆναι πλὴν
ΣΚ Θ . . α]ς κ'έ)
ΠΗΡΕΤΗΣΕ ὑπερέτη Σε[βήρω ?

ΠΗ and ΗΣ are ligatured.

Monastery of Panagia Galatiane,⁷ Calami (Kapu Daglı): sarcophagus fragments.

⁷ The title of the Virgin is derived from the 'milkstone' which forms the chief attraction of the church. The ancient magnificence of

the latter is attested by remains of a marble tessellated pavement.

42. 0.68×0.34 , letters 0.035.

ΜΑ
ΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣΑΥΤΟΥ
ΚΝΩΝΑΥΤΩΝΛΑΝΤΩΝΙ
ΠΟΥΚΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ
ΟΙΣΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ

Ἐπόμνη]μα
τοῦ δέλτος καὶ τῇ]ς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ . . .
καὶ τῶν τέ]κνων αὐτῶν Λ. Ἀντωνί[ου
? Φιλίπ]που κ(ἐ) Λ. Ἀντωνίου [. . .
καὶ] οἷς Λ. Ἀντώνιος [ἐπιτρέψει
τοῖς δὲ ἄλλ]οις ἀπαγορεύω εἰ[δέ τις, etc.

In line 3 ΝΤ is ligatured: l. 6 is restored from very distinct remains of the tops of the letters.

43. 0.62×0.34 , letters 0.05.

ΛΛΝΕΑ
ΚΛΔΗΜΟΚΡ
ΥΩΕΙΔΕΤΟΛΜ
ΕΙΤΩΙΕΡΩΤ
ΩΝΑΛΙΕΩΝΧ
ΕΤΥΜΒΩΡ

ὃ κατεσκε]ύασεν ἐα[υτῷ
καὶ] Κλ. Δημοκρ[ίτῳ
τῷ] ὑῷ· εἰ δὲ πολμ[ήσει, etc.
δῶ]σει τῷ ἱερῳτ[άτῳ συνεδρίῳ
τ]ῶν ἀλιέων (δην.)[- - καὶ ὑπεύθυνος
ἔστω τῷ τῇ]ς τυμβωρυ[χίας νόμῳ

Besides the fishers, guilds of fullers (*Ath. Mitth.* vii. 251 (19)), weighhouse porters (*Ath. Mitth.* vi. 125, 8), and harbour porters (*Syll.* vii. 164, 4) are known at Cyzicus.

44. *Ib.* 0.52×0.31 , letters 0.07.

(a) ΛΗ . . . Η
ΚΕΥΑΕΝΕ
ΤΙΣΤΟΛΜΗΣΓ
(ΜΗΕ ligatured)

(b) ΑΙΛΛ
ΕΙΝΕΙΑ
(NE ligatured)

Ἐπόμνημα] Αὐρ? . .
ὃ κ]ατεσκεύασεν ἐ[αυτῷ καὶ τοῖς
γονεῦ]σιν. εἰ δέ τις πολμήσει[ι

45. *Ib.* Letters 0.10.

ΗΣΣΥΜΒ
ΔΙΟ

τ]ῆς συμβ[ίλου
. . Διο . .

46. *Ib.* Outside church: slab 0.80×0.50 , letters 0.6.

ΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ
ΛΟΧΟΙ
ΟΧΤΟΧΓ
ΣΚΑΙΤΩ
ΟΙΣΔΕΛΧΠΟ

Ἐπόμνημα
Παύ]λον δ κ]ατεσκεύασεν
ἡ τ]ούτου γ[υνή
]ς καὶ τῷ] ὑῷ
τ]οῖς δὲ λ[οι]πο[ῖς ἀγορεύω

47. Diavathy (Kapu Dag), in church (S. George): Fragment, 0·45 x 0·60, letters 0·6.

ΑΥΚ·ΛΛ
ΚΠΩΛΛΙΑΝΩΚ
ΕΥΩΕΙΔΕΤΙΣ
ΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΧΑ
ΥΘΥΝΟΣΕ

κ(ε) Πωλλιανῶ κ[αὶ τοῖς
λοιποῖς ἀγορ]εύω· εἰ δέ τις [τολμήσει, etc.
δώσει τῇ γ[ερουσίᾳ (δην.) Α, [καὶ
ὑπ]εύθυνος ἔ[σται, etc.

The gerousia at Cyzicus is elsewhere only known from the gravestone of a gerousiast *C.I.G.* 3687.

48. *Ib.* Large slab forming step to sanctuary, letters 0·035.

ΠΠΕΤ...ΟΙ Ι ΙΟΠΠ
ΕΠΟΥΡΑΝ...ΝΚΑΙΤΩΝΚ
ΝΙΩΝΘΕΩΝ. ΕΧΟΛΩ
ΧΟΙΤΟΚΑΙΕΠΑΡΑΤΟΣ
ΤΟΣΤΕΚΑΙΓΕΝΟΣΤΟΕΞΑΥΤΟΥ

[. . ἡ μετάρη τὸ μνημεῖον? τῶν τε]
ἐπουραν[ίω]ν καὶ τῶν κ[ατα]χθο-
νίων θεῶν [κ]εχολω[μένων τυ]-
χοιτο καὶ ἐπάρατος [ἔστω αὐ]-
τός τε καὶ γένος τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

For the formula cf. *Papery Amer. Sch.* II. 31 (28), 32 (29, 30), 237 (216): Ramsay *C.B. Phrygia*, 1, 157 (67). It varies between θεοὺς . . . ἔχοιτο and θεῶν . . . τύχοι or τύχοιτον.

49. Mihaniona, by S. Nicholas Molos: broken banquet stele, letters 0·15 in (a), 0·25 in (b).

(a) ΔΙΟΔ.ΡΕ
ΔΑΟΥ ΧΙΡΕ

(b) ΕΜΒΙΛΕ
ΔΑΟΥ ΧΑΙΡ
Μ...ΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ

(a) Διόδ[ω]ρε
Δάου χ(α)ῖρε.

(b) Ἐμβίλε
Δάου χαῖρ[ε].
Μ[έν]ανδρος
Μενάνδρου.

Daos is a common Phrygian name, and an epithet of Zeus in Ramsay *C.B. Phrygia*, 1, 2, 566 (468): Suidas says that it was the Phrygian for *wolf*, cf. Apollo Lycius, etc.

For Embilos cf. the river god Ἐμβειλος mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3700: which was found at Panderma; so the river is not likely to be the Tuzla Chai (as Ramsay and Tomaschek on Anna Comnena, xiv. 5, Ἐμπηλος), but more probably the Aesepus, which is personified on Cyzicene coins, and had a cultus⁸; Aesepus also occurs as a name in Michel, 532 (Cyzicus).

⁸ Aristid. 1. 570 Dind.

50. Peramo, at the Greek school: banquet stele 0.67×0.75 , letters 0.02

ΑΙΑΘΑΡΧΟΥ	Ἀγαθάρχου
ΤΟΥ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ	τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου.

51. *Ib.* Large stele 0.85×0.40 , shewing

five worshippers	Artemis in	Apollo
leading victim	short chiton	Citharoedus
to altar.	holding patera	holding
	r. and torch l.	lyre l. and
		patera r.

below, letters 0.012.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ	Διονύσιος Ἡροδότου,
ΙΣΟΩΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΟΥ	μισθωσάμενος Προθύμου
ΕΜΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ ΠΕΔΙΑΝΗ	Ἄρτ]εμᾶ, Ἀρτέμιδι Πεδιανῇ
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχήν.

This stele was said to be from the monastery of S. Theodore (between Peramo and Koum-liman) where we found the upper half of a similar stele. A votive stele of Artemis from Ermeni Keui is published in *Ath. Mittl.* x. 200 (31). Artemis monuments from Cyzicus are collected in *J.H.S.* xxiii. 86 (38).

52. *Ib.* Lower half of prytany list (?) with moulding 0.33×0.43 , the upper part erased and used for later gravestone, letters 0.015.

Τ

ΤΕΣΣΑΡΩΝΕΙΩ

ΜΝΗΜΗCΧΡΙΝ

Λ. Σ ΟΥ

ΑΛΟΚ. ΗΙΟ. ΝΕΙΚΙ ΦΟΙΟΣ

ΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟ

ΖΗΛΑ ΘΟΚΑΙΖΩΙΛΟΣ

ΦΙΛΟΞΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ

ΜΗΟΔΩΡΟΣ Θ

ΜΕΙΑΗΤΟΣ ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΣ

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΜΕΝΕΜΑΧΟΥ

ΕΥΕΛΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟ

ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ Θ

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΑΡΣ

ΜΟΥΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣΘΑΛΛΟΣ

ΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ

ΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΔΑΡΔΑΝΟΣ

ΜΟΥΛΠΙΟΣ ΟΗΣΙΜΟΣ

α. τ

τεσσάρων ἐτῶ[ν
μνήμης χάριν

β.

Α. Δοκ[κ]ήϊο[ς] Νεικ[η]φόρος
Ζήλα β' ὁ καὶ Ζώϊλος
Μηνόδωρος β'
Διονύσιος Μενεμάχου
Διοκλῆς β'
Μ. Οὔλ(πιος) Ἀντώνιος Θάλλος
Τ. Ἰούλιος Δάρδανος
Μ. Οὔλπιος Ὀνήσιμος

Γ. Ἰούλιος Ἰουλιανοῦ
Φιλότε(ιμος) Ἀλέξανδρος
Μείλητος Τρόφιμος
Εὐέλπιστος Τρόφιμος
Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρ-
τεμιδώρου

(α) is little better than a graffito.

53. Monastery of S. George, Koum Liman : slab 0·80 × 0·52, rude letters about 0·05 high.

ΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΑ

ΤΑΚΙΤΕΗΟCΙ

ΑΝΗΡΗΜΟΝΕΥΦ

ΡΟCΥΝΙΚΥΜΙΘΙCΑ

ἐνθαδε κα-

τάκιτε ἡ ὁσί-

α (μήτηρ) ἡμ(ῶ)ν Εὐφ-

ροσύν(η) κ(οι)μ(η)θίσα.

54. Kurshunlu (Kara Dagħ). Monastery of Panagia τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ :⁹ fragment of sarcophagus 0·37 × 0·66, letters 0·045.

ΛΙΡ~ΑΣΚΛΗΠ

ΤΟΛΜΗΣΗΕΤΕΡΟ

ΧΒΦΤΟΝΔΕ~

ΒΑΛ~ΣΕΒΗ~

Α] ὕρ. Ἀσκληπ[ιάδου
εἰ δέ τις] τολμήσῃ ἕτερο[ν καταθέσθαι
δώσει εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον ?] (δην.) βφ', τὸν δὲ [τοῦτου
κληρονόμον ?] Βαλ. Σεβηρε[ῖνον

ME ligatured.

⁹ Cf. *Vita Theophanis* ed. De Boor. The monastery was important in Byzantine times, as the massive precinct wall with its fortified gateway, and the remains of a marble pavement in the church attest. Fragments of two marble lions which I saw on the spot suggest that it was the seat of the Μήτηρ Πλακιανή (C.I.G. 3657, *Ath. Mitt.* vii. 152), though the the town of Placia can hardly have stood here:

the Kara Dagħ slopes at this point right down to the sea, leaving no room for tillage, and Kurshunlu ekes out a living by the export of charcoal to Constantinople. The tradition that the miraculous picture of Kurshunlu was removed to the monastery of the Panagia Phaneioméne of Kapu Dagħ is a pretty parallel for the transference of Placiané to Cyzicus.

55. *Ib.* By the door : sarcophagus slab 1.75×0.83 , letters about 0.07.

ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ
ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΡΑΧΣ

ὑπόμνημα
Παύλου Paxs

56. *Ib.* Fragment letters 0.03.

ΑΥΡΛΜΑΙϚ

Αὐρ. Μαίολ[ρος]

57. Yenije Kurshunlu, in church : marble block 0.52 high \times 0.50×50 , supporting the holy table ; fine letters of early fourth century, 0.025 high and widely spaced.

ΚΤΗΞΙΑΞ
ΒΙΑΝΟΡΙΔΟ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΞ

Κτησίας
Βιανορίδο
Ἀθηναῖος.

58. Monastery of St. Anna, east of Yenije : stele in two fragments, (letters 0.02) :—

a. (inside the church) 0.56×0.65 : reliefs, (above) banquet scene, (between ll. 2–3) three pipers seated.

ΑΙΟΙΜΕΤΑΑΛ
ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡ
ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣΠΑΡ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣΔΗΜΗ
ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝΑΣΚΗ
ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣΜ
ΕΝΕΚ . Λ

Θιασεῖται οἱ μετὰ Ἀσκληπιάδου ?
τοῦ Μητροδώρου
Παρμενίσκος Παρ[μενίσκου]
Μένανδρος Δημη[τρίου]
Ποτάμων Ἀσκλη[ηπιάδου]
Ἀσκληπιάδης Μ . .
Ἠγίας ? Μ]ενεκ[ρ]ά[τους]

b. (built into wall, right of door) 0.37×0.25 .

ΗΙΙ
ΜΕΝΕ
ΜΗΤΡΟ
ΜΗΝΟΦΑΝΗ . . . ΙΤΗ
ΜΕΛΕΑΓ . ΟΣΑΣΚΛ
ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣΔΑΙΚΛΕΙ
ΜΗΝΟΦΑΝΗΣΑΣΚΛΗΠ
ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣΜΗΝΟΦΑΝΟ
ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣΠΑΡΜ

Ἠγί[ας] ?
Μενε[κράτης] ?
Μητρό[δωρος]
Μηνοφάνη[ς . . .]ιτη
Μελέαγ[ρ]ος Ἀσκλη[ηπᾶ] ?
Μενόφιλος Δαῖκλει[ους]
Μηνοφάνης Ἀσκληπ[ᾶ]
Εὐβουλος Μηνοφάνο[υ]
Μηνόφιλος Παρμ[ενίσκου]

Similar stelai with reliefs representing the banquet of a religious society are to be found in the British Museum (*B.M. Sculp.* i. 817,

B.C.H. xvii. 520 (1) = *ib.* xxiii. pl. iv.) where a lower register shews banqueters, pipers, and dancers, *B.C.H.* xvii. 545, 32 (Triglia) Conze *Lesbos*, pl. xix. The pediment of *C.I.G.* 3699 (Panderma) contains a much mutilated relief of similar character, and an inscription from Sarikeui (*Rev. Arch.* 1891, 10) commemorates the contributions of the members: they are variously called *θιασεῖται* (Conze *Lesbos*, pll. xviii. xix., *B.C.H.* xvii. 545 (32), Latyshev, 365) *θεραπευταί* (*Syllogos*, vii. 164, 6, *Rev. Arch.*, N.S. xxxvi., 257, both Serapis monuments from Cyzicus) *θυσιασταί* (Dumont *Inscr. de Thrace*, p. 442, 110^b. 4) . *εραὶ οἱ μετὰ* *B.C.H.* xii. 195 (5) (Hammamli by Manyas).

59. *Ib.* Two fragments, letters 0·0225, breadth 0·024 with moulding.

(a) 0·051 high.

Above—cross on orb, in angles of cross $\overline{\Phi} \overline{\chi} \overline{\Phi} \overline{\Pi}$ (*φείσον Χριστέ, φείσον Παναγία*?)

ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑΤΕΝ
ΛΩΥΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΡ
ΣΚΥΤΑΡΚΙΟΥ

ένταῦθα τήν | χοῦν καὶ τὸ θυ[ῆ]σκον
σαρκίου

(b) 0·048 high.

ΝΕΙ
ΑΓΟΥΣΑΠΕΜΠ
ΕΒΔΟΜΑΣΤΗ
ΗΜΕΡΑΝ
ΕΚΉΧΙΛΙΑΣ
ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΣ
ΗΠΕΜΠΤΗ

. | ἄγουσα πέμπτην ἐβδομὰς
τ(ῆ)ν | ἡμέραν | ἕκτη χιλιάς | ἑκατον-
τάς | ἡ πέμπτη.

60. *Ib.* Fragment letters 0·03.

ΤΟΣ
ΤΟΝΘ
ΕΓΕΝΕΤ
ΕΓΕΝΤΟΘ
ΕΝΘΑΚ,
ΞΑΝΔΡΙΑΠ,
ΑΝΝΟΥΕΠΙ
Υ

. .
. . . .
ἐγένετ[ο
. . . . θ
ἐνθα κα[τάκειται] Ἀλε-
ξανδρία πι[στὴ γυνὴ] Ἰω-
άννου ἐπι[στολαρ-
ίω]ν ?

lb. Fragments of sarcophagi, letters 0·10.

(a) . . . AMMA . . . (b) MA (c) \ΙΝΑΡΙ = Ἀπολ]λιναρ[ί]ου

61. *Ib.* Slab with fillet in relief.

ΣΙΗΛΑΜΟΣΧΙΟΝ
ΧΑΗ

? Κα]σπία Μόσχιον.
χαῖρ[ε].

*Inscriptions discovered by Mr. Henderson during the continuance of the survey of Cyzicus in 1903.*¹⁰

62. Yem Keui : fragment of Proxenia stele 0·30 × 0·20 × 0·06, with head of Persephone and tunny in medallion, below

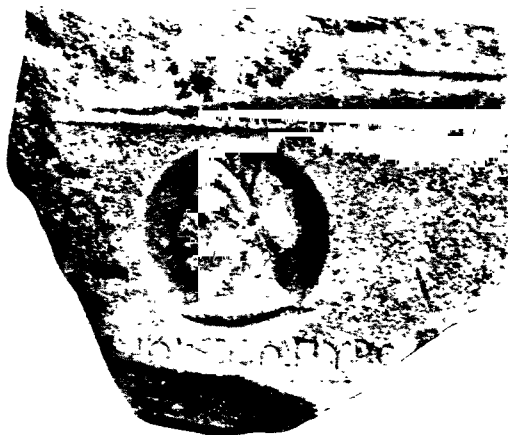


FIG. 3.—FRAGMENT OF STELE FROM CYZICUS.



FIG. 4.

? Πόλις τοῖς ἐκγό]νοις Ζωπύρο
? ἔδωκε τιμὰς τὰ]ς γεγ[ραμμένας

The design of the medallion is already well known from the coins of Cyzicus (cp. Fig. 4 from the Ward Collection No. 608). The later arms (the altar of Persephone, cf. *Ath. Mitth.* xviii 355 ff., *C.I.G.* 2158, and a sketch from Cyriac in Rubensohn, *Mysterienheilighümer* p. 166) correspond to the torch substituted for the tunny as mintmark on the coins (cf. Müller *Monn. d'Alex.* p. 223).

Many other examples of Proxenia stelai with heraldic headings, all dating from the 4th–3rd century B.C., are quoted in *Ath. Mitth.* xviii. 355.,

¹⁰ Published from photographs and impressions communicated to me by the finder, who very kindly undertook on my behalf a short journey into the Manyas plain. No. 62, by the

courteous permission of the Director of the Imperial Museum, remains in Mr. Henderson's possession.

B.C.H. xiii. 515, *ib.* xx. 549. See also *A.-E.M.* vi. 36, pl. III.¹¹ Our closest parallel is the Panticapæan stele from Cyzicus (*B.C.H.* xiii. 515, pl. IX. = *Ath. Mitth.* vi. 121 = *Tchinly Kiosk Out. Sculpt.* 114).

For the terms of the decree we may compare the simple formula of the Cyzicene Michel 532. Πόλις (Μανῆ τῶι) Μηδίκεω καὶ τοῖσιν Αἰσήπου παισὶν καὶ τοῖσιν ἐκγόνοισιν ἀτελείην etc.

63. Cyzicus, lower road : 0·46 × 0·25 × 0·13, letters 0·02.

ΕΙΝΟΣ
ΕΜΙΣΘΩΣΑΤΟΘΕΟΔΟΣ
ΗΓΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΥΤ ΧΟΥΤ
ΝΟΥ ΡΓΥΑΣΟΚΤΩΣ ΤΗ
ΕΚΑΤΟΙΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΜΗΝΙ
ΥΛΧΟΙΡ'ΛΟΣΔΟ Ν ΙΟΡ
ΟΚΛ ΙΕΝ

μηνὸς Θ[αργηλιῶνος ?
ἐμισθώσατο Θεόδο[τ]ος
Ἡγησάνδρου τοῦ τ[οι]χου τοῦ
ἑωθινοῦ [ὁ]ργύας ὀκτὼ στατή[ρων]
ἐκατὸ[ν] πεν[τή]κοντα ἐμμ[ήνου] ?
ἐγγύω Χοιρίλος Ἀθ[η]ν[αγ]όρου
. . . σ Θε[οκλ]υμ[έν]ου

μ in μηνὸς and θι in ἑωθινοῦ are plainly visible in Mr. Henderson's photograph.

This inscription is couched in similar terms to those of *Rev. Arch. N.S.* xxx. p. 93. = Michel 596 :

ἐμισθώσατο Τεῦκρος Διοδότου τὸμ πύργον οἰκοδομήσαι στατήρων τετρακοσίων τεσσάρωντα ἔγγυος etc.,

which was found clamped to the eastern wall of the city, and dates, like the present record, from the first half of the fourth century B.C. The τοῖχος, considering the price and formulae, must surely be that of some public building. I can find no example of τοῖχος = τεῖχος, which would otherwise be a tempting solution.

64. On the Panderma-Erdek road : slab 0·94 × 0·36, with large irregular letters, 0·04—0·05 high.

ΝΑΥΚΛΗΡΟΕ
ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙ
ΤΟΞΕΡΜΙΟΝ

ναύκληρο(ς)
Ἐπαφρόδει-
τος Ἑρμιον-

¹¹ The Cyzicene inscription restored as a pro-xenia decree in favour of Pan Agrios (Michel 533) has been shewn (*Num. Chron.* 1899, p. 1

to belong rather to the class of stelai with armorial bearings ; the *goat*, formerly associated with Pan, is the arms of Antandros.

ΕΥΣΤΗCΑΧ	εὐς τῆς Ἀχ·
ΙΕΙΑCΕΠΙ	(α)ίας ἐπι-
ΓΑΜΙΑΝ	γαμίαν
ΠΙΝCΑΜΕ	π]οι(η)σάμε-
ΠCΕΝCΕΛΕΥ	υ]ος ἐν Σελευ-
ΙΑΤΗCΙCΑΥΡΙΑC	κί]α τῆς Ἰσαυρίας
ΠΛΑΕΤΗΑΠΟΔΗ	π]ολ(λ)ὰ ἔτη ἀποδη-
ΗCΑΕΝΚΥΖΙΚΩ	μ]ήσα(ς) ἐν Κυζίκῳ
ΤΕΛΕΥΤΟΥΝ	ἐ]τελεύτουν.

65. Hajji Pavôni¹² (near Manyas) built into church wall: banquet stele
0·62 × 0·50, letters, 0·015.

ΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΕ	Ἀρ]τεμίδωρε
ΡΤΕΜΙ ΩΡΟΥ	Ἀρτ]εμιδώρου
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χ]αῖρε

66. *Il. Do.* 0·66 × 0·34, letters, 0·015.

ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΕ	ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΕ	Μένανδρε	Μελέαγρε
ΡΩΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ	ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Π]ρωτομάχου	Μενάνδρου
ΧΑΙΡΕ	ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαῖρε.	χαῖρε.

67. Hamnamli by Manyas: block 0·36 × 0·19, letters 0·035.

ΝΝΙΜΑ	Μν'ῆ]μα
ΥΚΑΡ	Εὐκαρ-
ΠΑΣ	π(ί)ας.

F. W. HASLUCK.

¹² 'Adji Bunar' in Kiepert's large map: I heard *Bogoni. Pavoni*, which is the name given to the place by Nicodemus, metropolitan of

Cyzicus, in his *Προλεγόμενα περὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς Κυζίκου* 1876.

DAMOPHON.

AMONG the many genuine works of Greek Sculptors in the Museums of Athens there are three colossal heads and a piece of richly sculptured drapery, more striking perhaps in their originality than any others to be found there. Shortly after their discovery they were published with photographs by the Director of Antiquities, M. Cavvadias, under the title *Fouilles de Lycosura*, Athènes, 1893, and carefully described and appreciated. My excuse in venturing to bring them again to notice is the undeserved neglect with which works of such fine and unexpected quality have been treated.

That the group and the temple in which these fragments were found are those mentioned by Pausanias viii. 37 cannot reasonably be doubted. Equally reasonable, too, was the inference, drawn by the late Prof. Brunn from the various notices by Pausanias, that the author of these works, Damophon of Messene, lived in the first half of the fourth century B.C. But an examination of the fragments themselves has led Carl Robert¹ to attribute them to Imperial times, and in this attribution he has been followed by Overbeck (ii.⁴ p. 429) and others.

The works, it is true, remain the same, whatever date is attributed to them and to their author. But the difference between Damophon, a successor of Pheidias and Polycleitus, and a contemporary of Scopas and Praxiteles, and Damophon, a fellow sculptor with those unnamed workers who carved sarcophagi and made busts of Antinous, is too great not to disturb the judgment of those who examine the works of the latter: it threatens even to suspend all interest in him. Yet the individuality of these fragments discovered at Lycosura is undeniable and they deserve a place in any careful survey of the extant monuments of Greek sculpture.

In examining these fragments we are struck mainly, I think, by three distinctive qualities, viz. by the subtle play of surface due to the sculptor's feeling for texture, by an element in the design which I would venture to call baroque, and by thorough discrimination of character without portraiture. One glance at the drapery fragment (Fig. 1) with its pile-like surface and rich heavy folds is enough to prove Damophon's feeling for texture. The ease with which the members of the decoration are spaced and cut on the rise and fall of the folds is striking, and the mastery with which each element obtains enough of its own texture, without destroying the appearance of the whole as an

¹ *Hermes*, 1894 p. 429.

embroidered stuff, is in strong contrast with the anxious particularization in such works as the Poseidon frieze in Munich or the Nereid frieze from Thermopylae.

In the heads, also, wherever the surface is preserved, a corresponding qual-



FIG. 1.—FRAGMENT OF DRAPERY FROM LYCOSURA. (Nat. Mus. Athens.)

ity is evident. Unfortunately, for good preservation we are confined to the Artemis head (Fig. 2) and in that to the mouth, the chin, and portions of the cheeks. Yet from these alone we can gather what charm the supple and almost velvety skin added to the modelling, full almost to plumpness, but firm and decided in its transitions from plane to plane.

But the extent of Damophon's capacity in handling is shown even better in the hair of the three heads. The habit of the hair in each is distinctive

and appropriate to the age, sex, and nature of each. The surface of the rolls which form the forepart of the 'melonen-frisur' of the Artemis is chiselled into crisply broken waving lines, suggesting the polygonal facets of cut stones. The hair of the Demeter (Fig. 3), drawn back from the forehead in a welling mass on either side, has a fine interrupted striation comparable to that of the hair of the Aphrodite head found on the southern slope of the Acropolis.



FIG. 2.—HEAD OF ARTEMIS. (Nat. Mus. Athens.)

and like that in aiming at the look of hair rather than at the accurate rendering of its structure.

Finally, the irregular locks into which the sturdy hair of the Anytus head (Fig. 4) is cut present another contrast, mainly determined perhaps with a view to light and shade. The locks, though separate, cluster closely to one another and to the frame of the head and face without any of that sharp undercutting and that rope-like texture so characteristic of hair of this type as treated in the Pergamene school (the Alexander head from Pergamum, in the Constantinople Museum) or in the later Attic and Alexandrian schools (the

Asklepios head from the Piraeus, and the Poseidon from Melos, both in the Athens Museum). The element in the design suggested above as baroque appears mainly in the drawing of the lines of the brow, the eyelids, and the lips. These lines project sharply and have a free firm curve, a curve or a series of curves, as strong and as decided as the structures which they render will allow without distortion. In fact, one might say that in the mind of the



FIG. 3.—HEAD OF DEMETER. (Nat. Mus. Athens.)

sculptor there was a conflict between the claims of the features and the claims of his feeling for design; the former, from their supreme importance in the scheme of a head, demanding a cautious and, so to speak, a literal rendering, the latter urging the sculptor to a rapid stroke and to lines interesting by contrast.

Thus, the outer third of the margin of the upper lid curves rapidly backwards and downwards and, in full face, appears to meet the lower lid almost at right angles. The lower lids are in the main horizontal and, together with the frontal ridge which breaks away from its usual parallelism to the upper lid, contrast sharply with the line of the latter.

The mouth of the Artemis, by the flattening of the 'mucous' area of both lips and by the emphasizing of the line of junction of this with the skin, is defined by a sharp edge, which, made strongly convex in the lower lip and in



FIG. 4.—HEAD OF ANYTUS. (Nat. Mus. Athens.)

the upper almost tortuous in its changes of direction, satisfies the sculptor's love for strangeness of design.

It is hardly necessary to do more than point to the Anytus mouth, with the line of the upper lip and moustache and the contrasting curve formed by the edge of the lower lip. This quality of line, the basis of the design of much of the work of the Pergamene and other Asia Minor Schools, is present

slightly in the two heads from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. It is the dominant element in the Asklepios head before-mentioned.

But I am far from suggesting that these Lycosura heads are 'Scopaic.' Damophon, certainly, had had no such training as those ateliers provided which were engaged in the making of nude male statues for dedication as memorials of victories at the great games. The sculptor of the Tegean heads, transcending indeed the mere athletic statue, however fine, had been through that training. The bony substructure is too well felt and lies too deeply at the root of his conception of form to allow of doubt on this point.

The sculptor of the Lycosura heads had indeed sufficient knowledge to build up a figure simply and strongly and on this he proceeds to follow out his conception in the line and with the texture that delight him. An examination of the other fragments of this group, which the kindness of Mr. Castriotis allowed me to make, strengthens this inference.

These remains suggest a man whose practice, whether by choice or necessity, had been mainly confined to the making of temple statues in set pose and of silent dignity.

The elaborate designs on the drapery fragment,—to be found also on other fragments not exhibited,—the statements of Pausanias that several of his statues were acroliths and that he was commissioned to repair the Zeus at Olympia, and possibly also his habit, as shown in these, of putting together his marble statues out of innumerable pieces, will bear this out.

The third distinguishing quality of Damophon's work arises from his thorough discrimination of character.

Each head bears the stamp of a definite character, a character consistent in form, in age, and in temperament, and to each is given his appropriate mood of the moment. Yet this intimacy, this personality, is obtained without dependence on the model, or rather, without the introduction of such accidents of form and expression as distinguish persons from one another and give portraitists, in paint or stone, their opportunity.

The Artemis has the form and fashion of a young girl, and with head slightly bent she is watching with a lively look and the trace of a smile on her lips.

The Demeter, a matron and carrying the burden of many legends, has a grave thoughtful countenance. Without frown or smile, she sits, enthroned as a queen, and in the absence of Despoina appears as the central object of worship there.

The Anytus, somewhat wild and dishevelled, country born and country bred, has something of the openness and alertness of expression that mark the Artemis, but with less meaning and more naïveté. If he were to stand as Damophon's conception of Pluton Epimachos or Kronos, as two scholars have severally suggested, the artist misread his instructions. The local custodian's reading of the figure is nearer to the mark.

A clear impression of the general effect and style of the whole group would solve many difficulties. Unfortunately, though the extant fragments


are numerous, they are still dispersed in the magazines of the Athens Museum and at Lycosura. In detail, it is true, we may recognize the same qualities that characterize the pieces exhibited in Athens. A fragment in the small museum on the site, the upper portion of a female torso, shows the same breadth of modelling, the same fine quality of surface and the same easy fall and fullness of the drapery folds.

Of the Despoina it is difficult to form a clear image. But from her attributes, the cista mystica and sceptre, from the peculiar richness of her robes and from her position of dignity, as the mistress of the temple, it is natural to infer that she was worshipped there, not as the youthful Kora, nor as the bride of Pluton, but as the greater of the twin goddesses. In fact, the whole interpretation of Damophon issues from the Arcadian cult untouched by the distinguishing marks of the Eleusinian legend.

It is needless, however, to urge the exceptional originality of Damophon and his mastery in execution. The fragments themselves are a sufficient proof.

It is on the question of his date that the great difficulty arises and some discussion of this vexed problem is inevitable. It is the necessary complement to a discussion on his character as artist.

On this point evidence drawn from the architectural remains is of the first importance, and fortunately we have not only the notices of Cavvadias, who was assisted in his excavation by Cawerau, the architect, but also two statements by Dörpfeld in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* (1890, p. 230 ff. and 1893 p. 219 ff.). In the former Dörpfeld places the date of the building in Roman times, in the latter he places it in the second or first century B.C. and affirms that both the temple and the temple group were made at one and the same time.

A comparison of the basis of the statue group with the remains of the cella wall will confirm, I think, this latter judgment. The two, in the material (a local limestone), in the dressing and filling, and in their general arrangement (an upper and a lower sill course, separated by fine upright slabs) are strikingly similar. The blocks in both were secured by similar, narrow,  shaped clamps. Dörpfeld notes also the correspondence in the use of marble. Both the statues placed upon the basis and the more decorative parts of the temple, viz. the fore-columns and autae, the entablature and sima, are cut from the same marble, quarried in Dolianà.

In his 1893 notice Dörpfeld withdraws the opinion, put forward rather hesitatingly in 1890, that the temple was of Roman construction, and certainly such buildings as the Exedra of Herodes Atticus (*ca.* 156 A.D.) at Olympia, the 'Chamber' of Antinous at Delphi, and the small Odeum at Epidaurus, also made in the second century A.D., exhibit a quite distinct style of construction.

The cella walls of the Lycosura temple, above the limestone socle, were, it is true, built of baked bricks. Many of these are still to be seen on this site. But they are very different in form from the bricks used in undoubted Roman buildings and show no trace of the strongly binding mortar, which the former buildings have in common with Imperial buildings in Rome.

This seems at once to dispose of Carl Robert's contention that the whole temple and temple group, is of Hadrianic times.

It should be noted that the situation of the sanctuary, on a narrow shelf directly below a steep banked-up slope, makes frequent damage likely. A mosaic on the fore part of the cella floor suggests one restoration; an inscription of the time of Hadrian found in 1895 and published by Leonardos² records the same or another. It may even be that the brick courses were a later addition, in place perhaps of sun-dried blocks, and that the marble entablature was added then or later. In any case, there was, from some uncertain date up to the final dismemberment of the sanctuary, a marble entablature carried on baked brick walls, however exceptional such a combination may be. In no case does it seem possible that the brick courses were placed there in Hadrianic times. Their difference of form and of bonding is too pronounced.

But a comparison of Damophon's work, the temple statues themselves, with their true correlatives, according to this theory, viz. with statues of Imperial date found on Greek soil, is equally unfavourable to Robert's hypothesis.

If we had little or no material for comparison, it would be attractive to assume that just as the stimulus to poets and artists in earlier times had come mainly from Greece, so Greece was the centre of invention in the last artistic movement of pagan Rome. The Greek Museums, however, now contain many works of the first and second centuries A.D. It is enough to enumerate only the Imperial statues from the Metroon at Olympia, the statues of the Elean ladies, also found there, in the Heraion, the series of Kosmetai busts in Athens and the Antinous busts and statues from Patras, Olympia, and Delphi. Not one of these is strictly parallel to a cultus-image within its own shrine, such as is the group from Lycosura; but the first and last are, at least, of the nature of temple statues. Further, many of those from Olympia are inscribed with the names of Athenian sculptors, and the marked similarity in form and treatment suggests the prevalence throughout Greece of one school tradition, that of Athens probably, during the entire period.

From these, then, we can derive a definite idea of the special tendencies in sculpture during that age; an idea, on the one hand, of the kind of form, if there is a distinct form, in which those sculptors conceived their objects; on the other hand, an idea of the treatment preferred by them, if they had a special manner or technique in carrying out their designs. For it is on these primarily, and not on the degree of excellence in conception and execution, when each person's private test of beauty and ugliness intervenes, that decisions on a sculptor's school and period depend. And in comparing together the Lycosura fragments and the statues enumerated above, the difference of form and treatment seems to me to amount to this difference in kind.

The full modelling of the nude, in the Lycosura fragments, its fleshiness

² *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1896, p. 194, No. 4.

and its grain, the massed drapery and its simple folds, the freedom of line and breadth of cutting contrast strongly with the brilliant surface of the statues of the first and second century after Christ, their fine drapery with its many folds and sharp shadows, and the rendering in them by incision and drilling of detail in hair, eye-brows, and eyes. If during this period Damophon had visited Olympia to readjust the ivory plates on the Zeus of Pheidias, he would hardly have understood his fellow-sculptors' work, nor they his aims.

With one other argument for the Roman date I will deal as shortly as possible. This rests upon the Hadrian inscription already mentioned, from which Robert draws some brilliant conjectures as to that Emperor's movements in the Peloponnese, and even as to his presence in Lycosura itself. This inscription occupies the front slab of a base, once carrying a statue of Hadrian. The statue was dedicated by the Megalopolitans and the inscription is in very laudatory terms. The lettering is large, irregular, and badly spaced, the face of the stone is rough and unfinished and the final chisel marks remain unobliterated.

With this slab was found a second slab, with a well finished face, carrying an earlier pre-Christian inscription.³

The Greek excavators consider that the base, some time after the destruction or loss of the earlier statue, that of Aristo, was turned with its face to the wall and used to carry the statue of the Emperor. Such parsimonious treatment, an old base and a hasty inscription, was hardly consonant with that gratitude which, on Robert's theory, the dedicators should have felt towards the Imperial founder and builder of the temple. Thus, we must conclude, neither the sculpture of Lycosura nor the main portion of the architecture will allow of the attribution to them of a date within the period of the Roman ascendancy.

We are left, then, with Dörpfeld's revised date of the second or first century B.C., and Collignon and Helbig accept this attribution for the sculpture supporting it on the ground of the character of the fragments themselves.

But on this view, to my mind, the style of the Lycosura heads still presents great difficulties and this, too, is the opinion of many writers of great judgment on Greek sculpture. In searching through the mass of Greek and Graeco-Roman remains for correlatives to the Lycosura heads, it is impossible not to find oneself turning again and again to works admittedly of the fourth century and even earlier. So inevitably do those works appear to have been born in the period of experiment and invention and not in the period of selection and repetition.

Just that kind of line, we feel, in the lips and eyes had not been done before. It is too free, too careless, one might say. The sculptor was inventing as he worked and felt himself bound by no previous model in the same kind. The contrast between the three heads in the chiselling of the hair is almost as great as hair, rendered in stone, can show. Place, then, side by side the head of the Hermes at Olympia, the Eubouleus head, the

³ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1896. p. 101, No. 3.

Aphrodite head from the southern slope of the Acropolis, and the Petworth head. The striving for variety, for originality in the rendering of the hair is unmistakable. In later times, the treatment of hair becomes of a type; there was a recognised handling for hair, which all sculptors followed, whatever differences in arrangement and design might be required. The experiment had been worked out and interest in hair treatment was dead. I might venture, even, to find a parallel for the drapery fragment, in its substance and close rendering of material, from the mantle of the Hermes of Praxiteles. This is Attic, the Lycosura piece is not, but the claim that drapery problems then made on sculptors shows itself in the two answers as one and the same.

In later times, however brilliant in design and line the results may be—and the Nike of Samothrace and the Chiaramonti Niobid are proof enough of this—the aim was different. The drapery is abstract; there is no interest in texture and substance; it frames the figure, enriches the design, expresses movement, but as material and for itself, it is of quite secondary interest.

In general, so far as the remains in our Museums justify a definition in disjunctive form, we are led to conclude that sculpture in Hellenic centres, after the death of the leading sculptors of the fourth century and before the formation of a definite school in Rome, tended in one of two directions. For one direction, we may quote such works as the Demeter from Cnidus, the 'Venus of Milo,' the Asklepios head from Melos, even the Zeus of Otricoli, in its origin.

These and their like represent a development in direct line of the forms and technique first perfected in the fourth century. In making them, their sculptors had before their minds works of that earlier age. They framed their conceptions on these, emphasising here and there those qualities which most appealed to them. Thus, their works are repetitions with a difference; with just enough personal motive in each, to make the sculptor an artist while making it. But these men glozed, while the earlier men contended; these accepted ready-made what the earlier invented and worked out in pain.

The other direction is displayed in such various styles as the Pergamene, Rhodian, Alexandrian. The works of these schools are alike in avoiding, on the whole, this traditional style. To sculptors of wide knowledge in art and of strong character, that style seemed worked out. To such, what has been done should not be re-attempted. They must invent afresh; they should emulate the great schools, but in other fields. The drama, painting, still-life, and life itself are called in and, out of that very emulation, the material from these is often strained, to fit a form too great for it.

Neither of these two groups will admit, to my mind, the Lycosura fragments; and if we place them within that period, but outside of the two groups, we shall find it hard to bring up precedents for them as a whole, to support the attribution.

And it is this difficulty, perhaps, which first led Robert to attribute them to Imperial times. Then, much was changing; a new race was domi-

nant, and a new taste was requiring expression. Artists might then have conceived afresh and have found out new methods of interpretation. It was so in Holland, after the revolt of the Netherlands. Early in the seventeenth century Rembrandt and the *petits maitres* ousted finally the Haarlem leaders, Heemskerck, Goltzius, Cornelis.

But as I have argued above, neither the sculpture nor the architecture at Lycosura will accept this date; nor does the sculpture fit readily the tendencies prevailing in Hellenistic times. Rather, our fragments impress themselves on the mind as being in the main current of the earlier style, as being part of the movement which produced the prototypes, though they are distinct from the main source of these, the later Attic School.

In the Capitoline Museum there is a well-preserved head of a goddess (Helbig,² 453) which has been attributed to Damophon (Fig. 5). In the full modelling of the cheeks and in the drawing of the lids and lips, this head is strikingly like the Damophon heads in Athens. The peculiar treatment of the upper lid—its outer half lying close to the full fold of the orbit, its inner half standing free, owing to the setting-back there of the eye-socket filling—is almost a diagnostic.

It is of interest moreover to note that B. Gräf⁴ has referred this head to the 'Scopaic' group, while Furtwängler⁵ considers it a later 'Hellenistic' work under that influence. Still, both elements, that of Damophon and that of the Scopaic, are recognised to be there. What differentiates it from the Lycosura heads, whether this head be by him or not, is a certain formalism in the hair treatment and a greater closeness in the drawing and the design of the contour and features. There is, in fact, a lack of the characteristic freedom and verve in the chiselling. Further, it is colossal, in the less favourable sense of the term, in the sense in which it is meant that such works as these are *too big*. This quality can be better seen in more marked instances, in the Ludovisi Hera or in the Demeter or Hygieia of the same collection. In these, if I may so put it, the original design would not bear enlargement. However fine the main lines may be, the intervening spaces, unnoticed in the smaller work, appear, in the larger, unmeaning, empty, motiveless. Of such a passage in a picture, we should say, in terms of painters' criticism, 'il fait trou.'

There is something of this in the Capitoline head, as there is in many works, later than the fourth century, but repeating fifth and fourth century types. There is nothing of it in the Lycosura heads.

These are over life-size and in this sense colossal, it is true. But the modelling everywhere is lively; it is felt and it is meant. Where the space is large, the texture and handling come in to supply the interest. In spite of this difference, however, and though the Capitoline head should probably be judged to be later, yet the evidence it brings in regard to the Damophon fragments is of great value. In it we have, at the least, a most striking

⁴ *Röm. Mitth.* iv., p. 218.

⁵ *Meisterzc.* p. 644, Note 3.

witness to the close connection of Damophon's work with the standard styles of the fourth century.

To this evidence we may join that of Pausanias. For, though his evidence, since the discoveries at Lycosura, has been unaccountably neglected, yet the data from which the late Prof. Brunn⁶ drew his inferences are still valid and must be estimated at their fair value.

According to Pausanias' notices (iv. 31, vii. 23, viii. 31, viii. 37, and vi. 31), Damophon worked in Messene, Megalopolis, and Aegium as well as at Lycosura. In the most important of the Megalopolis temples, the principal cultus-images, apart from xoana brought there at the foundation of the city, were by his hand. We must except, however, the image of Zeus Philios by Polycleitus the younger, placed in a temple within the great sanctuary, that of the great goddesses, containing the Damophon statues. The only other sculptors named by Pausanias in his description of Megalopolis are Cephisodotus the elder and Xenophon, who made statues on either side of the figure of Zeus Soter in the temple dedicated to him. While the greatest number of Damophon's works seem to have been in Megalopolis, Messene, and Aegium, not far from the Messenian centre of exile in Greece itself, contained statues by him and, among them, one of Thebes.

Prof. Brunn inferred, and naturally inferred, that Damophon was living in the 102nd Olympiad; at the moment, that is, when Megalopolis was founded and Messene rebuilt and this inference is still valid.

Just in so far as the conclusions based on other grounds, on the architecture or the sculpture, for instance, show themselves uncertain and insecure, in just that degree does the evidence of the documents gain weight. The conflicting hypotheses thrown out by different writers since the discoveries of the Lycosura remains prove the extreme uncertainty of the conclusions from the main groups of data. Among these, therefore, that from the literary notices is entitled to a place, and by itself it is of considerable force. Prof. Brunn's inferences were universally accepted from their first publication. Since the discoveries, they have merely dropped into oblivion, but their force has never been disproved.

It would be wise, perhaps, at this stage to sum up the arguments which tell in favour of a fourth century attribution for Damophon and his work.

One argument, and to my mind a strong argument, is the character of the Lycosura sculpture. Many acute judges have, indeed, interpreted its character in a different sense, but they themselves have by no means reached that consensus of expert opinion which is often the sole decision possible in this sort of question. Each can but lay down his opinion with as careful an exposition of the grounds for that opinion as lies in his power.

The Capitoline head forms another. With this the character of the Lycosura heads and a well recognized fourth century school tradition meet in unity. The relation is complex. But Damophon at least preceded in time the author of this undoubtedly Greek head, if he did not directly form its sculptor's

⁶ *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, Vol. 1, p. 289.

style. The head itself strongly suggests fourth century types and the judgment, that Damophon was of the fourth century, follows directly and at once.



FIG. 5.—COLOSSAL HEAD OF A GODDESS. (Capitoline Mus. Rome.)

We have, in the third place, the notices of Pausanias, and their evidence tells strongly in the same direction. It would be easy to add that it is irrefutable except on the production of some specific proof of date.

These three together put forward a strong claim for the verdict. More than this I would not urge: nor is it necessary to urge more. For, these apart, the evidence for a later date rests solely on the architectural proof and in this there is nothing of the nature of demonstrable fact.

Some discussion of the architectural remains, however, must be attempted; and fortunately, can be more easily made in that Dörpfeld has in his notices laid bare the main difficulties of the problem.

One statement we are, I think, entitled to make at the outset: viz. that in Greece generally, apart from such centres as Delphi and Olympia, building construction undertaken by Attic architects and masons was far superior and more orderly in development than that undertaken elsewhere. The temple of Phigaleia at Bassae, even, will provide a proof. Exquisite though the general design is—and it may well be so from the proved ability of its architect—the palmette decoration on the sima crowning the raking cornice is markedly inferior to similar forms on the Erechtheum, or on the Parthenon so far as the reconstruction of the late Penrose and Michaelis is valid. There is a well preserved piece of the Bassae sima in the British Museum and other fragments are lying on the site. The cutting is shallow, the drawing is without life and the palmette forms have become almost linear designs, without growth or accent. Just such a change, and a worse change, has befallen the more florid sima at Lycosura, when it is compared with fourth century forms from Epidaureus, or Delos, or Halicarnassus.




Allowance, too, must be made for the greater liability of the Dolianà marble to disintegration by weathering. The Damophon heads and the heads from the Athena temple at Tegea are unfortunate proofs of this.

In contrast with the marble members of the temple, the limestone portions, viz. the socle of the cella wall and the face of the statue-group basis, are well preserved. The large upright slabs are well made and well dressed. Their effect is massive and of good proportion. Further, they bear a close likeness, in dressing, in form, and in the draft margin, to the similar lower courses of the earlier portion of the Thersileion at Megalopolis.

The Thersileion, like other portions, *e.g.* the town walls of the city, is not of the best construction. The necessity of a hasty construction, the paucity of thoroughly trained masons, and the need of building so much in so short a time will readily explain this. Even later, the construction was worse rather than better. If Dörpfeld is right in attributing to the latter half of the fourth century the alterations to the southern portico of the Thersileion, viz. the walling up of its northern front and the additional steps down to the orchestra level from the southern front, the building construction in that period was less considered and less careful even than in the first half.

It is, however, the lower courses of the main wall of the Thersileion, still to be seen more or less in position along the eastern portion of the south wall, which form the exact parallel. These courses, as at Lycosura, consist of an upper and lower sill-course, running through the width of the wall, and an intermediate series of large upright slabs, in pairs and of even size. Their material is the same, a native limestone. The proportions and the dressing

and facing are quite similar. In both there is a draft margin, round two sides of the Thersileion orthostatae, round the four sides of the Lycosurian.

One important difference there is, and this lies in the shape of the clamps used to hold the blocks together. The clamp form in the Thersileion blocks is  shaped, in the blocks of the other  shaped. That the latter form was readily adopted and at once approved of is shown by its appearance in such important buildings as the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (see the block of the basis for the Chariot group in the British Museum) and the Philippeion at Olympia. That it was rapidly diffused is shown also by its use in the alterations to the southern portico of the Thersileion. These, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, were made later on in the fourth century, when the present stone theatre was constructed and the orchestra floor lowered to its final level. Both the lower courses for the walling-up of the northern colonnade and the blocks of the steps down to the orchestra on the southern front have the  shaped clamps. These facts suggest that while the fashion of building was Megalopolitan, the actual date of the building of the Lycosura temple was in the latter half of the fourth century and not in the first half.

And a notice of Pausanias (viii. 26) gives a reason. Like the Trapezuntians, the inhabitants of Lycosura refused to leave their village and to migrate to Megalopolis. The Megalopolitans, who were undoubtedly the best patrons of the sanctuary, would not at once overlook this disloyalty. All their energies, too, would for some time be required for the decoration and completion of their own city. Nor does the style of the Lycosura sculpture conflict with this later date. They are, in their freedom and easy mastery, the work of an experienced sculptor rather than of a young man or even of a man still learning, while the claims of Messene and Megalopolis would precede the less important commissions at Lycosura.

There still remains one problem which cannot be left unnoticed, viz. the fragment of marble drapery in the Athens Museum. The surface of this is decorated with friezes and panels in low relief. The fragment of a torso in the magazines of the same museum and other fragments at Lycosura carry the same designs. It is evident that one of the two seated goddesses, the Despoina in all probability, appeared covered from head to foot in a richly decorated robe. The determination of the date of the sculpture from the style of these designs forms the problem yet to be considered.

Robert finds their parallel in the mattresses on which lie the figures of the dead in certain Graeco-Roman sarcophagi. Collignon, on the other hand, attributes their origin to 'Hellenistic influences' working on the sculptor. In general effect, the whole design is undoubtedly 'Hellenistic,' in that it is full of grace and fancy and made up of heterogeneous elements. But in the definitive sense of the term, as a name for works distinct in style from Hellenic work proper, the design is not Hellenistic. The strange band of draped animals, dancing and playing on musical instruments, is provincial, Arcadian one might say, and suggests vividly the myths at the basis of the ritual of such cults as the Laconian *κορυθαλία*.



FIG. 6. — RELIEF WITH NEREIDS AND HIPPOCAMPS, FOUND NEAR THERMOPYLAE. (Nat. Mus. Athens.)

The motive of the alternate eagles with outspread wings and the winged thunderbolts is proper to the western Peloponnese, as the coins of Elis prove. Both designs are redolent of the soil. In Hellenistic times artists took their motives, so to speak, from a common pattern book. Thus the cuirass-designers of the Empire used the Nike motive again and again, and a Nike forms the centre of one of the main designs on our drapery. But when was this motive not used? It appears in various actions on innumerable red-figured vases of good period. The exact motive used in the drapery, a Nike carrying a thymiaterion, appears, according to Kekulé, in the series of Nike-figures on the well-known balustrade in Athens. Nor is the thymiaterion in the hands of the figures on the drapery panels Augustan only, as Robert implies. A gem from Melos⁷ and a mirror case in the British Museum⁸ point to a much earlier date of origin. Furtwängler gives in outline in vol. iii., p. 133, of his work a gem with the design of a winged Nike strewing incense on a thymiaterion of this very form. According to him the gem was cut in the first half of the fourth century. Similarly, the development of the other motive used in the drapery, Nereids seated on hippocamps and accompanied by Tritons, can be traced in the Munich frieze of the marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite and in a smaller frieze found near Thermopylae. The Thermopylae relief (Fig. 6, Athens Museum, No. 221, 222) is attributed by Cavvadias to the later decades of the fourth century and he compares it in style to the frieze on the monument of Lysicrates. In movement, in its subtle contrasts, well shown in the different modelling of the torsos, and in the delicacy of the chiselling, it far surpasses the Munich frieze. But, compared with the design on the Lycosua drapery, it is Hellenistic in the sense in which the latter is not.

Wherever it was possible, the designer of the Thermopylae relief has introduced accessories, Erotes with bird-like wings, fruit baskets, a whip, an urn; here the sea-monster has a lion's head with lion's claws, the next has a carefully elaborated horse's head with horse's hoofs; below the figures, the scene is closed with the surface ripples of the sea waves. The form of

⁷ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. XXXI., No. 41.

⁸ Bronze Room, Table Case A, from Corinth (no number).

expression is, if I may use the term, anecdotal. The main lines of each motive being laid down, subsequent sculptors, in adopting any one of them, confine their efforts to supplying subordinate and novel motives within the the general scheme. In the earlier Hellenistic period, this could be done with success and with delight: the method was new, and the accessory motives innumerable. In later times, this method, too, became worn out and banal. Such works as the Munich frieze show the failure of interest and the consequent fatigue.

The Lycosura drapery, in this as in the other elements of the decoration, is as freshly conceived as the design of the Thermopylae relief; it is also without its accessories and without the research in detail. If design has principles of orderly development, the Nereid design of Damophon cannot be later. It must be an earlier form and its prototype must be looked for elsewhere.

If, finally, we regard the drapery in its place as part of the whole group by Damophon, and if, at the same time, we admit, in the evidence of the written notices and of the sculpture, a preponderant weight in favour of a fourth century date, the designs on it will not oppose this date. Rather will they support it. Nor does the architectural evidence oppose a fourth century attribution, unless, perhaps, we hold strictly to the theory that the whole building from akroterion to foundation stone is of one date and contemporaneous with its temple-images.

All that must, at present, be accepted, is the contemporaneity of the socle of the cella wall and of the statue basis (and, with that, the statue-group itself); and for that Megalopolis provides independent evidence. That the upper courses of the temple walls and the marble entablature and prostyle were built at the time, is a valid supposition, but it is by no means necessary in fact.

The whole question of the Lycosura remains and of Damophon's date, so inextricably bound up with them, is a problem of the greatest complexity, and no one, who has examined the question, will venture to decide dogmatically. At present it is a problem of the weight of evidence and the weight seems to me to tell on the side of the fourth century.

A. M. DANIEL

THE TARSIAN ORATIONS OF DIO CHRYSOSTOM.

THE town of Prusa, of which Dio was a native, stood in a fertile valley in Western Bithynia near Mt. Olympus. To this day the country round Brusa is remarkably rich and beautiful and here were situated the vineyards and farms which belonged to Dio's family.¹ His grandfather was a distinguished sophist, τὴν γὰρ οὐσίαν ἣν εἶχε πατρῶαν καὶ παππῶαν ἅπασαν εἰς φιλοτιμίαν ἀναλώσας, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔχειν λοιπόν, ἐτέραν ἐκτίσατο ἀπὸ παιδείας καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων:² and the sophistical or rhetorical bias of Dio's education is clearly reflected in his earlier speeches. It mattered little that the study of the classics formed part of the average education: his reading everywhere would be directed by teachers who held the ordinary sophistical view that exact thinking and deep study unfit a man for practical life and that success is achieved by those who have acquired the art of making a skilful and impressive use of ideas which do not differ materially from those of the ordinary citizen. In the view of this school philosophical epideixis was only a small part of sophistic, and Stoics, Cynics, Epicureans, Platonists, and Peripatetics were only dry-as-dust schoolmasters and pedants who, differing in everything else, united in disparaging the universal culture of the Sophists.

No education was considered complete without visiting several of the chief centres of learning, and Dio doubtless began at an early age³ those travels which sooner or later must take him to Rome. Apart from other attractions, the Philhellenic leanings of the capital made it an exception to the general separation in culture of the Greek-speaking East from the Latin West. Its literary coteries offered a tempting field to a talented Greek and Dio could not fail to obtain recognition. As a result of his intimacy with Flavius Sabinus, one of the victims of Domitian, he was ordered to quit Rome shortly after that Emperor assumed the purple. The date of his banishment, on the showing of Emperius, is determined by Dio's own words⁴ as 82 A.D. and accordingly he remained for fourteen years excluded

¹ In a bad season, says Dio, ἔστι μοι ἡ πᾶσα ἐπικαρπία ἐξ οἴνου καὶ βοσκημάτων (*Or.* 46 p. 126; § 8) but compared with other cities corn is always cheap at Prusa (*Or.* 46; § 10). 'The environs are of great beauty: the mountain, with its marked zones of vegetation rises up from the town, and there are many charming drives and walks in the chestnut, oak, and other

woods.' Sir Charles Wilson, in Murray's *Handbook to Constantinople, &c* p. 125.

² *Or.* 46 p. 125; § 3.

³ Cf. the tradition that Dio met Vespasian in Egypt in 69 A.D. not as a youth but as a man with a reputation.

⁴ *Esp. Or.* 13.

from Italy and Bithynia. During this period visits to Delphi, Olympia, Borysthenes, Cyzicus, and Viminacium⁵ are recorded more or less distinctly.

For the chronology of Dio's speeches there is no external authority and internal evidence of date is scanty. The earliest speech which appears to fix its own date within limits is *Or.* 46 in which his son is called *παιδίον* and the joint rule of Vespasian and Titus is faintly indicated:—*οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐδὲν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας· λέγω δὲ τοὺς μείζους ἡγεμόνας τῶν ἐνθάδε* (p. 129; § 14). The whole speech is that of a man who has been quite recently struggling to meet the obligations imposed on him by his father's extravagance and his own public spirit but has to contend against the erroneous idea that he is rich and parsimonious. It may be assigned to the years 71–81 A.D. *Or.* 31 *Rhodiaca* is also to be placed before the reign of Domitian.⁶ The reign of Nero and particularly the visit to Olympia are still fresh in the minds of his audience,⁷ *τοιγαροῦν ἔγγιστα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐπίστασθε, τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τις οὕτω σφόδρα ἡττήθη τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ἐπεθύμησε τῆς ἐκεῖ νίκης ὥστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαι παρ' Ἡλείοις*. Two speeches, *κατὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων* and *πρὸς Μουσώνιον*, are mentioned by Synesius and may have been delivered about 71 A.D. when the philosophers were in disgrace and Dio's enthusiasm for Rhetoric was fresh. The *Melankomas* speeches *Or.* 28 and *Or.* 29 have been connected by von Arnim (*op. cit.* p. 145) with a favourite of Titus and attributed to this period.

A marked change comes over Dio's thought during his exile. Comfortable acquiescence in the *status quo* is replaced by a genuine interest in ethico-political problems. Almost involuntarily he was driven during his wanderings to reconsider his earlier opinions: *στολήν τε ταπεινὴν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τᾶλλα κολάσας ἐμαντὸν ἡλώμην πανταχοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐντυγχάνοντες ἄνθρωποι ὀρῶντες οἱ μὲν ἀλήτην, οἱ δὲ πτωχὸν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ φιλόσοφον. . . . τυχὸν δέ τι καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς φήμης συνέβη μοι. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἡρώτων προσιόντες ὅτι μοι φαίνοιτο ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν· ὥστε ἡναγκαζόμεν φροντίζειν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἵνα ἔχοιμι ἀποκρίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι* (*Or.* 13 p. 243; § 11). Here we have a description of Dio's life between 82 and 96. It was necessary to avoid notoriety, *πάντων ἀπεγνωκότων με καὶ μηδενὸς ἔτι σωθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντος* (*Or.* 45, p. 122; § 11), but this did not prevent him from giving free utterance to his speculations on questions not directly political. Like Socrates he came to see that wise men were scarce, *ἐδόκουν δέ μοι πάντες ἄφρονες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* (*Or.* 13, *loc. cit.*), and went so far in the direction of Cynicism as to be charged with detracting from the worth of human affairs, *διασύρειν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (*Or.* 21, p. 300; § 10). A similar departure from the sophistical standpoint

⁵ H. v. Arnim *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa* 1898 p. 311.

⁶ The invective against Athens is incompatible with a post-exile date: after 96 many scattered allusions and the whole of *Or.* 13

show quite a different feeling.

⁷ *Or.* 31 p. 382; § 13: the phrase *ἐγγιστα ἐφ' ἡμῶν* indicates that Dio was no longer a youth in 66 A.D. and presupposes for the year of his birth a date not later than 50.

is apparent in his recognition of an affinity between Homer and Socrates, the great enemy of the sophists:—*τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον κατὰ τὸ ἦθος. οὐδέτερος γὰρ αὐτοῖν ἀλαζὼν ἦν οὐδὲ ἀναιδής, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀμαθέστατοι τῶν σοφιστῶν* (*Or.* 55, p. 55: § 7). In the speeches in which Diogenes is the prominent interlocutor (*Oratt.* 6, 8, 9, and 10) we meet with the Cynic principles of *αὐτάρκεια* and *αὐτουργία*, and these may appropriately, along with most of the dissertations on abstractions like *λύπη*, *πλεονεξία*, *εὐδαιμονία*, *δόξα*, *ἀρετή*, and *βουλευέσθαι*, be attributed to these years of exile.

On the removal of the tyrant and the restoration of exiles by Nerva, Dio returned to Prusa, where he received an invitation to proceed to Rome. In a speech delivered at Prusa (*Or.* 44) after this event he refers to Nerva's summons, his own reply in which he put forward certain claims on behalf of his native city, and Nerva's flattering answer: *ἀναγνώσομαι ὑμῖν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τε αὐτὸς ἐπέστειλα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, ὅτε ἐκλήθην, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ παρεκάλουν ἀφεθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἀντέγράψεν.*⁸ The Emperor expressed himself as favourably disposed to Prusa: *καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὑμᾶς ἀξιώ, ἃ μὲν ἔστι παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων, ταῦτα ἐλπίζειν ὡς ἐσόμενα. καὶ εὐχεσθαι συμβαίνειν τινὰ τιμὴν ἢ δόξαν ἢ εὐπορίαν χρημάτων*, and conferred some distinction⁹ on Dio which evoked embassies of thanks from Prusa and neighbouring towns: *πολλῶν γὰρ πολλαχῇ παρακαλούντων με καὶ μένειν καὶ προϊστασθαι τῶν κοινῶν οὐ νῦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε ἦν φυγὴς, καὶ ψηφίσματα ἔπεμφάν τινες πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα χάριν εἰδότες τῆς εἰς ἐμὲ τιμῆς* (*Or.* 44, p. 115 § 6). In the summer of 97 Dio was compelled by illness to remain in Asia: *τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς γενομένης ἀνῆλθον μὲν πρὸς τὸν βέλτιστον Νέρβαν. ὑπὸ δὲ νόσου χαλεπῆς κατασχεθεὶς ὅλον ἐκείνον ἐξημιώθην τὸν καιρόν, ἀφαιρεθεὶς αὐτοκράτορος φιλανθρώπου καὶ μὲ ἀγαπῶντος καὶ πάλαι φίλου* (*Or.* 45, p. 118; § 2), and it was not till the reign of Trajan that he was able to appear at court. The embassy on which he served probably was carried out in the summer of 100 A.D., and it was on this occasion that he procured for Prusa the desired concessions.¹⁰

After the Embassy he returned to Asia with the intention of recruiting his health and repairing his fortune: *ἐνόμιζον μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες πολῖται, νῦν γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ἄξειν τὴν ἅπασαν ἡσυχίαν, δεῦρο ἀφικόμενος, καὶ μὴ προσ- αΐψεσθαι μήτε ἐκὼν μήτε ἄκων μηδενὸς κοινοῦ πράγματος* (*Or.* 40, p. 88 § 1), but he had a few bitter opponents who contrived to make his life extremely unpleasant.¹¹ His *φαῦλον τριβώνιον*, his dilapidated house and his feeble

⁸ *Or.* 44, p. 117; § 12.

⁹ Perhaps the name Cocceianus (cf. Pliny, *Ad Trajanum* 81. 1).

¹⁰ Until the year 99 A.D. Trajan was in Germany and in 101 he was preparing for the first Dacian war. In this latter year may have occurred the second embassy sent by discontented Prusians and coldly received by the Emperor.

¹¹ In striking contrast is his treatment elsewhere, *ἔπειτα συνηθείας οὐσης μοι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους πολλοὺς τοὺς δυνατω-*

τάτους σχεδὸν τι Ῥωμαίων, ἐκείνοις συνείναι τιμώμενον καὶ θαυμάζόμενον· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἀποδημῶν ἦδομαι, τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις ἐπιέναι μετὰ πολλοῦ ζήλου καὶ φιλοτιμίας παραπεμπομένων, χάριν εἰδόντων μοι παρ' οὓς ἦν ἀφίκωμαι καὶ δεομένων λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐμὰς θύρας ἰόντων ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ, μηδὲν ἀναλώσαντα μηδὲ προστιθέντα ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἅπαντας καὶ τυχὸν ἂν εἰπεῖν τινὰς

ὧ πόποι, ὡς ὅδε πᾶσι φίλος καὶ τίμιος ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅτεών τε πόλιν καὶ δῆμον ἵκηται (*Or.* 47 p. 136; § 22).

health did not protect him from malicious accusations: *νῦν γὰρ ἐὰν ἄπτωμαι τοῦ πράγματος καὶ σπουδάζω γίγνεσθαι τὸ ἔργον*,¹² *τυραννεῖν μέ φασί τινες καὶ κατασκάπτειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα* (*Or.* 47, p. 135; § 18).¹³ Some were jealous of his influence, *βαρύνεσθαι τινας ὡς ξένον καὶ περιττόν*, and some sneered at his oratory *καλῶς μέ τις ἀηδόνα ἔφη τῶν σοφιστῶν, λοιδορῆσαι βουλόμενος* (*Or.* 67, p. 134; § 16). The conclusion arrived at is that for philosophers *χαλεπὸς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ὁ βίος*, and at the end of the first Dacian War, when Trajan expressed a wish to see him at court, Dio was ready to comply, *καὶ νῦν δεῖ με ἀποδημεῖν, οὐχ ὡς πρότερον ἀλύπως, πάντων με ἀγαπώντων καὶ θαυμαζόντων, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἔχθρας τινῶν* (*Or.* 43, p. 111; § 8).

It was at some point subsequent to this visit that Dio undertook the journeys in the East which produced the most important of his orations, those namely, delivered at Tarsus, Alexandria, and Celaenae in Phrygia. That those journeys had a serious purpose is evident from the speeches themselves and from the circumstances which attended them. In the early Empire, for a Greek who looked beyond the narrow circle of the *πόλις*, there was only one sentiment which appealed strongly to his imagination, the Panhellenic. To the last Greek *παιδεία* maintained itself against Latin culture, and at this epoch political loyalty to Caesar went hand in hand with keen partiality for Hellenism.¹⁴ In the Republic of Letters formed by the Greek cities and literary Romans the educated Greek gained reputation and sometimes wealth and so satisfied his ambition. But with Dio after his exile, when he had abandoned his sophistic ideals of sophistic epideixis, the desire for further rhetorical successes was not a moving force. Motives of pleasure or curiosity are equally inappropriate to a man of Dio's years and health. What led Dio to the East was his wish to assist the government in its work by helping to promote order and good conduct in public and in private life among the provincials.¹⁵ Conversely he insists emphatically on the political advantages

¹² In the interval between his restoration and the embassy 96-100 A.D. Dio had been actively engaged in improving the city. He would gladly have emulated Theseus and Epaminondas but prudently limited himself to a stoa and an aqueduct (*Or.* 45 p. 123; § 12); and even these were not completed without immense trouble. The *δῆμος* took up the scheme readily and after thorough discussion contributions were promised and the work of building begun: but a group of malcontents attempted to frustrate his plans, *διδόναι μηδένα ἐλόντες καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐμποδῶν γιγνόμενοι, οὕτως ἐμὲ διέθηκαν ὥστε ὀλίγου φυχὴν ἐμοῦ καταψηφίσασθαι*, and thus after weathering the storms of exile nearly caused him to make a ridiculous shipwreck in harbour (*Or.* 40 p. 92; § 12).

¹³ Dio replies with dignity, *ὦν τί πρὸς ἐμέ ἐστιν; ἢ ὅτι τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομῶ πολυτελῶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐὼ πίπτειν; ἢ ὅτι πορφύραν αὐτὸς ἡμφίεσμαι, ἀλλ' οὐ φαῦλον τριβῶνιον; ἀλλ' ὅτι κομῶ καὶ γένεια ἔχω; τοῦτο δ' ἴσως οὐ τυραννικόν*

ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ βασιλικόν. ἔφη δ' οὖν τις ὅτι καὶ τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν καλῶς ποιοῦντα καὶ τοῦτο βασιλικόν ἐστὶν (*Or.* 47 p. 137; § 25).

¹⁴ Thus while Dio assures the Rhodians that the Romans have no desire to rule over slaves (*Or.* 31) and holds that a good citizen will even lay down his life *ὕπὲρ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως*—i.e. for Caesar (*Or.* 32), he is revolted by gladiatorial exhibitions, a Romanising institution, in the Athenian theatre. At Borysthenes, remote as it is, *καὶ τᾶλλα οὐκέτι σαφῶς ἐλληνίζοντες* διὰ τὸ ἐν μέσοις οἰκεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅμως τὴν γε Ἰλιάδα ὀλίγου πάντες ἴσασιν ἀπὸ στόματος, and a man was accused of servility to the Romans because he shaved his beard! (*Or.* 36 p. 53 §§ 9, 17).

¹⁵ In *Or.* 3, delivered perhaps before Trajan, we may see a direct reference to Dio's commission in the words *ᾧ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκλέξασθαι τοὺς πιστοτάτους ὑπάρχει, καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὃς οὐκ ἂν ἄσμενος ὑπακούσειεν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ χρῆσθαι, πῶς οὐ καταγέλαστον τὸ μὴ*

to be gained by decency and moderation. The intimacy of his connection with the Emperor was too well known to permit of his being received simply as an irresponsible private person. When he asks the Alexandrians *πόσῳ κρεῖττον μιμείσθαι τὸν νῦν ἄρχοντα παιδείᾳ καὶ λόγῳ προσέχοντα*; (*Or.* 32, p. 421; § 60), or holds out the prospect of a visit from Trajan, assuring them that their lively interest in Caesar is reciprocated by him, they recognise that he is not talking at random. He speaks always in this group of orations as one having authority. Apart from this the special value of these speeches rests in the fact that they emanate from a representative of the best class of Greek provincials at the point at which the Principate reached its highest development, and form an authentic account of life in public in the Greek East as it appeared to a Greek of decided ability and large experience.

Tarsus, the provincial capital of Cilicia, was situated on the Cydnus in a fertile country which stretched from the Taurus to the sea. It was customary to compliment the Tarsians on their fine river and famous hills, but Dio is candid enough to observe that nature has not been superlatively kind to them, *εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα δύναται ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους μακαρίους, ποταμὸς ἢ κρᾶσις ἀέρος, ἢ τόπος γῆς ἢ καὶ θαλάττης ἢ λιμὴν ἢ τεῖχος, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅσων λείπεσθε*.¹⁶ Clear as the Cydnus runs yet it is somewhat muddy in its lower reaches, *οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύδνος ἄνω καθαρώτερος*; For then, as now, its waters, which from its source in Taurus till it reaches the plain a mile or two above Tarsus are transparent, began at that point to lose their purity, especially in flood. On these occasions the river was apt to overflow its banks at a point near the centre of the city, where the channel made a sharp turn to the west, just as at Rome the Tiber, when it ran high, had a trick of running straight across the Campus instead of taking the bend to the right. To obviate this nuisance Justinian dug a channel to carry off surplus water to the east, a channel which eventually emptied the older stream.¹⁷ In the first century the river was navigable up to the city, through the centre of which it made its way till it reached a lake to the south called the Rhegma. This lake, says Strabo, formed the harbour (*Strabo* xiv. 5). Near the river stood the gymnasium for the young men to which Dio alludes in his mention of the chief places of resort. These include also more than one agora and a theatre, while the Stoa of Tarsus is (*Or.* 47, p. 135; § 17) classed with the most famous in the Empire, with that of Antioch, the Poikile at Athens, the Persike at Sparta, and the Golden Stoa of Rome. Unlike the majority of Greek towns Tarsus possessed no proper acropolis: *εἰ συνέβαιεν ὑμᾶς ὑψηλὴν τινα ἔχειν ἄκραν* κ.τ.λ. p. 13 § 39.

The origin of the city is involved in obscurity. In the first Tarsian speech a few of the conflicting foundation-legends are suggested. The Tarsians certainly profess to be Hellenes or more definitely Argives,

χρησθαι τοῖς σπουδαιότατοις; (*Or.* 3 p. 59; § 129).

¹⁷ Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. Tarsus.

¹⁶ *Or.* 33 p. 8; § 24.

'Αργείων ἀποίκους. Professor Ramsay dates the transformation of Tarsus from an oriental town to a Greek πόλις to Seleucid times. The reputed founder, ὁ ἀρχηγὸς ὑμῶν, and chief god is Herakles, and the abundance of coins (e.g. Fig. 1) with the type of the pyre to which Dio alludes (πυρᾶς, ἦν παντὶ καλὴν αὐτῷ ποιεῖτε p. 16 § 47) is ample evidence of the local importance of this cult. The deity in whose honour the Tarsians were wont to erect this pyre and whose image (a god standing upon a lion) was represented without intermission on coins from Seleucid times to the middle of the third century A.D., was formerly identified with Sandan, the Asiatic Herakles. M. Imhoof-Blumer is of the opinion that the god is certainly a local divinity of immemorial antiquity, and that on the Babylonian cylinders and the rock-reliefs of Boghaz-koï the nearest analogues to



FIG. 1.—PYRE OF SANDAN.
(Tetradrachm of Demetrius II.
struck at Tarsus. Brit. Mus.)



FIG. 2.—PERSEUS AND THE FISHERMAN.
(Bronze Coin of Gordian III. struck at
Tarsus. Berlin.)

this figure are to be found.¹⁸ No title more precise than 'Asiatic God' therefore is strictly appropriate. The other principal deities named by Dio, Perseus, Apollo with the trident, and the Titans are mostly suggestive of Eastern influence though the nomenclature is Greek. The trident in local legend is associated with Apollo, and the novelty of the attribute here has added significance when considered along with the strange association of the figure of Perseus holding the statuette of Apollo and the fisherman on the coinage of Tarsus (cp. Fig. 2^{18a}). The Apollo who led the Greek settlers to Cilicia by the agency of his servants Mopsus and Amphilocheus¹⁹ evidently assumed through contact with oriental cults a new character in this region and was invested with some of the qualities of a god of the sea. The cults in which these heroes figure contain reminiscences of the enterprise of Greek settlers in Cilicia and their importance is illustrated by the place-names Mopsuestia and Mopsukrene and by the heroön erected in Mallus to Amphilocheus the reputed founder of that city. Perseus, who frequently appears on the same coins with Apollo, is fundamentally an Oriental god widely worshipped in Eastern Asia Minor. As a sign of his

¹⁸ *J.H.S.* 1898, vol. xviii. p. 170.

^{18a} From a cast kindly sent by Dr. Regling.

¹⁹ Tzetzes *ad Lycophron.* 881, Amphilocheus and Mopsus are 'dogs of Apollo.'

character at Tarsus it is noteworthy that Dio names him with Minos as the ideal of a just ruler. The Titans, too, who according to one version are the real founders of the city, are perhaps Hellenised forms of primitive oriental deities.²⁰

Dio was clearly struck with the prevailing atmosphere of Orientalism. In a speech to the Rhodians he contrasts such a city with the true Hellenic type. It is not so much, he observes, harbours, docks, and walls that constitute the real glory of Rhodes, but rather its preservation of the ancient Hellenic spirit, which teaches even a barbarian visitor the moment he steps ashore to recognise that he has entered no city of Syria or Cilicia but one truly Greek (*Or.* 31 p. 399; § 163). The Tarsians, on the other hand, reminded him of the East, *πότερον Ἑλλήνας ἢ Φοινίκων τοὺς ἀσελγεστάτους*; (*Or.* 33 p. 14; § 14). Such is their laxity of manners that there is only one distinctively Tarsian custom which he pronounces really good. He notes with surprise and pleasure the modesty of Tarsian women, who veil their faces out-of-doors: *τὸ σῶφρον καὶ τὸ αὐστηρὸν τῆς τότε ἀγωγῆς, ὃν ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῶν γυναικῶν, τὸ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατεστάλθαι καὶ βαδίζειν ὥστε μηδὲ ἐν αὐτῶν μέρος ἰδεῖν μήτε τοῦ προσώπου μήτε τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος, μηδὲ αὐτὰς ὁρᾶν ἔξω τῆς ὁδοῦ μηδέν* (*Or.* 33 p. 17; § 48). Yet excellent as the custom is, of itself it avails but little against the growing demoralisation: *ἡ γὰρ ἀσέλγεια καὶ δι' ὧτων καὶ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν πανταχόθεν εἰσδύεται. ὥστε τὰ μὲν πρόσωπα κεκαλυμμένα βαδίζουσι, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ἀκαλύπτῳ καὶ σφόδρα ἀναπεπταμένη. τοιγαροῦν ὀξύτερον βλέπουσιν ἐνὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ γεωμέτραι* (*ib.*). Syrian and Phoenician styles of music are supreme, and sympathising as Dio does with the view that Greece was ruined in her theatres, *ὡς διαφθειρομένης ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, the intrusion of these dissolute modes was ominous enough. But more bitter still is his criticism of an

²⁰ Traces of Titans are found elsewhere in Cilicia. Adanus the founder of Adana is a Titan, son of Ouranos and Gaia (Steph. *Buz.* s.v. Ἀδανα). The Sarus was formerly called *Κοίρανος* (cf. the Titan *Κοῖος*) and Anchialus, which lay between Mersina and the Cydnus, and was said to have been built along with Tarsus in one day by Saidanapalus, (Strabo xiv, 6, 72) is reminiscent of the nymph Anchiale, mother of the Titans, Titias and Kyllenos (Apollon. Rh. i. 1129-31, quoted by Kaibel *Gött. Nachr.* 1901 p. 489). Thus it is scarcely correct to say: von Daktylen. Titanen, Kureten, Korybanten finden sich in Asien ausserhalb der phrygischen Sphäre keine Spuren, während die Grosse Mutter weit über Phrygien hinaus nach Osten und Westen hin herrschte (Kaibel, *l.c.* p. 496). A special connection between Cilicia and the 'Phrygian sphere' is indicated by the existence of Kilikes in Thebe and Lynessus in the Troad (Hom. *Il.* vi. 415). Arrian speaks of an island in the Pontus

Euxinus called *ἡ Κιλικίων νῆσος* (*Peripl.* p. *Pont. Eux.* 16, 23). Further in historical times a district in central Cappadocia was called *Κιλικία*, while in the fifth century B.C. the Cilicians extended up to the Halys (Herod. v. 52, i. 23, 72). To a certain extent therefore the intimate relations remarked (Kaibel *l.c.* p. 499) between Troas and Cyprus may apply to Cilicia, and thus it may be possible to say in reference to the primitive inhabitants of Cilicia as of Phrygia, that since the Dactyl- and Titan-cult is found both in Asia Minor and in Greece independently (not 'imported' in either case) it belongs to kindred peoples who pushed from the north, on the one hand into the Grecian peninsula, and on the other hand, after sojourning in Thrace, over the Bosphorus into Asia (*Gött. Nachr.* 1901 p. 496). Or we may understand by Titans merely primitive Oriental deities whose worship was adopted and Hellenised by Greek settlers about the third century B.C.

indescribable peculiarity about the Tarsian voice: *φημὶ δὴ θαυμαστόν τι πάθος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ πεπονθέναι πολλούς, ὃ παρ' ἄλλοις τισὶ πρότερον ἤκουον μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν γιγνόμενον* (*Or.* 33 p. 11; § 31). This extraordinary affection, τὸ τῶν ῥινῶν, which is neither κλωσμός οὔτε ποππυσμός οὔδὲ συριγμός, described by Photius as φωνῆς ἀπήχησις, (*Bibliothec. Cod.* cc. ix.) seems to have been a nasal kind of singing which excited the ridicule of their neighbours, ἀλλὰ πόθεν τὰς κερκίδας ὑμῖν ἐπιβοῶσι; but was not less prevalent elsewhere, if of better quality.²¹ Dio recommends the most drastic remedy, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρες Ταρσεῖς, μιμήσασθε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐκτέμετε τὸν περιττὸν φθογγόν (*Or.* 33 p. 20; § 57).

For a century previous to the advent of Dio, Tarsus had been well governed, ἐπὶ εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διαβόητος, but now he found nothing but confusion. Philosophy had fallen into disrepute owing to the self-seeking of a band of pseudo-philosophers, τὴν πατρίδα βλάπτοντες καὶ συνιστάμενοι κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν. An inferior class had come to the front, and the best men were disregarded. Honours went to men who treated municipal affairs as a simple means to their own advancement. Their sole concern was to acquire the magisterial insignia and then wash their hands of public business.²² The privileged class of full citizens despised the unenfranchised crowd, and these in turn were discontented. The various corporate bodies Demos, Boule, Gerousia were at variance, and in the quarrel with the governor, which had imposed a certain unanimity on the rest, the Gerousia had stood selfishly aloof. Scarcely any two Tarsians were agreed on anything.

A partial explanation of this disunion was discovered by Dio in the polity which existed at Tarsus. This was the work of the philosopher Athenodorus, ὁ πρῶν γενόμενος ὃν ἰδεῖτο ὁ Σεβαστός. Quitting the society of his pupil Augustus Athenodorus had returned to his native Tarsus, to carry out a complete reorganisation of affairs with the emperor's assistance. The Tarsians were divided into two classes, those who possessed 'the name' Ταρσεύς, implying full citizenship, and those who from inability to

²¹ Cf. *Or.* 32 at Alexandria πάντες δὴ ᾄδουσι, καὶ ῥήτορες καὶ σοφισταί, καὶ πάντα περαίνεται δι' ᾤδης· κ.τ.λ. (p. 423; § 68) and Petronius *Trinathio* pp. 21, 22 Bücheler: 'tandem ergo disebuimus pueris Alexandrinis aquam in manus nivatam infundentibus aliisque insequentibus ad pedes ac paronychia cum ingenti subtilitate tollentibus. Ac ne in hoc quidem molesto tacebant officio, sed obiter cantabant. Ego experiri volui, an tota familia cantaret, itaque potionem poposei. Paratissimus puer non minus me acido cantico excepit' etc.

²² Under the guidance of these 'ephemeral demagogues' who perform their six months' term of office and then do not even condescend to attend the ekklesia, the Tarsians fare no better than οἱ τοῖς ἀπογέλοις, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γνόφων πνεύμασι pléontes. τὰ ἀπὸ γνόφων

πνεύματα are explained by Johannes Lydus (104. 18) as follows: ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ συστροφῆς ἀέρος γνωφίας. αὔραι γὰρ καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ βύσεις ἀέρων τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀλόγως ἄνεμοι καλοῦνται, ὅτε ἡ ἀπὸ λιμνῶν ἢ ποταμῶν φέρονται· ὁμοῖοι δὲ τούτων εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγειοι. Evidently the name would apply to the land-winds which blow off the coast of Cilicia for some part of almost every day and which enabled the trading-vessels of Alexandria once they reached the coast of Syria (in the event of their failing to make Myra direct past the west end of Cyprus) to work their way, aided by the current which sets steadily westwards along the Karamanian coast past Myra to Cnidus at the extreme south-western corner of Asia Minor (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 299).

pay a premium of 500 drachmae²³ were omitted from the register at the making up of the burghers' roll (πολιτογραφοῦντός τινος, οὐ μετείληφε τοῦ ὀνόματος) and were thus practically outside the state,²⁴ ὥσπερ ἔξωθεν τῆς πολιτείας (*Or.* 34, p. 28; § 21). 'In Pogla and in Sillyum also, there was a distinction between ἐκκλησιασταί and mere πολῖται. Here too the ἐκκλησιασταί are the citizens with a vote: the πολῖται are the Tarsian λινουργοί, who by Dio are called "not citizens really, though in a sense citizens." So Rostowzew in *Jahresh.* 1901, *Beiblatt* 45; but he errs when he considers this as a peculiarity of Pogla, due to the extreme poverty of its citizens. The examples of Sillyum and Tarsus show that it was a widespread fact of imperial times due to a deliberate restricting of the number of full burghers and the general introduction of a timocratic qualification.'²⁵ The progress of Roman methods of government in the East is a process by which Caesar comes to relieve the populace of all responsibility in matters of administration.²⁶ Against the Tarsian arrangement Dio argues that most of the excluded Tarsians have no other city. They and their forefathers have in many cases been born at Tarsus, a fact which is a better title to citizenship than a mere monetary qualification. So long as poverty is a bar to citizenship large numbers of the people remain alienated and unable to regard the city with due filial affection. The logical course is either to expel them from the city altogether or grant them equal rights with the rest. How far Athenodorus had gone in the direction of timocracy is not clear. There are traces in these speeches of popular election of magistrates and perhaps also of dikasteries. The rights of the full burghers were no doubt preserved intact by Augustus, who was not averse at one time even in Italy to a measure of representative government.

If the Tarsians were prone to intestine dissensions, they were equally unfortunate in their dealings with neighbouring towns. Shortly before Dio's visit the people of Aegeae had contested some point in connection with the record office, but the decision had been adverse. No details are given but it may be surmised that the Aegeaeans appealed against the necessity of having to deposit the official copy of legal and business documents in the Tarsian archives instead of in their own city. The record office,²⁷ a regular adjunct to

²³ *Or.* 34 p. 29; § 23 καταβάλλειν is used also in the sense of 'depositing' (documents, etc.), but more frequently of payment, which is the more suitable meaning here (honorarium).

²⁴ The name λινουργοί (wrongly changed by Dindorf to λιμουργοί) 'linen-workers,' which is contemptuously applied to these 'outlanders,' is the name of a guild at Thyatira (*M. Clerc de rebus Thyatirensis* p. 92).

²⁵ For this note and much other help I am indebted to Professor Ramsay.

²⁶ On Tarsian coins from Septimius Severus to Gallienus and Valerian the letters FB are frequently inscribed and from Valerian these are replaced by ΓΓ. If the interpretations Γνώμη

(or Γράμματι) Βουλῆς, Γερουσίας respectively are correct (*Hill B.M.C., Lycæonia* p. xc.), one may be permitted to see in the supersession of the Boule an illustration of the trend of things to paternal despotism. The Gerousia in Tarsus as at Hierapolis (cf. Ramsay *C. and E. of Phrygia*, p. 110) was a social institution like a club and only of indirect political significance and such a transference of privilege marks a stage in the decay of local government.

²⁷ οἱ γὰρ Αἰγαῖοι φιλοτιμίαν ἀνόητον ἐπανελόμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξαμαρτάνοντες κ.τ.λ. (*Or.* 34 p. 25; § 19).

provincial administration, must have been continually resorted to in the ordinary course of business, and the hardship of going all the way to the head of the conventus, to lodge or consult documents, must have been severely felt. The present action against Mallus arose from the claim of that city to a strip of sandy ground along the sea coast and the margin of 'the lake.' At the present day there are two lagoons between the mouth of the Seihun (Sarus) and Karatasch, where formerly there seems to have been this larger lake, which is thought by Professor Ramsay to have received the waters of the Sarus directly at its western end, discharging the same into the sea by an outlet partly choked with sand banks. Mallotis accordingly extended considerably to the West of the Pyramus, where it marched with land of Tarsus. The Mallotae are the aggressors, but yet the Tarsians are advised to put up with a trifling loss rather than run the risk of seeming to oppress the weaker party. Mallus, says Dio, is a poor place, and the Tarsians can afford to be magnanimous. A special reason for displaying a spirit of conciliation is found in the sinister movement which is already afoot at Soli and Adana to obtain another metropolis. After all the influx of neighbouring townspeople to join in a religious service or for purposes of litigation, which are the principal privileges of a metropolis, are of small account compared with the goodwill of the emperor.

In its relations with the Imperial Government Tarsus had been on the whole fortunate. Embracing the Caesarian cause in the struggle against the Republicans, it had stood a siege and was taken by the party of the Liberators. Antony made amends for this disaster by abolishing import and export duties at Tarsus and giving it the use of its own laws, the status of a *libera civitas*: and Augustus had confirmed it in its possession of these privileges. Thus it had quickly effaced the traces of the disastrous capture by Cassius. Of late the good understanding had broken down. Dio speaks of a dispute between the Tarsians and their governor the *στρατηγός*, a term which raises the question of the administration of Cilicia in the first century. Mommsen's view (*Provinces*, p. 323) is that Syria and Cilicia were governed jointly at this period. Cilicia was a non-military command but not necessarily governed from Antioch. The prosecutions against Capito and Numitor (Juvenal's 'piratae Cilicum' *Sat.* viii. 94, *Tac. Ann.* xiii. 33) do not give the impression that the accused were merely procurators. Cilicia, at least since 73-4 A.D., when Vespasian united its two divisions, Rough and Smooth, probably formed the province of an Imperial *propraetor* of praetorian rank. In the present case Dio anticipates that the intractable temper of the Tarsians will in the long run deprive them of the very right to retaliate which they think to preserve: *δέδοικα μὴ τελέως ἀποβάλῃτε τὴν παρρησίαν*: and holds up as an example the resolution of the Ionian cities which forbids this appeal to the senate or to Caesar against official misgovernment; *ὁρᾶτε δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ὅτι μηδενὸς αὐτοὺς κατηγορεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο.* (*Or.* 34 p. 34; § 39). It is true that certain imperial governors had been prosecuted and punished, thanks to the efforts of a Tarsian citizen, but frequent complaints are apt to be construed as evidence of disloyalty, and since

the accused are also the judges, any charge is liable to be dismissed as merely vexatious.

At this point it may be noted that the magistrate who has rashly precipitated matters in the quarrel with the governor, instead of waiting at least till the ekklesia had ordered a prosecution, is the Prytanis and apparently chief magistrate of Tarsus. Elsewhere we have evidence of Roman Emperors holding the office of Demiurgos at Tarsus and Anazarbus, and this must mean nothing less than the highest honour in the gift of these cities. 'The Prytanis and the Demiurgos in Tarsus may be however probably understood to be respectively the eponymous and the chief magistrate. Compare the case of Pogle: ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν καὶ δημιουργήσαντα. (Ramsay in *Ath. Mitth.* 1885. p. 336, Rostowzew in *Jahresh.* 1901, *Beiblatt*, 45.) The eponymous magistrate was Archon or Prytanis, the chief magistrate was Demiurgos.' ²⁸

In other respects Tarsus was typical of a multitude of wealthy, bustling Greek cities which flourished throughout the East in Imperial times. What we know of the material prosperity of Asiatic cities contrasts powerfully with the decay recorded by Dio in European Greece, with the depopulation of Arcadia, the desolation of Thessaly and Euboea. In Macedonia the very race of Macedonians was extinct and already Pella was a mere heap of broken pottery. In literature likewise, Asia Minor held the foremost place. Rhetoric and philosophy were cultivated with great assiduity and every city of importance contained a proportion of men accustomed to listen enthusiastically in the market-places and in the schools to their fluent professors of universal knowledge. What Dio condemns in this culture is its emptiness and lack of serious purpose. His first speech at Tarsus is from one point of view an example of sophistic epideixis, just as he himself was for many of his contemporaries a sophist and indeed the 'nightingale of the sophists.' None the less it is an ethical discourse on Tarsian ἀκολασία, with a serious practical aim which distinguishes it plainly from Sophistic. Similarly in the second speech, which belongs to another class and is directly political, συμβουλευτική, the subject is treated from the standpoint of a philosophical preacher. In the attitude of individuals to the community, of class to class, in the relations of Tarsus to its neighbours and of Tarsian magistrates to the Imperial service the mischiefs noted are all traced to moral weakness and the remedy implied is always the same, παιδεία καὶ λόγος directed to higher ideals. And yet appearances were against philosophy, which was to supply this training. It was a common charge against philosophy that it tended to the dissolution of society by discouraging interest in public affairs. In particular the pattern

²⁸ Communicated by Professor Ramsay.

N.B. It may be suggested that the unexplained inscriptions on Tarsian coins ΠΠ, ΠΠΒ (cf. Hill *B.M.C., Lycetonia*, etc. p. xci.) may stand for Γνώμη Πρυτάνεως, Γνώμη Πρυτάνεως Βουλῆς. Both at Tarsus and Anazarbus the Boule had certain rights of coinage

(cf. coin types Hill p. xcvi.) and when it was necessary to authorise an issue it would naturally act on the motion (γνώμη) of the Prytanis. At Anazarbus, which imitated Tarsus closely, these letters are not found, nor is there any trace of a Prytanis.

held up for imitation by the Stoics in the ideal Sage appealed to all who were out of sympathy with the times and inevitably was often made a pretext for selfish neglect of public duties. With his eye on the best age of Greek history, Dio was too sensible of the decline in public life to reject the consolation afforded by this ideal of self-sufficing virtue. The question whether, in a society where all were slaves but one, there was anything left to strive after was for him a real one, but here again Stoicism came to the rescue. The principle of the all-sufficiency of inward virtue was supplemented by the doctrine of natural function, which insisted on the energetic performance by every man of the work that lay nearest to his hand, an inconsistency which enabled Stoicism to find a home in Roman official circles and notably in the house of Caesar itself, while yet it was the natural refuge of the discontented *littérateurs* and aristocrats who formed the opposition. The second speech to the Tarsians breaks off short in the midst of a discussion of this inconsistency, but enough is said to show that Dio had arrived at a theoretical as well as a practical solution of the difficulty. While admitting that philosophy represses certain activities like the incontinent pursuit of gain, he believes that it acts as a stimulus to the higher interests and motives. He in short succeeded, where so many failed, in reconciling his speculative principles with the requirements of a high conception of public and private conduct; and it is this, along with his missionary enthusiasm, moral and religious—for he claims to speak under divine inspiration—that makes him one of the finest products of Hellenism in Asia Minor under the Empire, that Hellenism of which it has been said, in the words of the poet, ‘The sun even in setting is ever the same.’

T. CALLANDER.

PHAYLLUS AND HIS RECORD JUMP.

Πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα πόδας πήδησε Φάϋλλος
δίσκευσεν δ' ἑκατὸν πέντ' ἀπολειπομένων.¹

The marvellous jump recorded in this epigram has naturally given rise to much controversy. Intimately connected with it is the equally disputed question of the meaning of the terms *σκάμμα*, *τὰ ἔσκαμμένα*, and *βατήρ* as applied to the long jump.

I.—*The σκάμμα.*

Most of the discussion on this point might have been avoided if scholars had considered the whole of the evidence and not confined their attention to one or two passages. The discussion has mostly turned upon the words of Pindar (*Nem.* v. 19, 20) *μακρά μοι δὴ αὐτόθεν ἄλμαθ' ὑποσκάπτοι τις*, and upon the scholiast's note on this passage. In *J.H.S.* vol. i. 213 Prof. Percy Gardner gave the following explanation: 'After every leap a fork was drawn across to mark the length, so that he who leaps beyond all marks distances his rivals.' In *J.H.S.* vol. ii. p. 218 Mr. Myres suggested that 'the *σκάμμα* might be a line drawn for the jumper to jump at like the handkerchief or piece of paper sometimes used in the present day.' He further suggested that the three lines seen on the B.M. vase B 48 represented the *ἔσκαμμένα*. Both these gentlemen have I believe since altered their views, but as statements bearing the authority of their names are always liable to be repeated without further investigation, the errors still persist. For example, in Liddell and Scott the *σκάμμα* is described as 'the place dug out and sanded where the athletes jump' and distinguished from *τὰ ἔσκαμμένα* or 'scores to mark the leaps of the *πένταθλοι*.' Prof. Bury in his edition of the Nemean Odes reverses this explanation. 'The ground' he says, 'dug up for the long jump was called *τὰ ἔσκαμμένα*, the distances of individual jumps were marked by smaller trenches called *βόθροι* or *σκάμματα*.'

A review of the evidence will, I believe, prove beyond doubt that there is no distinction between *τὰ ἔσκαμμένα* and the *σκάμμα*, and that both denote the 'garden' or ground dug up and sanded on which the jumpers

¹ *Anth. Pal.* App. 297.

alighted. To the passage from Pindar we may add the following passages in which the proverb *ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα* occurs.

1. Plato *Cratyl.* 413 A.

δοκῶ ἤδη μακρότερα τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἄλλεσθαι.

2. Lucian *Somn. s. Gall.* 6.

δεινὸν τινα τὸν ἔρωτα φῆς τοῦ ἐνυπνίου, εἴ γε πτηνὸς ὢν, ὥς φασι, καὶ ὄρον ἔχων τῆς πτήσεως τὸν ὕπνον ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἤδη πηδᾷ καὶ ἐνδιατρίβει ἀνεφγόσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς.

3. Libanius *ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρχηστρ.* 373 (*Reiske*).

καὶ ἡ μὲν παροιμία φησὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ σκάμμα θαυμάζουσα τοὺς τῷ πηδήματι τὸ μέτρον παριόντας.

In these passages we may observe how the proverb from denoting merely the extraordinary and marvellous comes to denote that which exceeds what is right. Even in athletics there must be some measure, and to go too far involves Nemesis; so a tradition recorded by Suidas states that Phayllus in breaking the record broke his leg. This twofold meaning of the proverb is further illustrated by the passages in the scholiasts and paroemiographers referring to it. It will be convenient to present these passages in a tabular form. The three passages from Suidas are numbered in the order in which he gives them.

Schol. Plato <i>Cratyl.</i> 413 A.	Schol. Pind. <i>Nem.</i> v. 19.	Schol. Lucian <i>Somn. s. Gall.</i> 6.
<p>παροιμία, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδᾶς, ὅμοιον τῷ ὑπερβάθμιον πόδα τείνεις.² παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν πέρα τοῦ δέοντος τι ποιούντων, οἷον, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐπήδησεν. εἰσῆκται δὲ ἐντεῦθεν· Φάυλλός τις κουφότατος πάντων ἄλματι μετέωρον φέρειν ἑαυτὸν πεντήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς πέντε πόδας παρὰ δόξαν ἐπὶ μῆκος ἤλατο, ὃν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θαυμάσαντες³ οἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμιλλώμενοι στίχῳ τὸ θαῦμα ἀοίδιμον τῷ μακρῷ καταλελοίπασιν χρόνῳ πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα πόδας πήδησε Φάυλλος</p> <p>ποιησάμενοι· οὗτοι γὰρ ὀρύγματα τέμνοντες τάφρων ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα μόνον πόδας διεστηκότα τὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἀκρότατον ἐπεδείκνυντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπερπείσας τοῦτο πέντε ποσὶν . . .</p>	<p>ἡ δὲ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πεντάθλων οἷς σκάμματα σκάπτονται ὅταν ἄλλωνται. ἐκείνων γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα πηδῶντων ὑποσκάπτεται βόθρος ἐκάστου τὸ ἄλμα δεικνύς.</p>	<p>Φάυλλός τις ἐγένετο, ὅστις ἐπήδα πολλά. τῶν οὖν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σκαπτόντων ν' πόδας καὶ τούτους πηδῶντων ὁ Φάυλλος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ν' πάννυ ἐπήδησεν· ἐκράτησεν οὖν ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὠρισμένον τι ποιούντων.</p>

² Apostolius, xvii. 62. Gregorius Cyp. iii. 29.

³ Cp. Libanius *loc. cit.*

<i>Zenobius</i> vi. 23.	<i>Codd. B. V.</i>	<i>Suidas</i> (1).	<i>Suidas</i> (3).
<p>ὑπὲρ τὰ ἔσκαμμένα. Φάυλλος ἐγένετο πένταθλος ὁ Πόντιος ὃς ἐδόκει μέγιστα δισκεύειν καὶ ἄλλεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ οὖν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἔσκαμμένους πεντήκοντα πόδας εἰς τὸ στερεὺν ἤλατο τὸ συμβᾶν εἰς παροιμίαν περιέστη.⁴</p>	<p>ὑ. τ. ἐ. π. ἀπὸ Φαύλλου τοῦ πεντάθλου τόδε εἰς ὅν (γ. τὰ δὲ εἰς ὅν), ἐπεγέγραπτο (γ. ἐπιγέγραπται) πέντ' ἐπὶ κ.τ.λ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἔσκαμμένους πεντήκοντα πόδας ἐτέρους ε' εἰς τὸ στερεὺν ἐπήδησεν εἰς παροιμίαν περιέστη.</p>	<p>ὑ. τ. ἐ. π. ὑπὲρ τὰ μέτρα. λέγεται δὲ ἀπὸ Φαύλλου τοῦ πεντάθλου ὃς πεντήκοντα ποδῶν ὕψων πρότερον τῶν σκαμμάτων πρότερος αὐτὸς ὑπερέβαλε τοῖς πηδήμασι ὥς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα λέγει τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ πέντ' ἐπὶ πειτήκοντα κ.τ.λ. καὶ Πλάτων ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ Κρατύλος.⁵</p>	<p>ὑ. τ. ἐ. π. ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τι πρατάντων· διότι ὁ Φάυλλος ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντήκοντα πόδας πηδήσας ἐπηρώθη τὸ σκέλος.</p>

To these may be added the much disputed passage in Pollux III. 151. καὶ ὅθεν ἄλλεται βατήρ. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸν βατήρα κέκρουκεν. τὸ δὲ μέτρον τοῦ πηδήματος κανὼν, ὁ δὲ ὅρος τὰ ἔσκαμμένα ὅθεν ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν ὅρον ὑπερπηδῶντων οἱ παροιμιαζόμενοι λέγουσι πηδᾶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἔσκαμμένα. Similarly Suidas describes the βατήρ as ἀρχὴ τοῦ τῶν πεντάθλων σκάμματος and Hesychius as ἄκρον τοῦ σκάμματος.

First as to the relation of these passages to one another. Zenobius, Suidas, *Codd. B. V.*, and consequently Apostolius and Eustathius agree so closely in substance and language, that they must obviously be derived from one common source, probably from a note by some paroemiographer on the proverb, and from the epigram on Phayllus. Of these authorities the earliest is Zenobius. The collection of proverbs which bears his name and the collection contained in *Codd. A. B. V.* are derived from the original collection made by Zenobius in the reign of Hadrian.⁶ Zenobius is known to have epitomised the proverbs of Didymus and of Lucillus of Tarra, who themselves drew upon earlier collections, one of which was ascribed to Aristotle. Lucillus has further been identified with the Lucillus who in the reign of Nero wrote two books of epigrams, many of which are athletic. It is tempting to conjecture that both the epigram and the interpretation of the proverb were derived from Lucillus. But without going so far as this we may surely infer that Zenobius or the earlier paroemiographer on whom he drew is the sole authority for all the passages mentioned. To these we may add the scholium to Lucian, the meaning of which is now clear. The words τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σκαπτόντων ν' πόδας refer not to the fellow-competitors of Phayllus, but to jumpers before his time.⁷ They are equivalent to the πεντήκοντα ποδῶν ὄντων πρότερον τῶν σκαμμάτων of Suidas, and both expressions merely explain the ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἔσκαμμένους πεντήκοντα πόδας of Zenobius.

⁴ = Suidas (2) who reads ἐξέβη instead of περιέστη.

⁵ = Apostolius, xvii. 62, who reads πρῶτος for πρότερος and τῶν ἔσκαμμένων for τῶν σκαμμάτων. Also = Eustathius *Od.* viii. 1591, with verbal differences.

⁶ Cp. *J.H.S.* xxii. pp. 10 sq. where Mr. Bernard Cook clearly shows the relations of these paroemiographers.

⁷ In *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 57, I misinterpreted this passage.

The scholia to Plato and Pindar seem at first sight to belong to a different source. But a closer examination shows that this is not so. The scholiast to Plato who is referred to by Suidas is a rhetorician, but when we strip him of his verbiage we find nothing more than the facts with which we are already familiar: that Phayllus was a record jumper and that there was an epigram on him. We may note the elaborate paraphrases for *ἐδόκει μέγιστα ἄλλεσθαι* and for *εἰς ὃν ἐπεγέγραπτο*. The *σκάμματα* become *ὀρύγματα τάφρων*, the *ὅρος* or *μέτρον* becomes *τὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἀκρότατον*, *ἤλατο ὑπὲρ* becomes the unusual *ὑπερπαίσας*. One phrase reminds us of the words already quoted from Libanius. We have then merely a rhetorical expansion of the passage in Zenobius, or his authority. Lastly we come to the scholiast to Pindar. The last words are difficult. They should certainly denote the scores marking each individual's jump. But what a hopelessly inappropriate word *βόθρος* is for such a mark! I cannot help thinking that we have here a short paraphrase of the scholium to Plato by another scholiast who did not really understand the words. "*Ὀρύγμα τάφρων* becomes *βόθρος* and *ἐκάστου τὸ ἄλμα δεικνύς* is an inaccurate reminiscence of *τὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἀκρότατον ἐπεδείκνυντο*. Such a view will offer no difficulty to anyone who realises how inaccurate the scholiasts often are on matters athletic. If this argument is correct we may trace these two scholia to the same source as the passages previously discussed, *i.e.* to the explanation of the proverb given by Zenobius, or by some earlier paroemiographer, whom he copied.

The first point which becomes clear when we bring all these passages together is that there is no difference between *τὰ ἐσκαμμένα* and *σκάμμα*. Libanius quotes the proverb as *ὑπὲρ τὸ σκάμμα*, other writers as *ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα*. The scholiasts to Pindar and Eustathius use *σκάμμα* only, Apostolius and Pollux *τὰ ἐσκαμμένα*. Suidas uses both phrases indifferently. Lastly Suidas Zenobius and *Codd. B. V.* also use the phrase *τοὺς ἐσκαμμένους πεντήκοντα πόδας*. This last phrase, with which the scholiasts to Pindar and Lucian agree, leaves no possible doubt that what is meant is the ground dug up and sanded for the jumpers, *i.e.* 'the garden.' The tradition that Phayllus landing on the hard ground beyond broke his leg shows that the *σκάμμα* itself was soft. This is confirmed by the words of Philostratus: *οὐ γὰρ συγχωροῦσι οἱ νόμοι διαμετρεῖν τὸ πήδημα ἢν μὴ ἀρτίως ἔχη τοῦ ἵχνους*,⁸ words which would be meaningless unless the ground was soft but which are perfectly intelligible to anyone who has witnessed a modern long jump. Again the *σκάμμα* is described as the *ὅρος* by Pollux and according to the scholiast to Plato it showed the furthest limit beyond which it was considered impossible to jump. Similarly the *βατήρ* or 'take off' is the *ἀρχή* or *ἄκρον τοῦ σκάμματος*.

In later times at all events the term *σκάμμα* was also used of the place where the wrestlers practised. The reason is obvious. Wrestlers required soft ground. When the remainder of the Ten Thousand were holding their sports at Trapezus some of the men objected to wrestling *ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ*

⁸ Phil. *Gymn.* 55.

δασεῖ οὕτως.⁹ So Lucian describes the wrestlers exercising in the ὄρυγμα.¹⁰ The exercise of digging was also utilised as a means of training especially for the heavier contests,¹¹ and so the σκαπάνη is one of the most frequent symbols of the Palaestra in vase paintings, and is spoken of as the special attribute of the boxer or wrestler.¹² Still later we find skamma used of the arena itself, or even of the racecourse, and used metaphorically for any form of contest.¹³

II.—The βατήρ and the Theory of a Triple Jump.

From the passages already quoted it is clear that the βατήρ is merely the end of the σκάμμα from which the jumpers took off. There is no evidence that it was anything in the nature of a spring board; on the other hand the proverb κέκρουκε τὸν βατήρα suggests that, as might have been expected, it was hard. On a vase painting shown by Krause¹⁴ we see a youth about to jump standing on a small raised platform, which seems to represent the βατήρ. There would be no further difficulty about the point were it not for the theory put forward by Fedde¹⁵ to explain Phayllus' jump. He adopts the view first suggested by Wassmannsdorf that the Greek jump was a triple jump consisting of three consecutive jumps or rather two steps (Sprungschritte) and a jump. This view he supports by a passage in Bekker's *Anecdota*, 224. The λέξεις ῥητορικαί in which this passage occurs are part of the *Lexica Segueriana* contained in the Codex Coislinianus 345, a manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century. It is as follows—βατήρ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ τῶν πεντάθλων σκάμματος, ἀφ' οὗ ἄλλονται τὸ πρῶτον. Σέλευκος. Σύμμαχος δὲ τὸ μέσον, ἀφ' οὗ ἀλόμενοι πάλιν ἐξάλλονται. ἄμεινον ὡς Σέλευκος. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς θύρας οὐδόν, ὃν Ὀμηρος βηλόν, οἱ δὲ τραγικοὶ βαλόν.

The words τὸ πρῶτον and πάλιν, says Fedde, are direct evidence that the jump consisted of more than one jump, probably of three, or rather two steps and a jump. Now in the Palaestra at Olympia a little way from the north wall there is a curious tiled pavement. It consists of two belts of ribbed tiles 1.60 metre broad, separated by two rows of smooth tiles.¹⁶ The length of the pavement is 24.20 metres, and between the end of it and the wall is a further space of 5 metres. Graef suggested that this pavement was the wrestling-ground, a truly murderous arrangement, to which Xenophon's fellow-soldiers might have well objected. Fedde explains this pavement as a double jumping-track. The paved tiling, he says, was the σκάμμα and served for the run and the two 'Sprungschritte,' the ground beyond was the ἐσκαμμένα proper, and perhaps the whole might be described as the σκάμμα.

⁹ Xen. *Anab.* iv. 8. 26.

¹⁰ Lucian, *Anacharsis*. 2.

¹¹ Schol. Theocrit. iv. 10; Festus, v. *rutrum*.

¹² Theocrit. iv. 10.

¹³ Krause, *Gymnastik der Hell.* p. 105. n. 2.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* ix. 23.

¹⁵ Fedde, *Gymn. Programm.* Breslau, 1888, p. 13; *Fünfkampf der Hell.* Leipzig, 1889; Wassmannsdorf, *Monatschrift*, 1885, p. 270.

¹⁶ Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv. p. 89.

The *βατήρ* he describes as a sort of movable jumping board, placed somewhere about the middle of the paved run, and the fifty feet was measured from the *βατήρ* partly by means of the paved tiles which are 60 cm. square = 1 *πυγών*, partly by the *κανών* or measuring rod.

This theory is certainly ingenious, but it is open to many objections. In the first place there is no evidence of any distinction between the *σκάμμα* and *τὰ ἐσκαμμένα*, which both denote the place dug out. Secondly it would be hard to find a more inappropriate word to describe a tiled course than *σκάμμα*; for it is impossible to dissociate it from the cognate words so common in athletics, *ὑποσκάπτειν*, *σκάψις*, *σκαφεῖον*, *σκαπάνη*, and from synonyms used for it, *ὄρυγμα*, *βόθρος*, *τάφος*. Again the palaestra is not the place where you would expect to find an elaborate jumping-track, especially at Olympia where there was a gymnasium close by with its *δρόμος*. The palaestra was essentially the wrestling school. Finally from a practical point of view, even when we make allowance for the hardness of a Greek athlete's feet, ribbed tiles can hardly have been comfortable to run on, much less to jump on. This pavement therefore cannot possibly have been a jumping-track; from its position it is more likely to have been a place for the spectators, or for the officials of the palaestra.

The next difficulty in this theory is the two 'Sprungschritte.' These were according to Fedde reckoned in the jump, and the jumper must therefore have tried to make them as big as possible. This is easy enough without halteres, but with them is so clumsy and awkward a performance as to render a good jump almost impossible. The fact is that with weights the run, or the few steps taken before the jump are rather of the short springy character which we associate with the high jump, whereas big strides and jumping weights counteract each other. This will be obvious to anyone who experiments with a pair of dumb-bells, especially if he swings them in the manner depicted on the vases which according to Fedde represent the Sprungschritte. The type is fairly common; it represents a youth swinging the weights not on different sides of his body but both on the same side.¹⁷ A slight pause is necessary between each movement to allow the swing of the weights to be utilised, for before each forward swing they must be swung back again. Now when the pause is made on *one* leg, it is almost impossible to preserve the balance during the double swing. Martin Faber,¹⁸ who adopts the same view, sees the Sprungschritte depicted on a vase published in *Arch. Zeit.* 1881. Unfortunately the jumper here depicted has no halteres!

But if we abandon Fedde's theory and with it the hop, skip, and jump theory which is open to the same objections, is it not possible that the Greek long jump was a series of three jumps? A series of jumps with weights is a familiar exercise in our own gymnasia, it is said to be practised to-day in parts of Greece, and it would explain Phayllus' jump. Unfortunately, the only evidence for it is the passage from Bekker's *Anecdota* already quoted. The

¹⁷ Jüthner, *Ant. Turngeräthe*, f. 10, A. 3, 1884, xvi.; Krause, *op. cit.* ix. B. 25 B; B. M.

Vases, E 391.

¹⁸ *Philologus*, 1891, p. 478.

unknown writer quotes two authorities, Seleucus, and Symmachus. Seleucus was an Alexandrian grammarian who taught at Rome and is quoted by Suidas.¹⁹ Symmachus edited a collection of scholia on Aristophanes and other authors which was also used by Suidas.²⁰ Seleucus defines the *βατήρ* as τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ τῶν πεντάθλων σκάμματος, ἀφ' οὗ ἄλλονται τὸ πρῶτον. Suidas defines it as the ἀρχὴ τοῦ σκάμματος, Hesychius as τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ σκάμματος. These three writers then agree. The author of the passage in Bekker prefers Seleucus to Symmachus; so evidently does Suidas, who quotes the definition of Seleucus, and though he elsewhere uses Symmachus, ignores his definition of the *βατήρ*. The presumption is that Symmachus made a mistake. But can we infer from the words τὸ πρῶτον and πάλιν that the Greek long jump was a succession of jumps? At the most the passage can only prove two jumps, but I confess to being doubtful if it proves even that. To begin with there is a practical difficulty. If we are right in concluding that the whole of the *σκάμμα* was dug up and that the ground was soft, it would be most difficult to take off for a second or third jump from the loose soil. If on the other hand the *βατήρ* was some sort of jumping-board placed in the middle of the *σκάμμα*, the distance of the first jump would be unfairly limited. Moreover there are certain verbal difficulties: *πάλιν* is not the natural word for a 'second time,' it rather means 'back.' What again is the force of ἐξ in ἐξάλλονται, and why is the aorist ἀλόμενοι used? But if we refuse to accept Fedde's interpretation, how can we explain the passage? In discussing the *σκάμμα* we found that nearly all our information was derived from the explanation of a proverb given by some paroemiographer. I believe that this is also the case with the *βατήρ*. Pollux and Eustathius quote the proverb κέκρουκε τὸν βατήρα. Let us suppose that Symmachus and Seleucus were both explaining this proverb. The word *βατήρ* merely means the treading place, and so is used of the threshold of the door; but the treading place need not be the take off, it may also be the place where the jumpers land. Indeed Pollux²¹ speaking of the racecourse says ἵνα παύονται, τέλος καὶ τέρμα καὶ βατήρ. Now the proverb κέκρουκε τὸν βατήρα is a sporting expression used to describe some decisive step, equivalent to 'the die is cast.' Seleucus derives it from the jumper who has taken off—he has jumped! Symmachus supposed the *βατήρ* to be the place where he lands—he has landed in the *σκάμμα*, and now must jump out again! This appears to be a possible explanation of the working of the grammarian's mind; but apart from this the passage is too difficult of interpretation to warrant us in founding upon it a theory which is opposed to all the other evidence as to the *σκάμμα*.

We may conclude therefore that there is no evidence for the triple jump, that the Greeks jumped very much as we do, that they took off from the hard *βατήρ* and landed in the soft *σκάμμα*. Each jump was marked by a line drawn in the sand, or by a peg. Pegs were certainly used to mark the throw of the diskos. The lines which we see on the B.M. vase B 48 might

¹⁹ S. v. Σέλευκος.

²⁰ S. c. ὑπερακοντίζειν and passim.

²¹ iii. 147.

be either lines in the sand or pegs; so too the *σήματα* referred to by Quintus Smyrnaeus.²² The jump was measured by the *κανών*, or measuring rod which Pollux describes as τὸ μέτρον τοῦ πηδήματος, and which occurs constantly in vase paintings. It has been usual to speak of measuring ropes and compasses as used to measure the jump, but Dr. Jüthner²³ has shown conclusively that the objects so described are rather the *ίμάς* or boxing thong, and the short *ἀγκύλη* or *amentum* used in throwing the spear.

III.—Phayllus.

The fifty-five foot jump of Phayllus is the real cause of all our difficulties. Now we may admit that the use of halteres adds considerably to the length of a jump. We may admit that the Greeks probably did excel modern athletes in jumping. There is hardly any form of exercise in which practice produces greater improvement, and, whereas in the present day jumping is practised by comparatively few athletes, in Greece it formed an essential part of every man's and every boy's physical training and was systematically taught. We know from a recently discovered papyrus²⁴ of the second century A.D. that each movement in wrestling was systematically taught. The numerous vases where we see pairs of jumpers on either side of a trainer practising with halteres suggest a similar method of practice for jumping.²⁵ Moreover the feet of the Greek being uncramped by shoes and stockings had probably far greater elasticity. But making allowance for all these facts we cannot explain the discrepancy between the modern record of 24 ft. 11½ ins. and Phayllus' performance. Even with a spring board and a raised platform such a jump would be impossible, and there is no evidence for any such aids. We have seen the objections to the theory of a triple jump. The only alternative is to suppose some mistake in the Greek record. It has been the fashion to state that this record is attested by considerable weight of evidence. I propose to examine this evidence, taking first the evidence of classical authors, secondly that of lexicographers and scholiasts.

Herodotus viii. 48 tells us that the people of Croton were the only Greeks beyond the sea who sent help to the Greeks at Salamis. They sent a single ship commanded by Phayllus. Plutarch²⁶ tells us that Phayllus fitted out the ship at his own expense and that Alexander in recognition of his spirit and courage sent a portion of his Asiatic spoils to the Crotoniates. Pausanias²⁷ saw his statue at Delphi. He adds that Phayllus won no victory at Olympia but was victorious once in the stadium race and twice in the pentathlon at Delphi. Aristophanes twice alludes to one Phayllus as a noted runner (*Ach.* 213, *Vesp.* 1203) and as Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians* is alluding to the days of his youth, the Persian wars, it seems certain that he

²² Quintus Smyrnaeus, iv. 466.
τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἐπέρθορε πολλὸν ἐνμελείης Ἀγαπήνωρ
σήματα.

²³ *Ant. Turnerathle*, pp. 40, 69.

²⁴ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*,

iii. No. 466.

²⁵ Cp. Zannoni, *Scavi di Bologna*, 77. 1.

²⁶ Plut. *Alexander*, 34.

²⁷ Pausanias, x. 9.

is referring to Phayllus of Croton, though the identification of the Phayllus in the *Wasps* is not so certain. This is all we know of Phayllus at first hand. He was evidently a popular hero, popular partly for his patriotism, partly for his athletics, one of those men about whose exploits all sorts of stories arise. He was noted more as a runner than as a pentathlete, or at least as much. We hear nothing of his jump, or of the epigram, an omission which is certainly remarkable in the case of Pausanias. It seems unlikely that Pausanias could have failed to notice the epigram had it been inscribed on the statue at Delphi.

We come now to the evidence of scholiasts and lexicographers. I have collected most of this evidence in connection with the *σκάμμα*. I tried to show that all the passages quoted might be derived from the epigram on Phayllus and from some commentator's explanation of the proverb *ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα*, the earliest explanation known to us being that of Zenobius. With regard to Phayllus these writers tell us no more than we could have learnt from the epigram. Zenobius tells us that he *ἐδόκει μέγιστα δισκεύειν καὶ ἄλλεσθαι*, and jumped *ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντήκοντα πόδας εἰς τὸ στερεόν*. *Codd. B.V.* add the words *ἐτέρους ἐ'* and quote the first line of the epigram. One passage in Suidas pointing the moral of excess tells us that he broke his leg, an accident which cannot surprise us. The rhetorical scholiast to Plato tells us that the epigram was composed by his fellow-competitors, and Suidas tells us that it was the inscription *τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ*. These are precisely the details which would naturally be added to the epigram, and we cannot attach any importance to them, especially when we remember that Phayllus lived a century before Plato, we do not know how many centuries before the scholiast, and fifteen centuries before Eustathius and Suidas. The only detail of importance in which these writers differ is the nationality of Phayllus. Zenobius and Suidas in the passage borrowed from Zenobius describe him as *ὁ Πόντιος*, Eustathius, Apostolius, and Suidas in another passage as *Κροτωνιάτης*. Others describe him simply as *πένταθλος*. Now this is precisely the point on which the epigram is silent, a silence which is very unusual in athletic epigrams, and the fact of the doubt as to the nationality of the hero is an additional proof that the sole authority of all these writers was the epigram.

There are still two passages left to which I have not referred, or rather one, for they are identical. The scholiast to Aristophanes *Acharn.* 213 says:

ὁ Φάϊλλος δρομεὺς ἄριστος (Ὀλυμπιονίκης, ὀπλιτοδρόμος περιώνυμος, ὃν ἐκάλουν ὀδόμετρον· ἦν δὲ καὶ πένταθλος) ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται τοιόνδε
πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα κ.τ.λ.

(ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερος ἀθλητής, ὁ γδοὺν ὀλυμπιάδα νικήσας καὶ τρίτος λωποδύτης.)

The words in brackets do not occur in the Ravenna MS. The same passage is quoted by Suidas s.v. *Φάυλλος* with the addition of the lines from Aristophanes. If we are to identify the Phayllus of the epigram with Phayllus of Croton, as our other authorities do, this passage is manifestly

wrong. For Herodotus implies and Pausanias expressly states that Phayllus of Croton was not an Olympic victor. Apart from this we learn nothing new except that there was more than one athlete named Phayllus; for the epigram is common to all our authorities, and Aristophanes tells us that he was a runner.

The result of our investigation is that all we learn from scholiasts and lexicographers about Phayllus and his jump, and therefore about the fifty foot *σκάμμα*, rests solely on the authority of an epigram of which we first hear in the time of Zenobius, some six centuries after the event. What is the authority of the epigram? I believe it is absolutely worthless, and such as no historian would think of recognising. The silence of Herodotus and Pausanias, the style of the epigram itself, so different from that of actual inscriptions, make it improbable that it was written till centuries after the incident recorded. Certainly it is not a contemporary commemorative epigram. For in such an epigram the winner's father, and city, and the name of the meeting would have been mentioned. Now no records are so liable to exaggeration as athletic records, especially when based not on written evidence but on report and tradition. For example we often hear it said of some old skater of the last generation that he could cut his name on the ice. Every figure skater knows the impossibility of the feat even in the present state of skating, much more so fifty years ago when only the simplest turns were known; and yet the myth survives. Sporting records and sporting stories are notorious all over the world and especially when connected with the names of famous men. Phayllus was just such a popular hero, whose exploits the hero-worship of later ages would love to exaggerate. Equally marvellous tales are told of Milo, Ladas, and other famous athletes. not to mention the feats of Heracles and such heroes. Moreover in this case the tradition is put into an epigram. Now if we always regard the sporting story with suspicion, what shall we say of the sporting epigram? The pages of the Anthology bear abundant evidence to the imaginative power of the later epigrammatist. When we come to examine this particular epigram our scepticism is confirmed. It is artificial from beginning to end. Mark the alliteration, the constant repetition of the number five, the symmetrical contrast between 50 feet + 5 and 100 feet - 5! The artificiality in itself is no proof of a late date. Had such a jump ever been made, Simonides 'who enjoyed using tricks of metre in a humorous way' might well have written such an epigram. But the artificiality is an argument against such a record ever having been made. For it is most unlikely that actual records should assume so symmetrical a form. A point which I have never seen noticed is that for any competitor to outjump all his rivals by more than five feet is quite as marvellous as for him to jump fifty feet. Moreover whatever was the usual length of the skamma, we may feel sure that it allowed a liberal margin even for the best jumpers just as 'the garden' in the present day is several feet longer than any possible jump. For a jumper who landed on the edge would certainly injure himself seriously. As the scholiast to Plato says, it marked *τὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἀκρότατον*. Therefore

Phayllus must have outjumped his fellows by much more than five feet! The epigrammatists do not often venture on giving numbers, but the exaggeration of this epigram is no greater than that of many another epigram in the Anthology. Milo we are told picked up a four year old heifer at Olympia, and after carrying it about killed it and ate the whole of it. No one has yet elaborated a theory to account for this extraordinary gastronomic feat, and yet it rests upon as good evidence as Phayllus' jump.²⁸ The proverbial use of the number five would sufficiently explain why a poet wishing to describe a prodigious jump should select such a number as fifty-five.²⁹ Such obvious exaggeration though impossible to the poet of an athletic age like the fifth century would be in perfect accord with the persiflage of the later epigrammatist in an age when serious athletics were left to professionals, and the public interest in them was purely spectacular.³⁰

Besides the epigram on Phayllus one more piece of evidence must be noticed. In Sextus Julius Africanus we read

Ὅλ. κβ'. Χίονις Λάκων στάδιον· οὐ τὸ ἄλμα νβ' ποδῶν.

Little credit can be placed in these early Olympic records; but apart from this it is probable that the reading is wrong, and that we should read κβ' instead of νβ'. For the Armenian Latin text reads 'duos et viginti cubitus,' which gives quite a reasonable record, especially when we are told that 'cubitus' is often used in Armenian writings for 'pes.'³¹

A rhetorical epigram and a doubtful reading in Africanus are then our only authorities for the statement that Phayllus jumped fifty-five feet, and that fifty feet was a common performance. I have tried to show that the various attempts to explain such a jump are unsupported by any evidence. I have tried to show the untrustworthiness of the epigram. Surely it is simpler to reject its evidence than to build up artificial theories on so unstable a foundation.

E. NORMAN GARDINER.

²⁸ *Anth. Pal.* App. iii. 95.

²⁹ I am indebted to Mr. Walter Headlam for the following information on this point. 'With a decimal system derived from counting on the fingers (πεμπάξιν) the Greeks used πέντε and δέκα, just as we use 'half-a-dozen' or 'a dozen' to mean either a large or a small number. See Aristoph. *Nub.* 10 (ἐν πέντε μισύραις); *Ach.* 710 (κατεπάλασεν ἄν Εὐάθλους δέκα); *Plut.* 737 (the scholiast here quotes a proverb πρὶν εἰπεῖν πέντε λόγους), Antiphanes 205, 4 (ii. 99 Kock: ὅσπερ ἐκ τούτου πονηροὺς πέντε παῖδας γεγονότας); Lynceus Com. i. 6 (iii. 274 K.) *ib.* 8 13; Apollodor. *Caryst.* 5. 21 (iii. 252 K.); Poseidipp. Com. 15 (ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα); Herodas iii. 23, v. 60; Theocrit. iii. 10; Menander 363. 2 (πεντάκις τῆς ἡμέρας); 532. 9 (πέντε

μῆρας οὐ); Lucian ii. p. 714, 698, 554 (ὁ μὲν πέντε . . . , ὁ δὲ δέκα . . .); iii. p. 119; *Anth. Pal.* ix. 144, 207, 326, 395; xii. 181 etc. To these might be added many compounds such as πεντακυμία (*Luc.* i. 653), δεκάπαλαι (*Aristoph. Eq.* 1154).

³⁰ I have failed to find any clue for determining the date of the epigram on Phayllus. The phrase πέντ' ἐπὶ πέντε πόδας occurs in an epigram of Lucillus. *Anth. Pal.* xi. 87, and its general character is very similar to that of many athletic epigrams bearing his name, which are undoubtedly late. Most of them are sarcastic, and all are marked by the same exaggeration.

³¹ Scheibel, Scaliger's *Ὅλ. Ἀναγραφὴ*, p. 15. n. 89.

SOME GREEK PORTRAITS.

[PLATES II.—IV.]

I.—*Aeschylus* (Pl. II.).

SINCE the Capitoline 'Aeschylus' was discredited as a portrait of the tragedian¹ there has been a curious blank in our knowledge of Greek iconography; yet his portraits in antiquity were famous and it seems certain that they must, like those of Sophocles and Euripides, have been widely reproduced. Those known to us from literary evidence are that in the *Στοὰ Ποικίλη*, where he appeared as one of the warriors of Marathon, that erected by Lycurgos in 340, and (probably) another of earlier date, inferred from the words of Diogenes Laertius² that the Athenians *Ἀστυδάμαντα πρότερον τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλον ἐτίμησαν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ*; now Astydamas, nephew of Aeschylus, won the prize in Ol. 95. 2, and Bernoulli³ suggests that if a statue were erected at that date to one of his followers, one of the great tragedian was probably in existence, *i.e.*, one erected before the end of the fifth century. That set up by Lycurgos⁴ was, however, by far the most famous, and of its style we get clear evidence from the Sophocles of the Lateran.

A problem has recently come to the front with regard to the Lycurgean Aeschylus. It has long been a puzzle to archaeologists that Pausanias,⁵ in describing the statues of the three dramatists in the theatre, should have mentioned that of Aeschylus apart from the other two, adding, *τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα τὴν Αἰσχύλου πολλῶ τε ὕστερον τῆς τελευτῆς δοκῶ ποιηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἢ τὸ ἔργον ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι*. Since this paper was first written light has been thrown on the subject by Herr von Prott⁶ who has published the base of a statue from the Theatre at Athens inscribed [ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ, in letters of Roman date. The inference is that, when Pausanias wrote, the original statue had been destroyed or carried off, and was replaced by another which struck him as later in style, and which he therefore did not couple with the Lycurgean Sophocles and Euripides. Any attempt then to identify portraits of Aeschylus derived from this statue will have to reckon with the question

¹ Studniczka, in *Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.* iii. 1900.

² ii. 5. 43.

³ *Gr. Ikon.* i. 105.

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⁴ Plut. *Vit. X. Orat. Lycurg.*, 11.

⁵ i. 21.

⁶ H. v. Prott, *Zur Gr. Ikonogr., Ath. Mitth.* xxvii. 294.

of their being copies of the original or of the later statue which filled its place.

Studniczka⁷ suggests that in the 'grandiose poet-statue' of the Vatican, holding a scroll and mask, we have a copy of the Lycurgean Aeschylus, in favour of which view there is much to be said. The right arm is a restoration, its action unmeaning as the torso is undraped, so that the similarity of the pose to that of the Lateran Sophocles counts for nothing; but in the case of the legs the position is almost identical, save that here the *left* leg is advanced. Again, the drapery from the thigh to the knee is much alike in both, though the folds here converge and are gathered up under the left arm, hanging in a straight mass away from the free leg and down from the arm; herein the scheme of course differs, but where similarity is possible we get it, in the details mentioned above, in the deeply incised folds, even in the *sinus* that runs from hip to hip. The Euripidean head does not belong to, and is too small for, the statue, but if this be a copy from the Lycurgos group the choice lies between Euripides and Aeschylus, and all things point to the latter—the extraordinarily broad shoulders, the nudity of the upper part of the body, pointing to the warrior of Marathon, the tragic mask. The last is perhaps the strongest argument, for we know from the *Vita Anonyma*, Pausanias, and Pollux how deeply the poet's development of stage properties affected the course of the drama as well as his startled audiences. There was moreover a tradition that Aeschylus was the inventor of masks,⁸ and this may well have been emphasised in an honorary statue as a means of distinguishing the poet from the rest set up in the theatre with him.⁹

Even though this identification be accepted, it gives us no clue to the poet's features, and of the two heads hitherto proposed as portraits one¹⁰ is now universally discredited, the other¹¹ has never been accepted.

There exists, scattered over various museums of Europe, a series of heads published together by Arndt-Bruckmann (*Gr. u. röm. Porträts*, 401–10) as portraits of an unidentified person, known to be a poet from the fillet appearing in the Naples head, traces of which are found in three more. Their astonishing general likeness to the Lateran Sophocles is commented on by Furtwängler,¹² by Arndt,¹³ and by Bernoulli,¹⁴ while the Naples example (Fig. 1) is even described (incorrectly, as Bernoulli points out) in the Museum as a Sophocles. It is noteworthy that the Florentine replica, (Pl. II.), incomparably the best, was found with three other bronze poet heads, including a fine Sophocles, in the sea off Livorno, and probably formed part of the decoration of some Roman villa in the neighbourhood.¹⁵ All archaeologists consider the series of heads under discussion to represent a poet of the fifth century whose statue was erected in the fourth, Arndt so

⁷ *Neue Jahrb. loc. cit.*

⁸ Suidas, s.v. Αἰσχύλος. *Hor. Ars Poet.* 278.

⁹ Paus. i. 21.

¹⁰ The Capitoline.

¹¹ That proposed by Furtwängler at Bonn, for which see the paper on Agathon in the

present series.

¹² *Berl. Cat.* No. 313.

¹³ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁴ *Gr. Ikon.* i. 144.

¹⁵ Amelung, *Führer z. Florenz*, p. 277.

far defining the date as to say 'the second quarter of the fourth century.' Their character must now be considered in detail, and here the first important point is the startling variation in excellence. The bronze replica is very fine, with much of the character of marble treatment in hair and modelling, as a comparison with the Naples bust shows; the latter is of very careful and elegant workmanship, but the remaining three are bad, two



Alinari.

FIG. 1.—AESCHYLUS: BUST AT NAPLES

unutterably so. With all this variation in style, the five replicas correspond almost line for line, almost the only difference being the introduction of hairy eyebrows in the worst replicas, so that there is little need to consider, as one usually must, what elements belong to the original and what to the copyist. The following description therefore applies to all the replicas; a special feature of the Naples herm will be noted later.

The head is long in proportion to its breadth, the upper part predominating; the skull is not highly developed behind, nor is the breadth across the temples remarkable, though the depth from crown to brow is very great. The hair lies in short thick locks over the head, with no trace of thinness, and its growth over the forehead is peculiar, with a marked trend to the left, the front locks running almost parallel with the forehead, leaving the whole length of the temples bare. In the best copies the brow is traversed by two furrows, towards which smaller lines run up from the root of the nose. The eyebrows are very straight save at the outer corners, where the sharp angle formed by the juncture of the plane of the temple with the forehead causes a similar angle in them. The eyes are decidedly small, with prominent lids, the upper projecting in fourth century fashion beyond the lower, while the opening is narrow, the inner line of the lower lid being given in all the replicas. The nose is very straight, with no depression at the roots, by no means ideal in shape, with deep lines running down from the nostrils. On the thin cheeks the whiskers grow almost in a straight line from close by the ear to the end of the moustache, and on the inner side down to the neck; the moustache parts over the middle of the upper lip in a fashion closely resembling that of the Sophocles, but mingles with the beard instead of drooping in locks from the corners of the mouth, which is somewhat small, the upper lip projecting, and the lower having but little depression between it and the chin. Along the lower lip grows a thin straight line of hair, immediately below which the beard proper appears, made up of short clustering locks like those of the hair and whiskers. It is a curious point that on the upper part of the chin, where these locks begin, they show the same trend to the left as appears in the hair on the forehead, so that the two here run almost parallel, while elsewhere on the chin, as in the hair above the brow, the growth is in the usual downward direction. All the copies give this peculiarity, but their faithfulness is perhaps most apparent in the rendering of the ears, usually a merely stylistic matter, but in this series reproduced with almost exact uniformity. In two of the copies the head is not broken off from the neck, and in each case is bent forward, though the inclination is more marked in the bronze.

In attempting an attribution there is certain definite evidence to go upon: the bearded head crowned by a fillet can only belong to a poet, and the many strongly individual points prevent the assigning it to a merely ideal subject of an earlier period than the middle of the fifth century, when portraits in the strict sense began to be made. The fillet gives the other limit of date as the fourth century to which the style points, so that the date of the person represented lies between the Periclean period and the rise of Macedon. Clearly, moreover, we have here copies of a famous original, famous enough to be copied in Greek times, as the Florentine bronze shows.

On stylistic evidence the original must have been set up in the fourth century—the second quarter, according to some authorities—while it admittedly has a close resemblance to the Lateran, or Lycurgean, Sophocles, and, though there is nothing to warrant their identification as portraits of the

same man, the identity of spirit and hand is undeniable. It is therefore perhaps not too presumptuous to suppose them taken from a statue of the Lycurgos group, and if so, from the Aeschylus. Strongly in favour of this identification, as the unique character of the Capitoline head was against it, is the number and accuracy of the replicas, which is such as to suggest their being taken from the same statue, and this is more than possible, had the original, as suggested by Herr v. Prott,^{15a} been carried off to Rome and there copied by men who, if their skill was in certain cases beneath contempt, at least had the merit of faithfulness to their model. On the other hand it is possible, though distinctly less probable, that they merely reproduced other copies in existence in Rome.

One superficial difficulty there is in assigning the Braccio Nuovo statue and these heads to the same original: the statue has no drapery over the left shoulder, whereas in the Naples herm we find it. Arndt, however, comments on the peculiar form of the herm, and even suggests that the artist of this, the finest of our marble replicas, 'may, in his striving after elegance and fineness, have introduced features not belonging to the original.' That this is so in the case of the drapery is highly probable: a bare herm of this form would be ugly and ungraceful, and the introduction of the highly conventional drapery would be a convenient way of meeting the difficulty; indeed the poverty of the folds is such as to suggest a merely decorative treatment contrasting with the exceeding care bestowed on face and hair. Further, there is no trace of it in the bronze head, nor yet in the others, the beards of which would, as in the Naples herm, have shown some contact marks; and marks there are none. We may therefore assume that, like the statue which is probably a copy of the same figure, the original had no drapery over the left shoulder.

In the absence of any direct allusion to the poet's personal appearance we are thrown back on subjective impressions. These are of more use than usual as we have the Lateran Sophocles for comparison, in which impressions drawn from the poet's work are satisfied just because the sculptor's aim was highly subjective—the creation of an ideal portrait of the ideal poet to preside over the theatre of ideal tragedy, with the individual present indeed, but in a much modified and elevated form.

The original of this portrait was not an amiable or easy-going man; the knit brow, the eager eyes, the irascible mouth, the general unrest, proclaim it: the ideal calm of the Sophocles has no place here. Nor is the sum total of our impressions that of a man of letters, rather of a man of action with a fiery soul—*ὄργη* is one of the characteristics of Aeschylus in the *Frogs*¹⁶—and mighty brain, noble indeed, but ever fretting against things as they are. The contrast appears even in the pose of the head. Sophocles gazes gently upwards, with slightly parted lips; this poet gazes downwards, with bent head and compressed lips, as in the line in the *Frogs*,¹⁷

ἐβλεψε δ' οὖν ταυρηδὸν ἐγκύψας κάτω.

^{15a} *Ath. Mitth. loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Aristoph. *Ran.* 844, 1006–8, *et saep.*

¹⁷ *Ran.* 804.

Of the impressions of the man drawn by the next generation from his plays we have a vivid picture in the *Frogs*, and they are similar in kind to ours. The story that he wrote while drunk,¹⁸ thus accounting for the frenzied energy of his plays, was current in his lifetime (as we see from Sophocles' comment,¹⁹ καὶ γὰρ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖ, φησὶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰδώς γε) and is merely an expression of the same feeling in popular terms. That the "Aphs of his early life did not forsake him we see from his epitaph on himself, which speaks not of his tragedies, but only of his slaying the long-haired Medes at Marathon.²⁰

Inferences drawn from his plays would lead us to expect a head of this character, and, as we have seen, the sculptor of the Lycurgos group, approaching his task in this spirit, produced a Sophocles adequate to the conception formed by the student of his plays. Even so is this head adequate, and for the same reason, that the artist's standpoint was largely subjective, and his statue a portrait not of the man only but of the writer of the *Oresteia* as one would imagine him. In one particular the sculptor has seen deeper than the brilliant critic of the *Frogs*: this face suggests the intensity of feeling pervading his plays, of which no hint is given by Aristophanes.

In conclusion then, the evidence may be thus summed up: we have numerous replicas of a famous fourth century original representing a tragic poet, so much akin to the Lateran Sophocles in character and handling as to have led to the inclusion of the best copies among portraits of that poet.

Incorrect as this attribution is, there is much in the close relationship of the two that can only be accounted for by supposing the original to have belonged to the same group, and therefore, of necessity, to represent Aeschylus.

The question remains: are these heads copied from the statue erected by Lycurgos or from that which took its place and was seen by Pausanias? All the evidence is in favour of the former. The bronze head is certainly pre-Roman, and the spirit of the portrait is impossible in a work of late date—the greatness of conception, the simplicity of treatment in cheeks and forehead, the large and lofty character. Further, the minute accuracy of even the poorest replica shows that all were taken from the same original, not, in all probability, copies of a copy, and the date of the bronze makes it almost certain that the prototype was the statue of 340.

We may therefore fairly hope that this inexplicable blank in our series of Greek portraits is now filled, and that we know Aeschylus in person as in reputation, the one not unworthy of the other.

II.—*Agathon* (Pl. III.).

The literary evidence for the character and appearance of the poet Agathon is unusually full, and is mainly drawn from the works of men

¹⁸ Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* vii. 10; Callisthenes apud Luc. *Enc. Demos.* 15.

¹⁹ Plut. *Frugm.* xxii. 2.

²⁰ *Anth. Pal.* ii. 17.

intimately acquainted with him, a fact which gives it a value far beyond that of most other *personalia*. It is remarkable also that the tone of these references is so uniformly kindly. Considering that one of the most important witnesses is Aristophanes this may seem a strong expression, but his position must not be judged from the *Thesmophoriazusae*, where the abuse is purely comic, with no trace of personal feeling, but from the reference in the *Frogs*.²¹ Dionysos, complaining that all the good poets are gone, is asked, 'But where is Agathon?' and replies

ἀπολιπὼν μ' ἀποίχεται,
ἀγαθὸς ποιητής, καὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς φίλοις.

We may even suggest that the words put into Agathon's mouth²² as a defence of Phrynichos are applicable to himself

αὐτὸς τε καλὸς ἦν καὶ καλῶς ἡμπίσχετο·
διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δράματ' ἦν καλὰ·
ὅμοια γὰρ ποιεῖν ἀνάγκη τῇ φύσει.

Both these passages tend to prove that Aristophanes' feelings towards the poet himself did not greatly differ from those of the rest of his age, though against his innovations in music and drama he felt bound to protest. This view is confirmed by the entire absence of such praise in Aristophanes' attacks on the other innovator Euripides, who receives no such tribute when dead, but even in Hades is represented as the corrupter of souls.²³

In Plato we have an interesting juxtaposition. Aristophanes appears as a privileged guest, at the *Symposium* held in honour of Agathon's first tragic victory,²⁴ at which both poets make long and characteristic speeches. But the earliest Platonic portrait of Agathon is that in the *Protagoras*, where he is referred to²⁵ as 'the fair and modest youth whose name, I think, is Agathon,' and the later portrait in the *Symposium* is worthy of this gracious beauty. Plato also addressed an epigram to him full of ardent passion,²⁶ and Aelian speaks of Euripides' love for him,²⁷ a proof that antiquity in general, as well as his contemporary in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, recognised the close kinship, mental as well as literary, between them. The long speech on the genesis of love uttered by Agathon in the *Symposium*,²⁸ smooth and flowing, flowery and antithetical—the very qualities ascribed to his style by antiquity²⁹—is eminently characteristic, to judge from the fragments that have come down to us, of which the following is a fair specimen, in thought and expression strongly coloured by Euripides,³⁰

εἰ μὲν φράσω τάληθές, οὐχί σ' εὐφρανῶ·
εἰ δ' εὐφρανῶ, τί σ' οὐχὶ τάληθές φράσω ;

²¹ *Ran.* 84.

²² *Thesm.* 165.

²³ *Ran.* 758 *seqq.*

²⁴ *Symp.* 174 A.

²⁵ *Prot.* 315 D.

²⁶ *ap. Diog. Laert.* iii. 32.

²⁷ *Ael. V. H.* xiii. 4.

²⁸ *Symp.* 194E.

²⁹ *Athen.* 187c ; *V. H.* xiv. 13.

³⁰ *Athen.* 211 E.

Admiration of his dramas indeed, as of his character and person, is the keynote of the opening of the *Symposium*. Lucian again charges him with nothing worse than effeminacy in gait, attitude, voice, and glance,³¹ and takes away from the force of the charge by adding, after giving a list of fops, ἡ αὐτὸν Ἀγάθωνα τὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ἐπέραστον ποιητήν. Of his good natured banter over his own effeminacy we hear in Plutarch,³² by whom the tradition of his exceeding beauty is thrice recorded.³³ But these are little more than generalities, and we must turn to Aristophanes for a more exact portrait.

In *Thesm.* 191 ff. we find Euripides contrasting himself with Agathon in the following words,

πολιός εἰμι καὶ πώγων' ἔχω,
σὺ δ' εὐπρόσωπος, λευκός, ἐξυρημένος,
γυναικόφωνος, ἀπαλός, εὐπρεπῆς ἰδεῖν.

Again in l. 218, asking him for a razor to shave Mnesilochos,

Ἀγάθων, σὺ μέντοι ξυροφορεῖς ἐκάστοτε,
χρησόν τι νῦν ἡμῖν ξυρόν.

This question of shaving is of no small importance in the attempt to identify a portrait of Agathon, as it has hitherto been assumed, on the strength of the above passages and of two in Athenaeus, that he was close-shaven, and the sweeping assertion is made (*e.g.* by the writers in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, in the new *Daremberg and Saglio*, art. *Barba*, *Coma*, and in Becker's *Charicles*) that fops habitually shaved in the late fifth century. Both passages in Athenaeus³⁴ refer to personages of the later fourth century, and immediately before the second come the words, λέγει δὲ οὕτως ὁ φιλόσοφος (*i.e.* Chrysippos), 'τὸ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον προήκται, τῶν προτέρων οὐ χρωμένων αὐτῷ,' which sufficiently disposes of the assertion that these passages support the theory of clean-shaving in pre-Macedonian times. We are therefore reduced to the two quotations from Aristophanes, which occur within a few lines of each other, in reference to the same person, in a particularly libellous comedy. Further, the speaker is Euripides, whose hairiness is most unusual: his shaggy beard and whiskers almost conceal the lower part of his face, and, like his hair, are worn longer than the fashion of the day warranted, as a comparison with any contemporary portrait will at once make clear. This would make the antithesis between him and a fashionable close-clipped dandy obvious without supposing that Agathon was actually clean-shaven. Moreover, if he wore his hair shorter than usual, it would be quite legitimate for comedy to represent him as beardless, which would be sufficiently near the truth to be a genuine caricature, especially in contrast with Euripides, whose hairiness would be equally exaggerated. No one has, from the Aristophanic portrait,

³¹ *Rhet. Præcep.* 11.

³² *Quæst. Conv.* i. 12.

³³ *Quæst. Conv.* i. 2: *Amat.* xxiv. 8: *Reg.*

et Imp. Apophthegm. Archelai iii.

³⁴ 260 E, 565 A.

drawn the conclusion that Agathon habitually went about in woman's dress, and the question of clean-shaving is on a precisely similar footing. Moreover, no monumental evidence gives the slightest confirmation to the theory that clean shaving was practised in the fifth century; rather it proves the entire truth of Chrysippos' assertion quoted above, that the practice was unknown before the days of Alexander. As a young man Agathon wore a beard,³⁵ and as an elderly fop would very likely continue to do so, in imitation of 'the time when youth is fairest.'

We may then fairly conclude that Agathon, noted for extreme beauty and gentleness, wore a slight beard like that which earned for him Euripides' famous compliment.³⁵

No portrait of the poet has hitherto been identified, for that in the Capitol bearing the Latin inscription *Agatho* has long been discredited—'Ein in römischer Zeit lebender Agathon,' as Bernoulli calls it³⁶—but the occurrence of one among our fifth and fourth century heads is more than a possibility. Statues were erected to much less distinguished dramatists, e.g. Astydamos, nephew of Aeschylus,³⁷ and it is highly probable that Agathon would be similarly honoured. No identification, however, has since been made, and the following attempt is based upon the supposition that Agathon was bearded, a view not hitherto suggested, and certainly not held by the earlier believers in the 'Agatho' of the Capitol.

In the museum at Bonn there is a double herm representing two poets, Euripides and another,³⁸ usually called Sophocles, but most certainly a different person (Pl. iii).

The shape of head, eyes, mouth, differs completely from both Lateran and Farnese types,³⁹ and even more different is the expression, with the almost appealing gaze of the eyes and gentle mouth, from the calm self-satisfaction of the Sophoclean type. The head³⁹ is remarkably long, and the distance from the crown to the eyes great; the hair, surrounded by the poetic fillet, is thin and lies in long locks close to the head, fuller above the ears and falling on to the neck behind them in a heavy curl. The forehead is high and bare, with a slight depression almost in the middle, but with no bar above the eyes. The eyebrows are singular, slanting towards the nose for about half their length and curving rapidly up at the outer corners, leaving marked bony ridges above the eyes, larger on the right side than the left. The eyes themselves are deep-set, far apart, long and narrow, with a very gentle expression, and the same slight asymmetry as in the brows. The cheeks are smooth and rounded, curiously bare of hair, the line of whisker in front of the ear being of the slightest, and the beard not beginning till below the level of the mouth. The nose is a restoration, but

³⁵ Plut. *Amat.* l. c. ἡδὴ γερασέντα.

³⁶ *Gr. Ikon.* ii. p. 223.

³⁷ *Diog. Laert.* ii. 23.

³⁸ See Bern. *Gr. Ikon.* s. v. Sophocles; publ. Arndt-Bruckmann, *Portraits*, 123.

³⁹ Furtw. *Meist.* p. 535, Anm. 2, says that it probably represents Aeschylus, a suggestion that has met with no approval, and is, in view of the character of the face, highly improbable.

enough remains to prove that it was straight, continuing the line of the forehead; the distance between it and the mouth is rather unusual. The latter is very small, with a thin upper lip bowed at the outer corners, and a lower lip, somewhat thicker and with little bend in the middle, but curving up at the ends. The expression is kindly but somewhat weak, even under the carefully trimmed moustache, which mingles on either side with the scanty beard; the latter leaves the lower lip free of hair and is cut close to the skin till it reaches the spring of the chin, when it falls in thick locks growing to the neck.

The most noticeable point about the face is its softness; the skin is absolutely smooth, and the treatment of the hair suggests fineness, silkiness almost, while the refined gentleness of mouth and eyes has already been dwelt upon. In all these points it differs from the Sophocles type, but those even who admit this have suggested no attribution to take its place.

The data for the head are as follows: it represents a poet, from the fillet in the hair; it is neither Aeschylus, Sophocles, nor Euripides, yet of sufficient likeness to the latter in character or production for it to be placed with him on a double herm; the date of the original was the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth. All this suits the identification as Agathon, whose affectionate relations with Euripides were recognised by all antiquity, as do the beauty, amiability, almost womanish gentleness, and comparative absence of hair on the face, the points insisted on in the literary references. In the carefully trimmed hair and beard there is an element of foppishness, and the cut of the latter certainly suggests that it is meant to imitate the growth in early youth, when, according to Homer,⁴⁰ youth is fairest.

πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, τοῦπερ χαριεστάτη ἦβη.

The copy is a singularly poor one, how poor a comparison of the Euripides with such a portrait as the Naples or Mantua herm will show; yet even here Agathon's beauty is apparent, and the head is so far satisfactory in that it shows us the kindliness of the man, confirming and explaining the love antiquity bore him, when even his caricaturist and bitter literary opponent could write at his death,

ἀγαθὸς ποιητής, καὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς φίλοις.

III.—*Aeschines*.

In spite of the numerous replicas known to us,⁴¹ portraits of Aeschines are among the most unsatisfactory we possess: a series of lifeless and mechanical reproductions chiefly, by the irony of fate, in superb preservation. The best examples are the inscribed herms in the British Museum⁴²

⁴⁰ *Il.* xxiv. 348.

⁴¹ Bern. *Gr. Ikon.* ii. p. 60.

⁴² *Anc. Marbles of Brit. Mus.* xi. 18, full face only.

and Vatican,⁴³ derived from different originals, but almost equally soulless, complacent, and uninteresting. The statue in Naples, found in the villa of the Pisos,⁴⁴ is inferior to these, because in it the characteristic features which they at least preserve are softened into an empty smoothness which for sheer weakness it would be hard to parallel. The herm in the Capitol,⁴⁵ though in a ruinous state, has far more character.

The British Museum herm, brought from Greece early last century, and presented to the Museum by Col. Leake, is reproduced here (Fig. 2) in profile for the first time, not for its intrinsic merit but as actually the best example known. The type is an unmistakable one, and the portrait so familiar that it is needless to do more than recapitulate its main features: the high bald forehead with scanty locks straggling to the middle, the straight brows with converging wrinkles above the nose, the upward glance of the eye, the broad nose with deep lines running down from the nostrils, the projecting lower lip, the breadth of cheek and jaw, and the curiously recumbent ear. All the known replicas represent him as a man entering on middle life, with a vacant self-satisfied face and an absence of the lines of thought, usually contrasted with the worn and wrinkled face of Demosthenes, greatly to the advantage of the latter. I hope to show, however, that another portrait exists, hitherto strangely overlooked, which represents him not as the complacent bourgeois but in face as in writings as the not unworthy opponent of Demosthenes.

Among the marbles found in the villa of the Pisos is a herm (Fig. 3) in a marvellous state of preservation representing a bearded man with wrinkled



FIG. 2.
AESCHINES: HERM IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

⁴³ Bern *l. c.* and Pl. IX.

⁴⁴ Arndt. *Br. Gr. u. röm. Porträts*, 116-8.

⁴⁵ *Id.* 119-20.

forehead, knit brows, and concentrated upward glance, the 'Supposto Zenone' of Comparetti and Petra.⁴⁶ The locks of hair are short and disarranged, growing low on the neck and treated with a care and fulness that point, like the hard outlines of brow and lips, to a bronze original; the forehead is high and bare, with a few scanty locks straggling to a point in the middle; the straight brows on which the hair is marked are knit so that the



FIG. 3.—AESCHINES: BUST AT NAPLES.

wrinkles at their roots run up triangularly above the nose to the lowest of the four furrows on the forehead; the eyes have arched upper lids and crow's feet at the outer corners; the nose is broad and strong, with deep lines running from the nostrils to the outer corners of the mouth, whose upper lip is arched, the lower straight, full, and projecting. The whiskers

⁴⁶ *Villa Ercolanese*, p. 273, no. 72.

grow low on the face, in short locks, like the close-cut beard, which appears beneath a straight fringe of hair on the lower lip, a peculiarity nowhere so clearly marked as here, though indicated on every example, again pointing to a bronze original for our herm. The jaw is very broad, and the ear in a line with it, a feature conspicuous in every case save the characterless Naples statue. In short, we have here a portrait of Aeschines, but one far superior in artistic merit to any hitherto identified, and differing from all others in representing the orator later in life, when care and thought had left their mark on him; as he died at an advanced age, it is only natural that such a portrait should exist, and indeed the almost youthful appearance of the rest is a curious and unexplained point. Whether or no this herm has any relation to the statue described by Christodoros,⁴⁷ it is, of course, impossible to say, but it at least suits the orator as he there appears and the character of the man as shown in his writings and those of his contemporaries. Indeed,

λασίης δὲ συνείρνε κύκλα παρειῆς,
οἷα πολυτροχάλοισιν ἀεθλεύων ἀγορήσιν,
στείναιο γὰρ πυκινῇσι μεληδόσιν

reads like a description of this very portrait, while it has little or no meaning in connection with other examples, from whose expressionless smoothness ἀεθλεύειν and μεληδόσιν seem equally remote.

IV.—*Demetrios Phalereus* (Pl. IV.).

The son of a freed slave of the household of Konon,⁴⁸ by sheer force of genius Demetrios rose to be the foremost man in Athens, whose rule of ten years (317–307) οὐ μόνον οὐ κατέλυσε τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηνόρθωσε.⁴⁹ He entered on public life in 325, before the age of twenty, and was supreme in Athens until 307, when he was forced to fly before the approach of Demetrios Poliorketes and betake himself to Thebes,⁵⁰ and thence to Alexandria. There he lived on the best of terms with Ptolemy, son of Lagos, who is said to have entrusted him with the revision of the laws of the kingdom,⁵¹ and seems to have set him over the Library.⁵² The latter story is improbable, but his devotion to literature during his exile⁵³ may certainly have influenced the king in its foundation. During his rule in Athens also he had given proof of his interest in literature by causing the Homeric poems to be recited in the theatre by rhapsodists called Homeristai,⁵⁴ because tragedy produced with its old splendour was no longer possible in the impoverished city.

Of his personal appearance we hear a good deal. He disputed with

⁴⁷ *Ecphr.* 13 *seqq.* (*Anth. Pal.* cap. ii.).

⁴⁸ *Diog. Laert. Vit.* 7. 6; *Suid. s. v.*

Δημήτριος.

⁴⁹ *Strabo*, ix. 398.

⁵⁰ *Plut. Demetr.* 9; *Diod.* xx. 45.

⁵¹ *Ael. V. H.* iii. 17.

⁵² Cp. *Plut. Reg. et Imp. Apophth.* 189D and *Gronovius* on *Ael. loc. cit.*

⁵³ *Plut. De Exil.* 602.

⁵⁴ *Athen.* xiv. 620B.

Alcibiades the palm of beauty among all the Greeks⁵⁵; he was called *Χαριτοβλέφαρος* and *Λαμπετώ*⁵⁶; *σφόδρα ἦν εὐπρεπής*⁵⁷; but his vanity caused him to indulge in the use of dye and unguents to add to his radiant appearance,⁵⁸ *τὴν τε τρίχα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξανθίζόμενος, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπαλειφόμενος*; finally, in the Dionysiac procession a chorus chanted the poems of Seiron of Soli, in which he was addressed as *ἡλιόμορφος*.⁵⁹ He was, however, accused of every kind of riotous living,⁶⁰ and his flight from Athens was signalised by the destruction of all the honorary statues save that on the Akropolis, set up by order of Demetrios Poliorketes.⁶¹ Of these statues there are said to have been 360, many of them equestrian, or set up in bigas and quadrigas, such that 'the utmost diligence could not complete them in more than 300 days.'⁶² Other accounts⁶² give three hundred as the number; either version is probably much exaggerated.

As orator, statesman, and philosopher he would seem to have been equally distinguished. His speeches are highly praised by Cicero⁶³ and Quintilian,⁶⁴ but the latter calls his oratory too richly dressed and coloured for the dust of the lawcourts.⁶⁵ The praise of his statesmanship rests on the condition of Athens under his rule, while his philosophy was so important as to be the first thing mentioned by Suidas after his name—*φιλόσοφος περιπατητικός*. He was a distinguished disciple of Theophrastos,⁶⁶ and the friend of Deinarchos⁶⁷ and Menander, the latter of whom was in serious danger from the friendship at the time of Demetrios' expulsion from Athens.⁶⁸ That he took philosophic views of life in the modern sense is plain from the sayings attributed to him by Diogenes.⁶⁹ His philosophical writings were numerous, including works on history, politics, the poets, rhetoric, public speaking, and embassies, so that Diogenes says of him,⁷⁰ *πλήθει δὲ βιβλίων καὶ ἀριθμῷ στίχων σχεδὸν ἅπαντας παρελήλακε τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν περιπατητικούς*.

He was then a man of great personal beauty, radiant to look on, with wonderful eyes, unless *χαριτοβλέφαρος* be a meaningless epithet, with golden hair and (almost certainly) a slight beard. There is reason to believe this, though it is nowhere expressly stated. Alike as philosopher, orator, and strategos he would wear one, and the words of Athenaeus about the hair *ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς* seem distinctly to imply a beard.

Famous as he was, and numerous as his portraits were in antiquity, we

⁵⁵ Ael. *V. H.* ix. 9. Poliorketes given by mistake for Phalereus.

⁵⁶ D. L. *Vit.* 76; Suid. *l. c.*

⁵⁷ Suid. *l. c.*

⁵⁸ Athen. xii. 542. Cf. Ael. *V. H.* ix. 9.

⁵⁹ Athen. *l. c.*; Polyb. xii. 13, 11; Ael. *l. c.*

⁶⁰ D. L. *Vit.* iii. 75.

⁶¹ Plut. *Reip. ger.* xxvii. 13; Strab. *l. c.*
D. L. *Vit.* 75.

⁶² *Brut.* 8.

⁶³ *Inst. Or.* x. 1. 80.

⁶⁴ xi. 1. 33.

⁶⁵ D. L. *Vit.* 75; Cic. *Brut.* 37; Strab. ix. 398.

⁶⁶ Plut. *X. Orat.* 10. 2.

⁶⁷ D. L. *Vit.* 79.

⁶⁸ *id.*

⁶⁹ *Vit.* 79, 82.

⁷⁰ *Vit.* 80.

should expect to find a portrait of him among those we possess, yet, curiously enough, none has as yet been even attributed to him.

Among the portraits attributed to Alcibiades is a gem (Fig. 4) figured in Faber⁷¹ and also in Visconti,⁷² representing the profile of a young man with slight beard running from ear to chin, eye deeply recessed, and powerful brows. The hair grows in thick leonine locks, the growth from the crown being clearly marked; the forehead is high, but much covered by the hair, which stands out beyond it in a mass. There is a very powerful bar above the eyes, but for which forehead and nose would be in a straight line. The mouth is small, the lips parted, the lower being far less prominent than the upper, with a deep indentation between it and the small round chin. The most striking thing about the head is its power; even in an engraving this can be traced, in the brows, eyes, and cheeks, where the modelling is of great force. The shape is peculiar, round on the top, straight behind, with the upper part immensely predominating, the distance between nose and chin being seven millimetres,⁷³ as against eighteen from the crown to the bottom of the nose. The person represented is quite young, 'flaumbartig,' as Bernoulli says, and clearly belongs at earliest to the later fourth century, as the treatment of the hair, brow, and eyes sufficiently shows. The gem was called Alcibiades by Faber on the ground of an inscribed gem which has since disappeared, bearing the heads of Alcibiades and Socrates. It is, of course, possible that the latter was genuine, but it by no means follows that it represented the same man as our present one, as sixteenth century antiquaries were no great judges of style; but we can most emphatically say that, if this is Alcibiades, it is not a contemporary portrait, but a translation into late fourth century forms. It is, however, much more probable that this is not Alcibiades at all, but a much later personage, and it is certainly incompatible with the Helbig Alcibiades of the Vatican. This



FIG. 4.—DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS.
[From Visconti, *Ic. Gr.* tab. 16. 3.]

⁷¹ *Imag.* 4.

⁷² *Ic. gr.* tav. 16. 3.

⁷³ Measurements made from engraving in the folio Visconti.

gem too has disappeared, but M. Houssaye stated in 1873⁷⁴ that one of the Italian ministers sent him a wax reproduction 'recently taken from the gem itself,' so that there is no reason to doubt its existence at the present day.

In connection with this I would take a head (Pl. IV.) in the Uffizi, sometimes called Alcibiades from its likeness to the gem, which is unmistakable. It is a superb portrait, excellent in modelling and vigour alike, with massed Lysippic locks, heavy bar above the eyes, and extraordinary intensity of expression. Beautiful as the side face is, the full face is yet more so; it is that of a man in extreme youth, not much above twenty, and instantly suggests a number of problems. The first of these is the beard: the head dates certainly from Macedonian times, the person represented is a man of astonishing beauty, and yet he is bearded. The next is his extreme youth: portraits of distinguished men were, as a rule, set up in their old age, of young men not of royal blood not at all, save on funeral stelae. Among our many hundred Greek portraits of the non-athletic class, it is doubtful if any can be pointed out before the second century of men so young, and after that date we only get boys and older men, so that this head is unique. The third problem is the relation between gem and marble: there can be no question of their representing the same person; the shape of the head, the hair projecting beyond the forehead, the treatment of brow, eyes, nose, and mouth, all make this point certain. The marble head has rather more hair than the gem, but it is the same first beard, soft and curly, and its growth is precisely the same. The proportions are similar, the distance from nose to chin being $\frac{7}{25}$ of the whole in the gem, $\frac{4}{11}$ in the head. In short, the two correspond almost exactly, and their identity is unquestionable.

The identification I propose does away with all difficulties; Demetrios, as we have seen, probably wore a beard as a philosopher, and as a Peripatetic it would be cut close to his face, after the example of Aristotle and Theophrastos. He entered on public life before he was twenty, being even more precocious than Alcibiades, and is the only other young statesman of whom we hear at all. The parted lips, the strenuous eyes suggest the orator; the correspondence with the gem a famous man. Moreover there are such differences between the two as to make it almost certain that they were not copied from each other. The beard has already been touched on, while there are decided differences in the hair; the locks do not exactly correspond, and there is a sort of parting from the crown towards the left ear, from which the locks fall on either side, which does not appear on the gem at all. Again, the hairs covers the tip of the ear in the gem, but leaves it free in the head.

The portrait exactly suits what we know of Demetrios, his wonderful beauty, his radiant eyes, his richly clustering hair; and it is no idle question in this case to ask: If it does not represent Demetrios, whom can it represent? What other of all the Greeks of the late fourth century was famous enough to be represented at this age? Who else would be bearded like philosopher

⁷⁴ *Gaz. d. Beaux Arts*, 1873, p. 477.

or statesman, and of such personal beauty? Unless we take it as Demetrios, the head presents a mass of contradictions, of irreconcilable elements; this identification explains and harmonises all, and agrees with the literary evidence in every particular.

Is it possible to name a school? Amelung⁷⁵ speaks of it as 'excellent portrait of the second Attic school'; Arndt⁷⁶ says, 'with Scopaic pathos but forms more Lysippic,' a perfectly just judgment. Lysippos is now no longer judged from the Apoxyomenos, and recent evidence has shown more and more distinctly that recessed eyes, powerful brows, and tense expression are not the characteristics of Scopas exclusively, as indeed the description of Lysippos' portraits of Alexander⁷⁶ might have taught us. A comparison of this head with the Lysippic Alexander of the British Museum is very instructive, and confirms the assignment of this head to the school of Lysippos.

It may even be possible to name a sculptor, not of course with any degree of certainty but as a suggestion at least not at variance with the evidence. Tisikrates,⁷⁷ a son and pupil of Lysippos, whose work was so like the master's as to be scarcely distinguishable from it, made a portrait of Demetrios Poliorketes, one of the works especially named as like those of Lysippos.⁷⁸ Now we know⁷⁹ that Demetrios Poliorketes ordered the Athenians to erect a statue to Demetrios Phalereus on the Akropolis, the only one not destroyed at the time of his disgrace. It is extremely probable that Tisikrates would have other commissions from Demetrios Poliorketes, and that this portrait of the Athenian statesman would be of the number.

The closest parallel, both in forms and expression, is to be found in the Munich replica of the Diomede of Kresilas (Furtwängler *Masterpieces*, p. 150), which has decidedly fourth century characteristics. The problem involved is too large to be entered upon here, and must be reserved for future discussion; but it may be remarked *en passant* that a work of Kresilas was to be seen at Hermione (Löwy 45) and it is to the Peloponnesian school of the later fourth century that the Demetrios must, as we have seen, be assigned.

In the absence of any certain monumental evidence the identification can only be tentative, but it at least corresponds with literary and internal evidence, and is even the only satisfactory explanation of the head before us, so that it may not be unreasonable to hope that we have now a worthy portrait of one of the most striking figures in the history of the fourth century, Demetrios Phalereus. If this is so, we may say of Tisikrates as was said of Kresilas⁸⁰ 'mirumque in hac arte est quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit.'

Through the courtesy of Herr Fr. Bruckmann and Dr. Amelung the heads on Pls. II. and IV. are reproduced from *Griech. u. röm. Porträts*. I have to thank Dr. Loescheke for the photograph of the Bonn Agathon on

⁷⁵ *Führer. zu Flor.* p. 86.

⁷⁶ *Gr. u. röm. Porträts.* zu 341-2.

⁷⁷ *Plut. de Alex.* ii. 2.

⁷⁸ *Plin. N. H.* xxxiv. 67.

⁷⁹ *D. L. Vit.* 77.

⁸⁰ *Plin. N. H.* xxxiv. 74.

Pl. III., Mr. A. S. Murray for allowing me to publish the British Museum Aeschines, and Mr. Arthur Sidgwick for many useful suggestions. To Professor Percy Gardner, at whose suggestion these studies in Greek Portraiture were undertaken, for constant and generous help as teacher, critic, and friend, I desire above all to express my gratitude.

KATHARINE A. McDOWALL.

ANDROMEDA.

[PLATE V.]

I.

THE romantic tale of the beautiful princess Andromeda, and how Perseus freed her from the dragon, has been treated by two of the great tragedians, Sophocles and Euripides. Here, if anywhere, Sophocles is thrown into the shade by his rival, so much so that the most important elements of Sophocles' version have been given to the drama of Euripides. Therefore if we wish to restore to Sophocles what justly belongs to him, we must first define as clearly as possible what belongs to Euripides. For although a great deal has been written about this brilliant achievement of Euripides, yet conclusions that seemed settled are constantly being called in question or denied, while questionable or erroneous views are once more put forward as correct. Only after the genuine remains of Euripides' play have been separated out can we hope to form any conception of the Andromeda of Sophocles, or to give any reasoned answer to the question which is the earlier, Euripides' play, which was performed with the *Helena* in 412 B.C., or Sophocles' play, the date of the first performance of which has not come down to us.¹ The poetry of Euripides was Latinised by Ennius, but the fragments of the Latin tragedy do not give substantial help towards the reconstruction of the Greek one.

The *Andromeda* of Euripides lacked the narrative prologue with which the poet usually prefaced his plays for the sake of some special dramatic effect. Here it suited his purpose better to leave it out.² The only person who could have spoken it was Andromeda herself, because she was on the stage from the beginning. In accordance with the idea of the drama, Andromeda, as the bride of death, had been led forth to the sea-shore

¹ See Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien*, ii., p. 644 i. p. 349; Ribbeck, *Die römische Tragödie*, pp. 162 and 561; Robert, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1878, p. 16; Wecklein, *Münchener Sitzungsberichte* 1888, i., p. 87; Wernicke, Pauly-Wissowa i., 2156; Engelmann, *Archaeologische Studien zu den Tragikern*; cf. also below, p. 111.

² Robert, *loc. cit.* p. 18, tries to prove, on very insufficient evidence, the existence of a prologue in the customary form, and, strangely enough, supposes it spoken by Echo.

The scholion which refers to the beginning of Andromeda's lament, Fr. 114, as τοῦ προλόγου τῆς Ἀνδρ. ἢ εἰσβολῆς tells against and not in favour of Robert's theory, as Wecklein demonstrates, p. 87, ff. Engelmann's use of the British Museum Hydria, E 169, as evidence for a prologue of this kind, which S. Reinach (*Revue Critique*, 1900, p. 109) thought ingenious but Bethe (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1900, p. 2082) rejected, falls to the ground along with the accompanying interpretation of the vase.

during the night, and just before daybreak, when the action of the piece begins, she was standing chained to the rock and ready for sacrifice. With no set narrative, but with heart-breaking lament, she begins to speak, calling on holy night, who delays her departure. It would be difficult to imagine what information a prologue could have given, that could not be better made clear as the action unfolds itself. The device (ridiculed by Aristophanes) of making Echo always repeat the last word of the lament not only is a startling stage effect, but in an admirable way brings home to the spectator the absolute loneliness of the victim abandoned to a cruel death (Fr. 114-116, Nauck²). Then when the Chorus of Andromeda's companions arrives on the scene Echo obeys the maiden's behest and is silent. This is far from being unnatural, for the character of the lament alters, and instead of resounding in deserted space it is addressed to friends who are standing close by (Fr. 117-122). Now follows the dialogue with Perseus, who comes through the air, and this informs the spectator of everything he requires to know concerning the persons of the action, except what has already been communicated by Andromeda or the Chorus (Fr. 123-131, 135 spoken (1) by Perseus, (2) by Andromeda³). To them enter Andromeda's parents, who come to learn their daughter's fate, Cassiopeia perhaps appearing as *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*, bowed with grief.⁴ In any case the conversation here is chiefly between Cepheus and the stranger, who induces Cepheus to promise him his daughter as the prize of his help.⁵ Apollodoros ii. 44, and Ovid, *Metam.* iv., 704, give this incident, though this does not prove its occurrence in Euripides. Fragment 143, spoken by Cepheus to Perseus, is the only one which can with certainty be assigned to this conversation, but the objections raised by Cepheus later on prove that he had given the promise. This scene, as we shall soon see, had a special attraction for the vase-painter. With the well-known invocation of Eros, Fr. 136, Perseus then walks or flies away.

The successful issue of the fight is announced, probably not by Perseus himself, because the narrative would not seem natural in his mouth, either before or after the rescue of Andromeda, but by a messenger. From his report the grammarians and rhetors preserved what Frs. 145, 146 give, and perhaps also the obscure line 147, with 148 and 155,⁶ while the elder Philostratus used it as the source of his fictitious picture (i. 29). It is not likely that anyone except Andromeda heard the messenger's tale, for when Perseus appears again to loose Andromeda's chains, the Chorus only are present on the scene. It is not until everything seems to be turning out

³ Wecklein very rightly separated them, but gives the second verse to Cepheus.

⁴ In support of this view note that in Ennius (assuming that Ribbeck, p. 167, was right when he gave Fr. xvi of the *incerta* to Andromeda) Perseus addresses his question as to who she is not to the mother herself but to the daughter.

⁵ Robert considers such a promise inconsistent with the later refusal by Cepheus, and he does not believe that Perseus spoke with Cepheus at all, previous to the death of the monster. This view is refuted by the vases, the fragments, and the action of the piece.

⁶ Several fragments of Ennius belonging to this part are preserved, v. Ribbeck, p. 168 f.

well that the lovers' happiness is threatened by the re-entrance of Cepheus. It is a touch characteristic of Euripides that Cepheus, at once monarch and barbarian, having made a promise in the stress of difficulty, refuses to keep his word now that the difficulty is over, and will not give his daughter to the stranger without father or lands. Out of the dispute arising from this situation a number of verses of transparent meaning have been preserved. Of these we may with sufficient certainty assign Fr. 141, 142, 1-3, 144 to Cepheus, Fr. 139, 140, 142, 4, to Perseus, and Fr. 137, 138, 151-153 to the Chorus. Andromeda must have been present, and the words of Cepheus, Fr. 141, could have been addressed only to her. If in addition the mother appeared and tried to dissuade Andromeda, she could only have done so after the exit of Cepheus, unless there was a fourth actor. Evidently the words of Eratosthenes, *Catast.* 17, *σωθείσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Περσέως οὐχ εἴλετο τῷ πατρὶ συμμένειν οὐδὲ τῇ μητρί*, taken in their exact sense, imply that Cepheus and Cassiopeia both argued with their daughter, and both in vain. Probably the father laid stress on paternal authority and the external conditions of birth and position, while the mother would urge parental rights and filial obligations. It is easily seen what a good subject for dispute this makes, and the poet would bring forward the strongest arguments to induce Andromeda to remain, so that her independent resolve to follow her preserver in love and gratitude, disregarding all traditional obligations, might be thrown into triumphant relief. So, too, we should like to assign Andromeda's words, Fr. 132,⁷

*ἄγον δέ μ', ὦ ξεῖν', εἴτε πρόσπολον θέλεις
εἴτ' ἄλοχον εἴτε δμωίδ' . . .*

to this final resolve, and not to her first dialogue with Perseus.

A second turn of affairs and a new obstacle might now occur through the claim of a rival lover previously betrothed to Andromeda, whether he is called Phineus, Agenor, or any other name, and an episode of this kind would not be difficult to fit into the action of the drama, if tradition supplied it. The betrothed might add his expostulations to those of the parents, only it would be necessary to assume that this relation was indicated in the first part of the drama as well as in the second. The objection that here would be a superfluity of motives must give way if tradition required it. But the reverse is the fact. Eratosthenes does not mention Andromeda's betrothed, and among the fragments there are none which needs must be interpreted as spoken by Phineus or to him or about him,⁸ nor is there any such frag-

⁷ Laertius Diogenes, iv. 29, quotes these words as *ἐχόμενα*, therefore immediately following Fr. 129. In the story told there, certainly the one quotation follows as an answer to the other, but this was scarcely possible in Euripides, as the question seems to require stichomythy, while these verses evidently form the close of a longer speech. Indeed, the verses themselves give no answer to Perseus' question: *ὦ παρθέν' εἰ σώσαιμι σ' εἴσῃ μοι χάριν*; and in the earlier

situation they are scarcely suited to the virgin modesty of Andromeda.

⁸ In Wecklein's attempt to assign the character of Phineus to Euripides' drama, we look in vain for any argument even partially satisfactory. His theory which gives Fr. 149 to Phineus (in whose case we should expect to find the *ἔρως* emphasised), 141 to Phineus, spoken to Cepheus, 142, and then later 143, to Phineus, similarly addressed to Cepheus, is to me

ment extant of the *Andromeda* of Ennius, which we know to have been a Latin rendering of Euripides' play. In the vase-pictures, again, which show us separate scenes of the play or summarise the situation, Phineus does not appear, nor is his mask one of those forming the group in the Pompeian wall-painting which has been interpreted by Robert. Opinions vary, however, about the value of the last piece of evidence. In Sophocles' drama, on the other hand, Phineus, as we shall presently see, played a principal part, and the mythographers, as Ovid had done before them, combined the motives of the two dramas each after his own fashion.

The content of Euripides' drama, thus defined, is reflected in a number of ancient representations,⁹ the older of which are the more faithful and complete. Usually Andromeda is seen as she must have stood on the stage when the play opened, with arms outstretched, fastened by chains to the rocks or to a couple of tree trunks, or (in one instance) to two pillars. The objects which serve the double purpose of wedding and funeral gifts are placed round her. A maiden is in the act of bringing an amphora, the *λουτροφόρος*,¹⁰ or some other object. This may imply that in the drama the Chorus were still bringing on the gifts, or possibly the painter added this feature of his own accord to explain the objects already standing there, for, as we shall see, he might have borrowed this idea from Sophocles or from the representations which followed Sophocles. Perseus stands beside Andromeda and speaks to her in C, G, Cepheus appears in E, and Perseus turns from Andromeda to address Cepheus in D. The mother is present in B (and F?) seated (a characteristic position for her, cf. the constellation "Cassiopeia's Chair," v. Eratosthenes, who refers to Sophocles, c. 16), and bowed down by sorrow in such a manner that she could easily be represented in the scene by a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*. In A, on the other hand, she is looking vaguely up to one of her attendants, and, as in the other vase, is turned away from Andromeda, a posture which seems to imply that in the drama they did not converse.¹¹

inconceivable. Indeed, even though Wecklein finds in Fr. 144 "the most convincing proof of a dispute of the kind between Phineus and Cepheus," there are obviously no proofs of it.

⁹ I have marked the first four vases with the same numbers as Trendelenburg, *Annali*, 1872, p. 169, thus:

- A. *Mon. d. I.* viiii. 38, Engelmann, p. 72.
- B. *Memorie dell' accademia ercolanense*, 9, Pl. to p. 197; cf. Watzinger *de vasculis pictis Tarentinis*, p. 39.
- R. Rochette *Mon. d'Ant. fig.* Pl. 41: Engelmann, p. 73.
- D. B.M. *Vases*, F 185, iv. Pl. vii. Engelmann from ditto, p. 8.
- E. Berlin Krater, *Arch. Anz.* 1893, p. 91, 50; *Jahrb.* 1896, Pl. 2; Engelmann, p. 69.
- F. Berlin Hydria, *Arch. Anz.* 1893, p. 93, 57.
- G. Vase in Bari, Engelmann, p. 6, perhaps the

one briefly described by Barnabei in *Bull. d. I.* 1885, p. 50, which Helbig, p. 52, compared with a Capuan vase not represented in any of the drawings belonging to the Institute.

- H. S. Angelo vase. See below. All these vases were found in Lower Italy (F'). E is assigned by Furtwängler as Attic to the end of the 5th century B.C., so that it might have been painted soon after the performance of Euripides' *Andromeda*.

¹⁰ Cf. Trendelenburg, p. 118. But the special form to which Milchhöfer and particularly Wolters (*Ath. Mitth.* 1891, xvi. 391 ff.) drew attention can perhaps only be traced on H and, imperfectly, on C.

¹¹ It is impossible to guess what the unskilful craftsman who painted C meant by the two "conversing" figures to the right. Their gestures

This situation is again indicated by the Pompeian wall-painting already referred to, which, after the favourite Alexandrine fashion of "short hand," groups the masks instead of the complete characters. The mask of Perseus is to the left, Andromeda's is at the top, the masks of the parents are below, and in the centre appears the head and neck of the κῆτος. The absence of the messenger, and perhaps also the absence of the *deus ex machina* (Athena, as Robert conjectures),^{11a} together with the arrangement of the masks, corresponding to the grouping of the actors in the scene, shows distinctly that the painter intended to represent, not the masks of the whole drama, but only those belonging to that principal scene as represented on the stage.¹² While the parents remain with Andromeda, Perseus goes away to the fight. The fight and the group round Andromeda are combined into one picture on vases A, B, and F, the scene of the fight being placed on a lower plane than the other. Etruscan urns, and similarly a cista,¹³ showing, as usual, a preference for the most drastic stage effects, represent Andromeda close to the κῆτος, which is about to devour her, while on the other side Perseus is just raising the gorgoneion to turn the monster to stone.¹⁴ In the urn-reliefs Cepheus is present, seated, as in E, showing that his share in the action was more important than Cassiopeia's. Wall-paintings representing the fight omit all the other characters except Andromeda.

The second part of the drama offered much less attraction to the vase-painter, evidently because the emotions dealt with lay deeper below the surface. In the first part, even if the monster was not visible, Andromeda's figure chained to the rock and surrounded by funeral gifts was enough in itself to arouse terror and pity in the other characters of the drama and in the spectators. But how could a painter represent a dispute between Perseus and Andromeda's parents as to which had the stronger claim on the rescued girl? Hence the only vase-painting, H, which gives this later scene, was not at once correctly interpreted by the archaeologist¹⁵ who performed the valuable service of freeing it from the distorting restorations with which it was encumbered. In this painting Andromeda, though unbound, is still standing between the two tree trunks, a clear indication of the earlier part of the story, and a proof that this scene was enacted on the same spot as the earlier one.¹⁶ The dish of fruit and the fillet of victory, which Andromeda is evidently about to offer to Perseus, form the visible expression of her gratitude,

make them appear deaf and dumb. But cf. Trendelenburg, *Annali*, 1872, p. 114 f., on the restoration of the picture.

^{11a} Engelmann, *loc. cit.* p. 76, prefers to assign this part to Aphrodite.

¹² Hence the absence of the mask of Phineus would be no proof of the absence of that character in Euripides' play. Robert, p. 15-20, evidently considers these to be the masks of the whole drama, not of one scene. Similarly Wernicke.

¹³ *Mon. d. I.* vi. 40.

¹⁴ This is expressed so clearly that one hardly

understands how Koerte, *Urne Etrusche*, ii. p. 103, could dispute it solely on account of trifling and unimportant inconsistencies.

¹⁵ G. Patroni, *Atti della r. accademia di Napoli* 1894, vol. xvii. ii., Pl. 5, referred it to an adventure of Paris. The correct interpretation was touched on in *Röm. Mitth.* 1895, p. 95, and more exhaustively treated by Trendelenburg, *Arch. Anz.* 1896, xi. 204.

¹⁶ Koerte *loc. cit.* p. 104, 3, assumes a change of scene on grounds which are unintelligible to me, like most of his remarks in this connection.

and the fruit seems at the same time to be a reminiscence of the thank-offerings brought by the Ethiopians to refresh the hero after his struggle. The exhaustion and fatigue of Perseus is indicated here by his leaning on his left elbow against a pillar. Philostratus indicates his weariness by making him recline on the grass—also on the left elbow, *στηρίζων δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ἀγκῶνος*.¹⁷

It is true that Cepheus on his knees as a suppliant before Perseus is conceived quite differently from the Cepheus of the fragments which contain the dialogue. This is not really, however, an inconsistency in character but an alternation in mood, such as Euripides loves to elaborate. The Ethiop King, mean-spirited in danger, haughty and arrogant when the danger is removed, becomes once more humble and cringing (though in vain) when Andromeda turns against him and gives her decision for Perseus. This final humiliation of Cepheus could hardly have been invented by the vase-painter. The presence of Cassiopeia, seated, fits in with our reconstruction of this part of Euripides' play. Only when Cepheus has done his utmost and failed will she try to persuade her daughter, but the vase-painter introduces her by anticipation into the preceding scene. The youth with the two spears, although nothing of his Oriental dress remains but the shoes, may certainly be classed as an attendant of the King (by comparison with *A*). There is no thought of Phineus: on the contrary, the wreath, which can only be intended for Perseus, recalls the gratitude of the people in Euripides (Philostratus).

II.

It has been supposed by some (of late by Ribbeck),^{17a} that the Andromeda of Sophocles was a satyric play, but no convincing evidence for this view has been brought forward. The feeling, however, that the quotation from this piece—*ἵπποισιν ἢ κύμβαισι ναυστολεῖς χθόνα*—had a comic intention, may not be quite mistaken. We shall soon see that the question, just because of its rather affected expression, admirably fits the character to whom, according to its content, we must assign it. Mythographic notices and fragments, not of the Greek original, but of the Latin rendering by Accius, give us some notion of the action of the piece, and definite information is supplied by a vase-painting clear and easy of interpretation, although, with shame be it spoken, so often misunderstood by accomplished archaeologists,¹⁸ a remarkable instance of the paralyzing force of a time-honoured tradition.

¹⁷ If this, as we may assume, was referred to in the narration of the fight, then certainly Perseus himself could not have been the narrator.

^{17a} *Loc. cit.* especially pp. 163, 169 and 564. For the opposite view v. Robert, *loc. cit.* 5, 17, 12.

¹⁸ Birch, *Archaeologia*, 1855, 36, 1 p. 53, 68,

Pl. 6; Minervini, *Memorie d. accad. ercolan.*, 9, p. 221; Trendelenburg *loc. cit.*, p. 111; Furtwängler, *Arch. Anz.* 1893, p. 91; Knatz, *Quomodo Persci fabulam artifices graeci et romani tractaverint*, Bonn diss. 1893, p. 34, 2, and 53; Bethe *Jahrb.* 1896, p. 299; Wernicke, *loc. cit.*, p. 215, f.; C. Smith, *B.M. Vases*, iii. p. 152; Engelmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 10 and 66.

The hydria of the British Museum (E 169; here Pl. V.), the only Andromeda vase, as Furtwängler rightly stated, found not in Lower Italy but in Vulci, has been acknowledged by every one except Panofka¹⁹ as a representation of the Andromeda myth. But it cannot be founded on the Andromeda of Euripides because the style shows that it must have been painted some decades before the year 412 B.C. It was Knatz who saw this most clearly, and traced (*loc. cit.*, p. 53) the style of Polygnotus in the painting. There remains the play of Sophocles, and it was suggested (*e.g.* Knatz, *loc. cit.*, p. 53 f; Bethe, *loc. cit.*, p. 296) that this was the origin of the vase; but the idea bore little fruit.

The picture is composed as a frieze in the older manner, and runs round the shoulder of the hydria, possibly with some reference to the funereal destination of the vase. At the first glance one might think that the one group of three figures, placed among separated figures, forms the central point of the composition. But this is not quite correct, for while there are only three figures to the left of the group, there are five to the right, and the principal action is among these five. Indeed, the middle line falls between the five figures to the right and the six, whose value is about the same as the five, to the left. The Hellenic youth to the extreme right, in chlamys, hat and boots, holding two spears, evidently wears the typical travelling dress; hence he is a stranger, arrived from a distance. The others are clearly non-Greeks, barbarians. Perseus is recognisable even without harpe and gorgoneion, for he wears little wings on his boots and others on his hat. The right hand, as often occurs in figures of Hermes, is raised to the hat, not merely to press it more firmly on the head, but as an expression of painful emotion. The King too, who wears a long robe and an Oriental cap, seems to be crushed by affliction. He rests both hands on his staff, and with the fixed look of hopeless despair watches the three Ethiopians at their work. One of them is digging a hole in the ground, a second holds up a post ready to drive in, while a third has another post evidently meant for the same purpose.²⁰ Doubtless these are the posts to which Andromeda is to be bound. The posts do not belong to the Euripidean story, for he speaks of the victim being chained to the rock,²¹ hence they must be remnants of an older tradition incorporated with Euripides' version as illustrated in AB(D)GH. The offerings to furnish forth the bride of death are being carried in from the left: a

¹⁹ *Arch. Anz.* 1855, p. 65. His own explanation (Tithonos, Eos, Memnon), was as foolish as possible.

²⁰ Probably the painter did not intend to make one post shorter than the other. It happened while the background was being blacked in round the head of the kneeling Ethiopian.

²¹ Fr. 125. The words

παρθένου τ' εἰκώ τινα
ἐξ αὐτομόρφων λαῖνων τευχισμάτων
σοφῆς ἄγαλμα χειρός

have been misunderstood by those ancient

writers who talk of an αὐτοφύνη ἄγαλμα. 'Automorph' i.e. "natural formation" means the stone structure in front of which, like an image in high relief, made by an artist (σοφῆς χειρός), the maiden stands. In C, where one is almost reminded of skulls (cf. Accius, *Fr.* x. Immane se habet templum obvallatum ossibus), and on Etruscan urns it resembles a niche in the rock. Cf. Bethe, *Jahrb.* 1896, p. 296. From this is taken Antiphilus' epigram in Ovid iv. 672, Apollodor. ii. 43.

chest, vases of ointment, a garment (on the left arm of the middle figure), a mirror, fillets and a chair. This agrees in many points with the play of Euripides, and yet there are essential differences. In Euripides and the pictures that are founded on his version part of the action is finished before the scene opens; here, all is preparation. In Euripides Perseus comes flying through the air after Andromeda has stood in chains all through the night; here, Perseus is present while the posts are built up to form a kind of gallows. In Euripides most of the gifts are in place; here, they are only being brought in. And where is Andromeda herself? Any unprejudiced reader would surely expect to see her represented, according to tradition, as a figure of girlish grace and modesty. It seems hardly possible, but is nevertheless true that all archaeologists from Birch to Engelmann, with the one exception of Panofka, interpreted the half-comic, lazy, effeminate figure of a youth as Andromeda! This figure wears the same shoes and headdress as the old King, but instead of the long robe he has a short tunic girt round the hips, while through the arm-holes of the tunic appears a variegated Oriental garment closely fitting to arms and legs. When Panofka disputed the figure being female (there being no evidence that it is female), the other critics, strangely enough, neglected to seek for the name of the young barbarian prince, which lay so near the surface, and adduced the Amazon costume as favouring their own theory.²² True, the costume is similar to the Amazon dress, but the figure could not be an Amazon, unless she were wounded, and eastern women in their everyday life were not dressed as Amazons, so far as we know.

How the old vase-painters imagined Andromeda, Cassiopeia and other women is sufficiently shown by the known Andromeda vases (especially A, B, D, G), and everybody knows that ancient art individualised the female figure with much more reserve than the male. In short, the supported figure is a youthful barbarian, a prince by his dress. The Oriental *τροφή*, to collect examples of which was a special theme for Greek historians, but which in later times also was only too common among the Greeks, is shown by his posture of fatigue, leaning on two servants who, like all the subordinate characters in the picture, have Ethiopian features. In the same way Hephaestus leans on his attendant nymphs, and Dionysus, old or young, is supported by two of his retinue.²³ The most exact literary description of this attitude is contained in what Poseidonius says about Alexander, son of Ptolemy VII. Athenaeus XII. 550b: *ἐν πολλῇ δὲ τροφῇ ζῶν, οὐδὲ πατεῖν οἷός τ' ἦν εἰ μὴ δυσὶν ἐπαπεριδόμενος ἐπορεύετο*. The young Ethiopians hold their master's hands, not, as one might suppose, to lead him along against his will, for there is no sign of force or of resistance, the prince being too weak even to keep hold of his supports. The vase-painter has expressed with

²² Thus Birch, Minervini; Bethe, p. 298 f., even goes so far as to suppose that the Ethiopian seated to the left on E is female and the representative of the Chorus, although the figure is exactly the same as the one in the Vulci hydria.

²³ With this we may compare the relief of Aphrodite raised from the sea, for it is strikingly similar and older than Sophocles. *Ant. Denkm.* ii. Pl. vi. *Röm. Mith.* 1892, p. 71, Pl. ii.

unusual skill in the whole posture of body and limbs²⁴ and in the fixed stare on the face his idea of the nerveless, effeminate youth. The instinct which suggested Sardanapalus to the first author who published the vase was therefore correct.

This degenerate prince can be no other than Phineus (or Agenor), betrothed to Andromeda. In order to bring out his characteristics in the most effective way, the painter has set him and his attendants in full front view. And yet no one could say that he is disconnected from the other figures to the right and left. It is he on whose behalf the three young Ethiopians are bringing the bridal gifts.²⁵ As the attendants approach Phineus their steps resolve themselves into a standing posture. For Phineus has arrived at the "grave," as one may say, of Andromeda, and even if we did not know it from the other vases, we should guess that the funeral offerings are meant for her. The place of the action is apparently the same as in Euripides,²⁶ for the stakes must have been set up on the sea-shore. The time may be later in the day, but is earlier as regards the action, for here we see going on what in Euripides was accomplished before the drama opened. Cepheus has arrived with his servants (who do not form the Chorus) in order that he may obey the oracle by preparing the place for his daughter's death. Keeping to the picture we must next suppose that Perseus enters as a traveller on foot. Everyone must feel that the wonderful entrance through the air, invented by Euripides, and the opening of the piece by the lament of Andromeda chained, are two features which must exist together or not at all, and which form a wonderfully effective combination. What an error of taste it would be to make Perseus enter flying while the gallows was still being erected! The wings on his hat and shoes tell us who he is, but his whole appearance, if we may trust the picture, is more that of an unassuming wayfarer than of a marvellous prodigy. Attention is here concentrated on Phineus, therefore Perseus must have been on the scene before, and must have held a conversation with Cepheus to prepare the audience for Phineus' entry. Phineus comes with funeral gifts for his bride, but

²⁴ This flabby figure reminded Engelmann (*loc. cit.*, p. 66) of a puppet, or at least he assumed that this idea had occurred to others. Further, in the representations of the *Andromeda* of Euripides, A, B, Cepheus is supported by an Ethiop. Whether Euripides transferred this attendant figure from Phineus to Cepheus, regarding it merely as a support of old age as in the case of Hecuba (*Hec.* 594), or whether the vase-painter made the change, seems impossible to decide.

²⁵ On this account Birch and Trendelenburg supposed the figure to be female, for the offerings were such as could be intended only for a woman.

²⁶ Robert, p. 17, with whom Bethe agrees, conceives of Sophocles' *Andromeda* as played in front of the palace. He appears to have no

definite grounds for this view except his own opinion that Perseus (whom he quite rightly thinks of in Sophocles' play as walking, not flying on at his first appearance) could arrive on foot only near the palace and not on the shore. There seems to be no difficulty here except in Robert's own preconceptions. For the Vulci vase-painting refutes his view that "Perseus' first appearance is from the shore after slaying the monster." Tumpel *Die Äthiopienländer des Andromedamythus*, p. 132, would like to shift the scene to Persia because the *σάβηρον* mentioned in Fr. 131 is a Persian garment! In p. 177 he tries to exclude Phineus from the *Andromeda* of Sophocles! Unfortunately the vase shows, not only Phineus, but also his negro attendants.

his whole attitude shows that he will not think of lifting a hand to save her.

A scene very similar to this one occurs in one of the plays of Euripides. Alcestis, the young wife of Admetus, has, like Andromeda, fallen a victim to the anger of an offended deity, for she has unhesitatingly offered herself, in the absence of any other substitute, to suffer death in her husband's stead. She might live if another could be found to suffer the penalty. But Admetus' parents, though aged, still cling to life, and Pheres contents himself with bringing offerings for the grave. As the Chorus see Pheres entering and announce his approach to Admetus, v. 611 ff., they utter words which might almost equally be said with regard to Phineus in the *Andromeda* of Sophocles:

καὶ μὴν ὁρῶ σὸν πατέρα γηραιῷ ποδὶ ²⁷
στείχοντ', ὁπαδούς τ' ἐν χερσὶν δάμαρτι σῇ
κόσμον φέροντας, νερτέρων ἀγάλματα.

The similarity is too great to be accidental. We may assume that the *Andromeda* of Sophocles was earlier than the *Andromeda* of Euripides, merely from a consideration of the great heightening of stage effect brought about by Euripides' innovations in the entrance of Andromeda and Perseus. But whether Sophocles' *Andromeda* was earlier than the *Alcestis* (acted in 438 B.C.) or not can only be decided when we have discovered which of these two plays treats with greater freshness, force and originality the motive of affection commuting its obligations to the form of gifts. It stands to reason that the effect is the stronger, or, in other words, that the despicable character of the person commuting these obligations is the more emphasised, the greater the claim the victim can make on his generosity and courage. Pheres, though near the end of his span of life, lies under no such strong obligation to sacrifice himself in the place of his son's wife as Phineus does towards his betrothed, especially as Phineus is not required to give his life, but merely to risk it in the conflict while fighting for her safety. This contrast would come out more clearly if we were in a position to compare the whole scene of Sophocles' *Andromeda* with the similar one in the *Alcestis*. The situation in the *Alcestis* is a painful one. One man buys his own life by the death of his wife, while the other clings to his few remaining years, and refuses to sacrifice them for his son. The scene in the *Andromeda*, as we can see from the vase-paintings, is more of a nature to rouse the sympathy of a Greek audience. After the exchange of a few words between Phineus and Cepheus, the dispute develops itself between Phineus, the cowardly barbarian who abandons his betrothed, and Perseus, the Hellenic hero, who will fight for her and win her. If, thus, we conclude that Euripides borrowed the dramatic motive from Sophocles, we must date

²⁷ Did old Pheres, like Phineus, walk with the situation to represent him as feeble as some support? Certainly it was in accord with possible.

the vase-painting also by its style rather before than after 438. Since the vase-painting represents the transition between the scene of Perseus' entrance to Cepheus and the following scene where Phineus is also present, we may clearly assume the existence of these two scenes in the *Andromeda* of Sophocles. The first scene would explain the situation and the second would unfold a contrast of character such as Sophocles loved to portray. As to the continuation of the piece, we can find no better evidence than the picture, and with a knowledge of the myth as a background it will not be difficult to sketch the principal features of what remains.

The dialogue between Phineus and Perseus might have taken place before Perseus had seen Andromeda. But it seems scarcely conceivable that Andromeda, the chief character, should only enter after the two scenes depicted on the vase. Perhaps she opened the piece with her mother, and went off after the parodos. The stasimon must follow the dialogue between Phineus and Perseus, and after that Andromeda may have been led to the place of death, mourning like Antigone. Her mother seems, from Eratosthenes 16, to have gone with her and to have sat beside her while she stood in chains. This was the crisis at which Perseus might have first seen Andromeda, and when once Phineus had given up his betrothed as dead, Perseus could woo her, and Andromeda could give her promise in return for the promised rescue. Perseus himself might announce the fight and the victory. The consequence of this will be to produce a *περιπέτεια* of which the vase-painting gives a premonition and which Euripides' version confirms. Phineus, who had abandoned his bride when she was to be the prey of the monster, claims her again as soon as she is saved. Euripides transferred this change of mind from Phineus to Cepheus and allowed the character of Phineus to fall out altogether. In the play of Sophocles Cepheus was a man of honour, if we are to judge by the deep distress he evidences on the vase-painting.^{27a} It is not he but Phineus who threatens the lovers in the second part of the drama. We know that the story ends happily for them and that Phineus dies, but we cannot even conjecture how this came about.

Reversing the order we followed in examining the *Andromeda* of Euripides, let us now start with what certainty we can obtain from the vase-painting and see how much more we can add from literary tradition. Of the few extant fragments the one cited on page 104 is more suited to the Phineus of the picture than to the Cepheus, because of the affectation which it evidences; Fr. 124 would be a worthy expression of the courage of Perseus; 126 *αὐτοχέλεσι ληκύθοις*, perhaps another blundering remark of the Ethiop prince, must refer to the funeral vases brought by Phineus, and possibly 131 designates the Oriental garment called *σάρητον*. Fr. 127 *ἀμφίπρυμνον πλοῖον* might be a metaphor for the sea-monster rush-

^{27a} Compare the Cepheus of Euripides on the vases ABE.

ing backwards and forwards in the fight with Perseus. Ovid, in telling the story, compares the monster to a ship, iv. 706, and later on, 721, describes its movements upwards and downwards, backwards and forwards. Possibly Fr. 125 ἰδοὺ δὲ φοίνιον μάσθητα δίγονον may belong to the same narrative passage, and may refer to the incident which Ovid v. 727 describes as *falcato verberat ense*, following it up immediately by the words *belua puniceo mixtos cum sanguine fluctus ore vomit*. Finally Fr. 129, the one word ζευξίλεως, explained by Hesychius as ζευκτὸς λαός, or, as it probably stood ζευκτῆς λαοῦ ἢ ᾧ ὑπεξευγμένοι εἰσὶ λαοί, fits in almost literally with the Phineus of the vase-painting, who places his arms like a yoke on the necks of his subjects that they may carry or push him forward. Thus conjectures may be made about the meaning and place of these few slight fragments, though they do not add much to our conception of the whole.

We are rather better off as regards the *Andromeda* of Accius. Ribbeck, *Die römische Tragödie*, p. 564, rightly perceives that it was founded on an original different from that which was the source of Ennius' play. But as he assumes that the *Andromeda* of Sophocles was a Satyric play, he naturally does not find his original there. Ribbeck's attitude (evidently quite unprejudiced) to the drama of Accius may be given in a translation of his own words. "It was not a foregone conclusion, as in Ennius and Euripides, that Andromeda herself was exposed to the monster. On the contrary, the parents must have disputed the question with the betrothed, Phineus or Agenor, and this would bring out the inherent weakness in the character of the betrothed, complicated by the motive of love to the maiden." If for "parents" we read "Cepheus" we have the very scene represented on the Vulci vase. Hence we should assign Fr. 3 *nisi quid tua favultas tulat opem, peream*, to Cepheus (addressing Phineus), and Fr. 4 *nec quei te adiutem invenio: hortari piget, non prodesse id pudet*, to Phineus (addressing Cepheus). Fr. 6 *namque ut dicam te metu aut segnitute adiuvere (?) dubitare haud meumst* might have been previously spoken by Perseus to Phineus. When Perseus first sees Andromeda he may compare her to a statue of a divinity, and then might follow Fr. 10. *Immane te habet templum obrallatum ossibus*. These words do not necessarily imply that Andromeda had stood a long time on the spot, a circumstance inconsistent with the vase-painting. For in the version of Sophocles (followed by Fr. 1 of Accius), as well as in that of Euripides, the monster devoured many victims before the oracle was appealed to. Therefore Andromeda would naturally be bound at the place where the dragon always seized his victims. Fr. 12 reads *quod beneficium haud sterili in segete, rer, te obsesse intelleges*. Ribbeck supposes that Perseus spoke these words to Cepheus after his betrothal to Andromeda. This is certainly correct, but is it not evident from the words that Perseus is not asking the consent of Cepheus (as in Euripides, Ovid iv. 703), but that Cepheus has offered his daughter to Perseus of his own accord after Phineus has abandoned her and after the mind of Perseus has been sufficiently revealed by his dialogue

with Phineus, and that now Perseus is promising gratitude? This fits very well with the upright character of Cepheus as we become aware of it in the vase-painting, a character which finds expression in the words he speaks to Perseus and Andromeda after the rescue, Fr. 11 *alui, educavi: id facite gratum ut sit seni*. Certainly in Fr. 14 he seems unwilling to give up his daughter, but Fr. 103 *meministin te spondere mihi gnatam tuam?* if rightly introduced here from the *incerta*, might very well be spoken by Phineus, instead of by Perseus as Ribbeck supposes. In any case the former suitor must come on the scene again after the rescue of Andromeda. It is very clear that Ribbeck separated two halves that belong together in assigning the first, viz., the abandonment of Andromeda by Phineus, to Accius (Sophocles), and the second, viz., the quarrel with Perseus and the renewed claim on the rescued girl, to Ennius (Euripides). Ribbeck himself admitted that these two parts were related to each other, and the evidence of Ovid makes it certain that they should be joined. For Ovid relates circumstantially and vividly how Phineus came with a troop of armed men and fell on Perseus at his wedding feast "*En, ait, en, adsum praeceptae conjugis ultor*," V. 10. Cepheus takes the part of Perseus against him as we should expect,²⁸ and reproaches him for his cowardice: *scilicet haud satis est quod te spectante revincta est* (corresponding almost exactly to the vase-painting) *et nullam quod opem patruus sponsusve tulisti*. The scene referred to here as already past was acted in the drama of Sophocles, and we must assign to the same drama the scene in which this reminiscence is made. The contrast between the cowardice of Phineus and the courage of Perseus, as shown in the vase-painting, is here pointed and sharpened by the words *timidissime Phineu*, 224, given as a repartee to *Perseu fortissime*, 216, 221.

We see, then, that Ennius (and possibly Livius Andronicus before him) chose the newer and more famous drama of Euripides for his adaptation, while Accius, two generations later, placed the *Andromeda* of Sophocles on the Roman stage. Ovid made use of both, the first part of his narrative being taken from Euripides and the second from Sophocles. Sophocles' tragedy, if it was earlier than the *Alcestis* of Euripides, must have been performed in Athens about three decades before the *Andromeda* of Euripides. It has been pointed out (p. 109) that there may have been a certain similarity between this play and the *Antigone*, performed in 441 B.C. What we know of the two plays makes it clear that that of Sophocles was the earlier. The entrance of Perseus, the bringing in of Andromeda, are much simpler and more natural than the elaborated stage effects added by Euripides. It is hardly conceivable that the more elaborated form preceded the simpler. Sophocles seems to have found his chief dramatic interest in the contrast between Perseus and Phineus, set off by the gracious presence of Andromeda,

²⁸ In Apollodorus, also, Phineus is the only betrothed of Andromeda, and makes him an adversary. Hyginus gives Agenor as the ally of Cepheus.

barbarian by birth, but Greek in beauty of form and spirit. Yet the Andromeda of Sophocles can hardly have found opportunity to express that noble self-forgetfulness which the Andromeda of Euripides shares with the other heroines of his plays, with a Theonoe, a Makaria, an Iphigeneia

E. PETERSEN.

ROME. *August*, 1903.

FIRST REPORT OF A JOURNEY IN PISIDIA, LYCAONIA, AND PAMPHYLIA.

PART III.

Continued from Vol. XXII, p. 376.

E.—KHATYN SERAI (Λύστρα) AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

We were at Khatyn Serai for four days, arriving on the fourth day of July, 1901, and leaving on the seventh. Our road from Konia lay through Baiyat, where we copied the following inscription.

Baiyat.

No. 150.—W.M.R., H.S.C., G.A.W.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝ	Οὐλπίαν
ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΑΝ	Μάρκελλαν
ΑΙ ΦΥΛΑΙ	αἱ φυλαὶ
ΤΗΣ ΚΟΛΩ	τῆς κολω-
ΝΕΙΑΣ	νείας
Λ Χ	μ(νήμης) χ(άρις).

The length of our stay at Khatyn Serai enabled us to become acquainted with a good number of inscriptions. Besides verifying almost all the inscriptions already published from Professor Sterrett's copies, or from Professor Ramsay's earlier ones (cf. *W.E.* pp. 242 ff.: *C.I.L.* vol. iii. pp. 1239 and 2061), we heard of and copied twenty-four new inscriptions, ten of which are in Latin and one bilingual. We were also able to make some examination of Zoldera, the site of the ancient city, which lies rather more than a mile N.W. of the village.

The inscriptions are most conveniently considered according to the language in which they are written; for if they were found on the site of the modern village, they were in all probability carried thither from Zoldera.

Latin Inscriptions.

151.—In a hut on the south side of Zoldera. W.M.R.

PRO SALUTE IMPERATORIS	Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Ne[r]vae
CAESARIS AVGGFI	Caesaris Aug(usti) Ger[manici]
MVLPIVS DIDDIANVS	M(arcus) Ulpius Diddianu[s],
SACERDOS MARTIS	Sacerdos Martis.

Some of the inscription, which has been published from our copies in the *C.I.L.* (vol. iii. No. 14400), has been lost on the right. The date of the inscription is Oct. 97—Jan. 98. For the name Ulpius at Lystra cf. our No. 150 and *W.E.* No. 254; for Diddianus cf. *C.I.L.* vol. iii. No. 6627 (the inscription is at Coptos, but C. Didius was from Ancyra), and L. Didius Marinus (No. 6753, Ancyra).

No. 152.—Western Cemetery. W.M.R. 1882 and 1903.

LOCT. MODESTVS	L(ucius) Oct(avius) Modestus
OMNIBVS MVNE	omnibus mun-
RIBVS FVNCTVS	ribus functus
SIBI VIVVS PO	sibi vivus po-
V T ^ Ø	s]u[i]t.

Between lines 1 and 2 is a horseman galloping spear in hand. Cf. *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 316; *C.I.L.* vol. iii., No. 6788.

No. 153.—W.M.R., H.S.C., G.A.W.

LENNIVSRVFVS · ENNIORVFOPATRIET ×
ENN NIAESORORIETENNIO.
R AH IBIETENNIAEMATRIVI

L(ucius) Ennius Rufus Ennio Rufo patri et
Enn[io] fratri et En[n]iae sorori et Ennio
R[ufus] et s]ibi et Enniae matri vi[vis]

The letters are small and well formed; the surface of the stone is much worn. This is *C.I.L.* vol. iii. No. 12141.

No. 154.—Zoldera, in a hut between the tepé and the Ayasma. H.S.C. G.A.W.

LOLLIAE SECUNDAE	Lolli[a]e Secundae
SOCRATAE AMICISSIMAE	socr[a]e [a]micissimae
PANNIUS / / ROCVLA	P(ublius) Annius [P]rocula-
NV[er] MEMORIAE	nus memoriae
CAVSA	causa.

For Annius cf. No. 155 and perhaps No. 156. This is *C.I.L.* vol. iii. No. 14400*f*.

No. 155.—W.M.R.

QLAITILIONEPOTI	Q(uinto) Laitilio Nepoti
ANNIAVETTIAVXOR	Annia Vettia uxor
EIVSMEMORIAICAVSA	eius memoriai causa
ET SIBI RESTITVIT	et sibi restituit.

This is *C.I.L.* vol. iii. No. 14400 *e*.

No. 156.—W.M.R., H.S.C., G.A.W.

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	
L·AN	VR	L(ucius) An[nius
EQV	I·IIVR	Equ[es(?)]m duumv(i)r(?)

The stones *A* and *B* are, the one in the eastern, the other in the western bridge. They are similar in character and the letters are of the same size, five inches high, and are finely and deeply cut; they belong to the early Imperial period. Apparently both are complete on the three sides indicated; there is no clue to the extent of the gap between them. The interpretation of VR as vir is uncertain. This is *C.I.L.* vol. iii. No. 14400 *b* (cf. No. 6797 and *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 317).

No. 157.—W.M.R.

JA	
J·PROBI	Probi-
NO·M·C·	no m(emoriae) c(ausa)

Complete at bottom and on right.

No. 158.—On a pedestal; slightly ornate; much broken. W.M.R.

AQVI	Aqui[lam legatum Augusti pro
PRAE	prae[tore
XII	xii[tribus

Good early Imperial lettering. Complete except on right and possibly at top. If our restoration be correct, there must have been a line above our first line with the full name of Cornutus Aquila, who was governor of Galatia in B.C. 6 (cf. our No. 7, 11, and 12). The monument must have been erected at the time of the foundation of the colony. For the tribes of Lystra cf. our No. 150. This is *C.I.L.* No. 14400 *d*.

No. 159.—On a lion. W.M.R.

//RVFVSETLV

Rufus et Lu[cius

Complete on right. This is *C.I.L.* 14400 h (cf. 6796 and *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 317).

No. 160.—W.M.R.

HUS · SOC · P⁻⁻⁻ LIN

]hus Soc. P[au]lin[us et uxor

ILIAGRAPTE /PILIA

eius Pup]ilia Grapte [P]upilia[e

∇ : AE MONOMENTV

En]n[i]ae monomentu[m

IL

SV

F]il[iae]

su[ae

VIXIT ANN XXI

vixit annos xxi

Complete at bottom only. There is a broad blank space between lines 4 and 5.

In addition to these inscriptions, seven (Nos. 242—248) are given by Sterrett on pp. 142—145 of the *Wolfe Expedition*. We examined all. With regard to No. 242, I need only here¹ call attention to the spelling *Lustra* which is found on coins and in Latin inscriptions of the colony. In No. 243, the transcription is correct. No. 244 should read

NCHARE

A]nchare-

NASECVN

na Secun[da

ALAAA

L(ucio) Am[

The symbols at the end of the third line are very uncertain—perhaps XL annorum.

In No. 245, delete the second P in line 2.

In No. 246, the first line appears to be IΔIΞAI. In line 5 the first word is SVIS, but the second is apparently IRPESIS, the first I being very uncertain. P should perhaps be R. We could not read PRAEDIS, which Mommsen suggested. CAVSAE is the last word, an engraver's error for CAVSA. Lines 4, 5, and 6 are complete on the right.

In No. 247, we have no record of any point in lines 1 and 2. There is an erasure after the O in line 4. The first F in line 5 should be a P.

In No. 248. The copy in the *C.I.L.* (vol. iii., No. 6791) is right, where it disagrees with Sterrett. The first letter of line 2 is A not M.

¹ See p. 123

Bilingual Inscription.

No. 164.—W.M.R., H.S.C., G.A.W.

Ζ ΛΙ
 ΙΡΟΙΥΓΜ
 ΕΜ Ο ΥΓΓΑ
 ΑΤΙΝΝΙΑΚΛΕ
 ΟΠΑΤΡΑΕΑΥ
 ΤΗ ΖΩΣΑ ΚΑΙ
 ΟΠΙΩΚΟCΜ Ω
 ΑΝΔΡΙ ΑΥΤΗC
 ΜΝΗΜΗC
 ΧΑΡΙΝ

[Atinnia Cle-
 opatra sibi
 viva et Opi-
 -o Cosmo] v-
 iro eius m-
 em[oriae] c[a]ussa
 Ἀτιννία Κλε-
 οπάτρα ἐαυ-
 τῇ ζῶσα καὶ
 Ὀπίω Κόσμου
 ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς
 μνήμης
 χάριν

This is *C.I.L.* 14400*d*.*Greek Inscriptions.*

No. 162.—W.M.R.

ΛΕΙΟΥΝΕΙΩ
 ΓΑΙΩΚΑΙΦΛΑ
 ΥΙΑΟΦΕΛΛΙ
 ΛΕΙ ΟΥΙΝΕΙΟΙ
 ΟΦΕΛΛΙΟCΚ////
 ΩCΙΘΕΑΓΟ
 ΝΕΙCΙ

Λειουινείω
 Γαίω καὶ Φλ[α-
 ο]υία Ὀφελλί[α]
 Λειουίνειοι
 Ὀφέλλιος κ[αὶ]
 Δ]ωσιθέα γο-
 νείσι

No. 163.—W.M.R.

ΑΝΕCΤΗCΕ
 ΒΑΒΩΔΙ ΓΥ
 ΝΗΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΜΝΗΜΗC ΧΑΡΙΝ

ὁ δεῖνα] ἀνέστησε
 Βαβωδὶ γυ-
 νῇ αὐτοῦ
 μνήμης χάριν.

Relief with two figures above the inscription. There must also have been a line containing the husband's name above the relief.

The name Βαβ[ώ] occurs in *C.I.G.* 4142 (Ocuus, Ogur, or Ogut in Galatia, nine miles from Amasia on the road to Ancyra).

No. 164.—W.M.R.

////Σ<ΘΕΟΠΟ//

ΠΟCEΛΠΙΔ
CΥMBIΩCE
MNOTATH
MNHMHCHX
PIN

Θεόπο[μ-
πος Ἑλπίδ[ι
συμβίω σε-
μνοτάτη
μνήμης χά-
ριν.

No. 165.—W.M.R., H.S.C.

ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΣ
ΖΩCΙΜΟΣ
ΖΩCΙΜΗΔΙ
ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ

Οὐαλέριος
Ζώσιμος
Ζωσιμηδὶ
θυγατρί

Below the inscription are two small arches containing reliefs.

No. 166.—W.M.R., H.S.C.

ΑΓΑΘΗΜΕΡΟCΚΗ
ΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΖΩ
ΝΤΕCΤΕΚΝΟΙC
ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΟΙC
Μ

Ἀγαθήμερος κὲ ἡ
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ζῶ-
ντες τέκνοις
γλυκυτάτοις
μ[νήμης χάριν

No. 167.—W.M.R.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ
ΛΟΝΓΕΙΝΟΣ
CΤΡΑΤΙΩΤ
ΗCΛΕΓ////////

Α]ὐρήλιος
Λονγεῖνος
στρατιώτ-
ης λεγ[εῶνος

No. 168.—W.M.R., H.S.C., G.A.W.

ΜΩΝΕΙCΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΟ
ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥCΜΩΝ
ΩΚΑΙΤΑΤΑΙΤΗΜΑΜΑ
ΙΔΗΤΩΓ/

Μώνεις Νεικομήδο[υς κὲ . .
Νεικομήδους Μών[ει τῷ πάπ-
π]φ καὶ Τάται τῇ μάμα [κὲ Νεικο-
μή]δῃ τῷ γ[λυκυτάτῳ πατρί

The stone now measures 15 inches in width. Above the inscription is a triangular pediment, containing the representation of an eagle. This fixes the centre of the stone, which was apparently originally 22 inches in width, and contained 5 or 6 letters to the right of those which still remain. The inscription is not complete at the foot. A short name stood at the end of line 1.

No. 169.—W.M.R.

ΛΕΙ,
 ΛΕΙΝΙΟ,
 ΛΜΑΚΑΡΙ
 ΔΕΗΜΟΥΝ
 ΑΠΟΥΣΔΙΖΖ
 ΕΜΕΩΝΤΟΕΓΕΡΕ
 ΡΑΝΙΟΙΟΠΑΛΙΝΚ

This is a fragment of a metrical epitaph.

No. 170.—On a very large block of building stone. W.M.R.

ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥΤΙΤΙΝ//// Προκλου Τιτιν[ιανοῦ]

Complete to left. Large good letters.

No. 171.—In the fountain. W.M.R., H.S.C., G.A.W.

Ε////ΚΕΧΟΛΩΜΕΝΟΝΕΧΟΙΤΟ θ[όν] κεχολωμένον ἔχοιτο

For ἔχοιτο, cf. No. 42.

No. 172.—W.M.R.

ΙΚΛΑΣ
 ΔΟΜΝΑ
 ΔΟΡΚΑΣ
 ΓΑΤΗΡ
 ΥΙΟΙΕ
 ΜΗΜΕΙ
 ΝΖΩΝΤΕΣ
 ΑΤΕΣΚΕΥ
 Α< ΑΝΗΑΥ
 Τ ΙΚΑΣ
 Π Π Κ

Ἡρα]κλᾶς
 καὶ] Δόμνα
 καὶ] Δορκὰς
 θυ]γάτηρ [καὶ
 υἱοὶ
 μνημεῖ-
 ο]ν ζῶντες
 κ]ατεσκεύ-
 ασ]αν

No. 173.—W.M.R., H.S.C., G.A.W.

ΛΟΝΓΕΙΝΟ////
 ΑΛΛ ΙΟΥ
 Horseman
 right.
 ΠΛΟΥ
 ΕΥΧΗ

Λονγεῖνο[s
 Ἀλλ[ιαν]οῦ

Πλού[τωνι
 εὐχῇ]ν

Or, perhaps, Ἀ[μιν]οῦ.

The Greek inscriptions (Nos. 249—255) in Sterrett occupy pp. 145—148 in the *Wulfe Expedition*. The following corrections should be made.

St. No. 249, line 1, the two upright strokes of the N of ἀνέστησεν are legible; line 3, Κ can be read at the beginning; ΤΙ should be Π, *i.e.* ἐπανεστήσε for ἔτι ἀνέστησεν.

St. No. 250.—This inscription may be restored as follows:—

Ἄ. Σε[ισ . . . σ]ων κὲ Ἄ. Μάρκος
κὲ Ἄ. Καπίτων υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ κὲ
Ἄ. Πηγεῖνα θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ
ἐποίησαν τὸ κοιμητήρι-
5. ον ἐξ ἀναλωμάτων δύ-
ο μὲν [μ]έρη τοῦ Καπί-
τωνος, μέρος δ[ε] ἕν
]οις ἀδελ-
φ[οῖ]ς [μ]νήμης
10. χάριν.

It was copied by Professor Ramsay in 1882 and 1901: in 1901 Mr. Wathen and I were with him. In line 1, the letters placed between brackets are broken, and uncertain, but Sterrett's restoration Σε[π. Καπί]των is wrong. In line 2, the punctuation mark after Α is taken for an Ι. In line 5, the word ἰδίω has probably been omitted either before or after ἀναλωμάτων by a slip of the engraver. In line 9 a symbol like × after the first C must be a punctuation mark.

St. No. 251.—For ΕΑΤΩ in line 1, read ΕΑΙΙΩ, *i.e.* εαυτῷ.

St. No. 252.—Read and restore as follows:

ΑΥΡΗΘΕΟΔΩ	Αὐρή(λιος) Θεόδω[ρο-
CΔΙ YNTHIΛ	ς Δί[ος σ]ὺν τῇ ἰδί-
ΗΘΥΓ/ ΤΡΙΓΛΥ	ῃ θυγ[α]τρὶ γλυ[κυ-
ΑΤΗΘΕΛΗΜ	τ]άτη Θ[ε]κλή μ[νή-
ΜΗ /PIN	μη[ς] χ[ά]ριν.

There is a cross above the inscription. The inscription is complete on the left.

St. No. 253.—Read and restore as follows:

ΑΝΧΑ	Ἀνχα-
ΙΗΝΑΚΟΥΙΝ	ρ]ήνα Κουίν-
ΙΙΛΛΑΚ>	τι]λλα Κ(οἰντῷ)
ΑΝΧΑΡΗ	Ἀνχαρή-
ΝΩΠΕΤΡΩ	νῷ Πετρω-

ΝΙΩΤΩΚΑΙ	νίω τῶ καὶ
ANNIΩ	Ἀννίω
ΗΜΕΝ	κεκλ]ημέν-
ΕΡΙΟΔΕ	ω π]εριοδε[υτῇ
Α//ΕCΤΗ	ἀ[ν]έστη-
ΚΑΙ	σε] καὶ

St. No. 255.—Restore Ἰστήλλη Παππᾶδος.

Concerning Sterrett's inscriptions from Giómse (Nos. 266–268) we have nothing to say except to suggest that lines 9 and 10 of No. 267 should be restored thus :

καὶ γ]ον[εῦ-
σιν

Nos. 261–263 of Sterrett are republished from copies by Prof. Ramsay in *C.I.L.* vol. iii., No. 12215, with a complete text and the name Col. Lustrensius. Prof. Ramsay also sends me the following inscription :—

Sari Kyz.—W.M.R.

ΜΑΡΚΟCΑ	Μάρκος Ἀ[τίλι-(?)
ΟCΛΟΝΓΟ	ος Δόγγος Φλ-
ΑΥΙΑΜΑΛ	αυία Μαλ[λία (?) γ-
ΙΝΑΙ . . C	υ]ναί[κί]_ε[αυτοῦ.

The inscription is not complete on the right. Sari Kyz is a mile and a half north of Zoldera.

Zoldera.

The time which we had at our disposal enabled us to make some attempt at examining the site. Regular excavations were out of the question, not only because we were not provided with the necessary authority, but also because both time and funds for such research would have failed us. It was possible, however, to make a rough sketch of the site (Fig. 1), which besides serving an immediate purpose may prove of use to future explorers. The sketch together with a photograph of the tepé, taken from the south-east and shewing the inscribed pillar, is given on p. 121 (Figs. 1 and 2). The letter *A* on the sketch marks the foundations of a small church ;² *BBB* marks the course suggested along the side of the tepé for the road from Iconium. *U* is the spot pointed out to us as the site of the gate. *D* marks the Ayasma described in Ramsay's *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 50, and *E* the inscribed pillar.

² See p. 123.

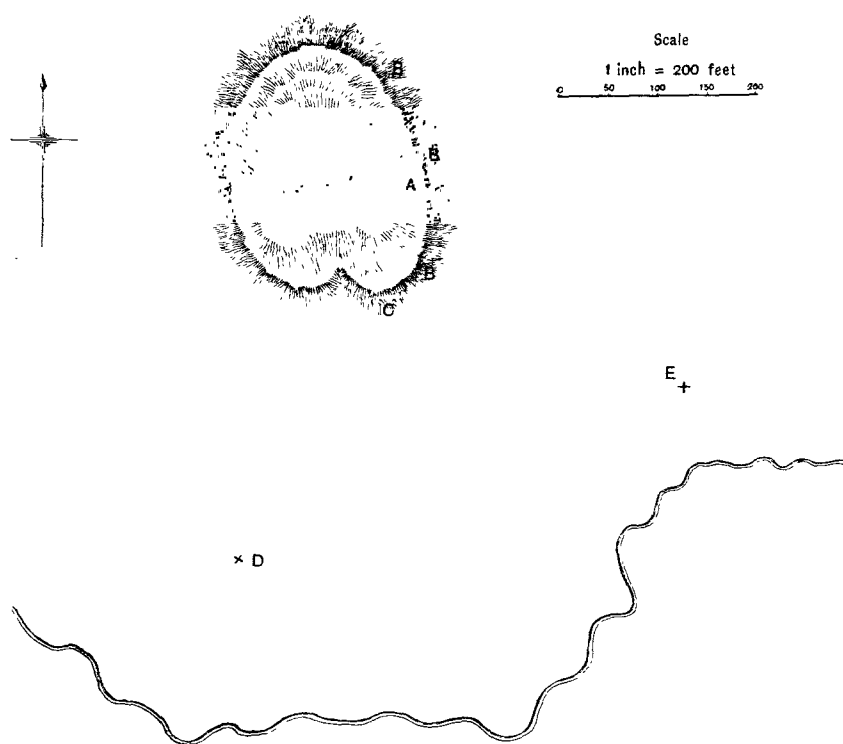


FIG. 1.—SKETCH-PLAN OF SITE OF LYSERA.

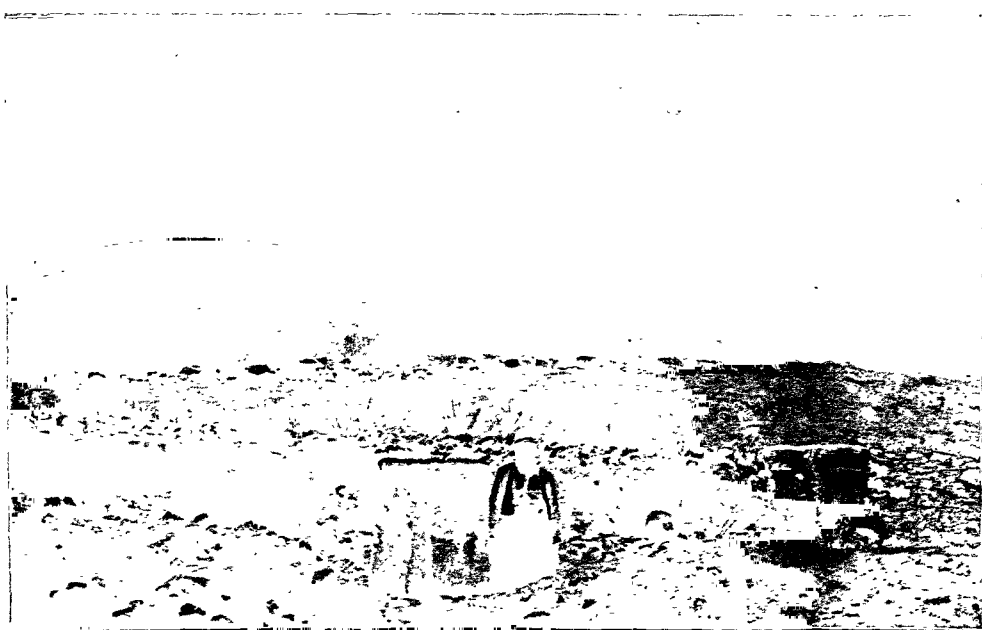


FIG. 2.—THE TEPÉ FROM THE S.E.

Inscribed Pillar.

The identity of this site with Lystra is fixed by the inscription on the pillar, which is a dedication to Augustus, its founder, by the colony. The inscription was discovered by Prof. Sterrett, who published it in the *Wolfe Expedition*, p. 142, cf. *C.I.L.*, vol. iii. No. 6786. It was suggested by Prof. Ramsay (*The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 51), on the analogy of a similar dedication to Augustus found in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, that this stone marked the site of the temple of *Ζεὺς ὁ ὦν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως* (Acts xiv. 13). This suggestion may be right, but the removal of two or three feet of soil shewed that the stone was at all events not exactly in its original position. We found no traces of Roman work near it, or between it and the other pillar shewn in the photograph. The stones had been moved from their original position, which may or may not have been near, and had been used as the door-posts of a Turkish house, the foundations of which could be traced between the pillars and on either hand. The pillars measure respectively 4 ft. 11½ in. high by 2 ft. 7½ in. broad and 1 ft. 11½ in. deep and 4 ft. 5½ in. by 2 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 1 in. The larger, which is on the right, is inscribed. The distance between the two stones is 9 ft. 5 in. The foundations of a small building (A), which we examined on the east side of the tepé, proved to be those of a small Byzantine church. The annexed plan (Fig. 3) makes any further description of it unnecessary.

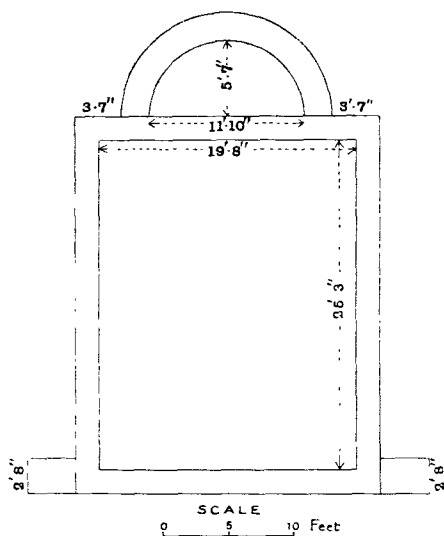


FIG. 3

The Site, Roman Road and Gate.

It will be seen from the photograph and sketch that the tepé rises sharply from the plain on all sides, and that it is somewhat higher at the south end than at the north. In the centre of the south end there is a depression through which a road must have entered the city : a short distance from this depression, on the slope of the tepé south of its south-east corner, at the spot marked *C*, we were told that a gate had once stood. No traces of the gate could be seen above ground and, though we removed some of the soil, we could find no trace below ground of its foundations. The tradition is, however, worth putting on record ; it came to us on the authority of an aged inhabitant of the village, who had seen it in his childhood. It appeared to us that the tradition might be true, for there was an incline along the face of the slope leading from the depression before alluded to, past the site assigned to the gate and round the south-east corner of the tepé. This incline was continued along the east side until it joined the plain, and was on the whole such as might mark the ancient course of a road. It is marked *BBB* in the sketch.

H. S. CRONIN.

MYCENAEAN VASES AT TORCELLO.

IN view of the importance of ascertaining the limits of the influence of the early civilization of the Aegean, the existence of four Mycenaean vases in the little museum at Torcello has a certain interest.

This museum contains a miscellaneous collection of antiquities, some dug up in the island itself or coming from the ecclesiastical buildings close by, some from the adjacent islands in the lagoon. Amongst a number of vases of later date are the four in question.

The first of these (No. 727) is a small pseudamphora of somewhat flattened form. The buff slip is decorated all over the body of the vase with bands of red glaze-paint. The spaces on the shoulder of the vase not occupied by the spout and handles are filled with parallel strokes gradually decreasing in length, which thus form the triangles of bars common on late Mycenaean ware.

The second vase (No. 760) is shewn in Fig. 1.¹ The technique is the same as that of the pseudamphora, but the slip is paler and thinner, and both it and the paint are not so well preserved. The decoration consists of five waves of paint rising and falling and forming a band of ornament below the handles. These were three originally; two are now missing. Above the handles near the turned-over lip of the vase is a plain band of colour, and the neck and lip are also coloured. The vase was found in 1881 in the island of Mazzorbo. Three vases figured by Furtwängler and Löschke (*Mykenische Vasen* Pl. I. 6; Pl. VIII. 45; Pl. IX. 52) from



FIG. 1.

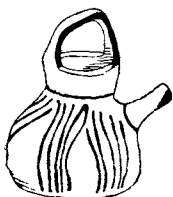


FIG. 2.

Ialysus form an almost complete parallel both in form and in decoration. The only difference is that the Ialysus vases have either a star or a tendril added to the wave pattern.

The third vase (No. 914), shewn in Fig. 2, is of rougher make than the others. It is of the 'feeding-bottle' shape, of which so many have been found at Kóurtes in Crete, and in other late Mycenaean deposits. It is made of rather coarse grey clay, apparently without slip, and roughly decorated with strokes of dull blackish paint. It was found in the island of Torcello in 1881.

The only other vase to be mentioned is a very small pyxis-shaped

¹ Both the figures are a little less than $\frac{1}{2}$ size.

vessel of very much the same shape as No. 33 in F. and L.'s table of vase-forms. It also has its parallel from Ialysus, cf. F. and L. Pl. IX. 55.

The linear decoration of the pseudamphora, which strongly resembles that of the Ialysus vases, the wave-pattern on the second vase, and the shapes of these vases, and especially of the third, make it clear that these importations date from the later period of the Aegean civilization.

In the same museum is a string of amber beads, some decorated with striations, and one or two clay spindle-whorls, which resemble the Mycenaean whorls in shape, though they are not formed so cleanly. On these, however, no stress can be laid, as such whorls are found in great abundance in all the North-Italian prehistoric sites.

The interest of these vases lies in connexion with the question of early trade routes, and their use by the Mycenaeans and early Greeks. The commercial importance of the head of the Adriatic in the earliest times is well known. Aquileia is mentioned by Strabo (V. i. 8) as a centre of trade. The whole question is dealt with in the chapter on Primaeval Trade-routes in Ridgeway's *Origin of Metallic Currency*.

In regard to the use of these routes by Mycenaean traders it should be noted that these vases may be assigned approximately to the same period as the Mycenaean vases found in Sicily and now preserved in the Museum at Syracuse. These vases were found with native ware of Orsi's second Sicilian period, and are of shapes that are also found among the Ialysus ware.²

Mr. Bosanquet has called my attention to two other finds of Mycenaean objects which have a bearing on this question. The first is the discovery of vases at Scoglio di Tonno, near Taranto, of the latest Mycenaean style,³ together with clay female idols of characteristic Mycenaean form. These were found in a stratum immediately above the Terramare deposits. Quagliati also claims that a figure found in the Terramare deposit of Taranto is an imitation of this Mycenaean type, and Pigorini⁴ believes that objects akin to Mycenaean occur in the Terramare deposits of the lower Po valley. Apart from this question, however, the discoveries at Scoglio di Tonno clearly shew, as Quagliati points out, a connexion between Mycenaean civilization and the latest period of the Italian bronze age.

The other discovery of Mycenaean vases in question is that made in 1843 by de Bosset, the governor for England of the Ionian islands. These vases come mostly from Cephallenia,⁵ but some probably from Ithaka. They are at present in the Museum of Neuchâtel, and have been published by M. Paul Dessoulavy in *Revue Archéologique*, Vol. xxxvii. pp. 128 *sqq.* From the

² See especially F. and L. Pl. I. 3, and Pl. VIII. 43.

³ Quagliati, *Bullettino di Paleontologia-Italiana*. Anno xxvi. 1900.

⁴ For the question of Mycenaean influence in the Terramare deposits of the lower valley

of the Po, see Pigorini's article, *Mon. ant.* Vol. i. col. 143 *sq.*

⁵ A beehive tomb and other Mycenaean tombs have been found in Cephallenia at Masarakata, see Frazer, *Pausanias* iii. p. 140.

illustrations which he gives it is clear that they belong to the same late period of Mycenaean art to which the vases of Syracuse, Torcello, and Ialysus must be ascribed. Shapes characteristic of this collection are the pseud-*amphora*, the shape shewn in Fig. 1, three-handled, *pyxis*-shaped vessels like the fourth vase from Torcello, and three-handled vases of the shape shewn by Furtwängler and Löschcke (*op. cit.*) Pl. I, 3, Pl. VIII, 43, and mentioned above as characteristic of the Syracusan vases. The linear style of the decoration also points to the same period.

The finding of Mycenaean vases all of the same period at these different places, the east coast of Sicily, Taranto, and Cephallenia, points to so much maritime enterprise on the part of the later Mycenaeans that it seems more than probable that the Torcello vases came by sea from the Aegean. Herodotus (i. 163) preserves the tradition of the Phocaeans' voyages to *Adria*. On the other hand, in iv. 33, he gives an account of an overland route from the Adriatic to Delos by way of Dodona, the Malian Gulf, Carystus, and Tenos, and at the present day there is considerable traffic across the Pindus range where this route must have crossed it. The modern road leads from Jannina, which is close to Dodona, eastwards over the Zygospass, and then descends to Kalambaka in Thessaly. Thence to the Malian Gulf it is flat country all the way as far as Pharsalus, where the road turns south over the hills to Lamia. No Mycenaean objects, however, seem to have been found at Dodona.

It is a noticeable fact that practically all the Mycenaean pottery found outside the islands of the Aegean resembles both in form and decoration the vases discussed above, and must therefore with them be set down to the later period of the Aegean civilization. The vases found in the islands present a much more vigorous and fresh appearance, and a less conventional dead style of decoration. The contrast can be well seen by comparing Furtwängler and Löschcke's plate XII, which represents vases from *Therasia*, with the plates they give shewing vases from the mainland, or still better by comparing the Melian pottery from *Phylakopi* with the mainland ware.

The relative lateness of this latter is clear, and in Crete a gradual transition can be traced from the earlier to this later deader style, and from it to the geometrical.

These finds, therefore, illustrate and confirm the conclusion that the age of the decadence of Mycenaean pottery is also the age in which its diffusion was widest.⁶

The historical interpretation of this remarkable fact is one of the most interesting of the many unsolved problems presented by the early civilization of the Aegean and the neighbouring countries.

Mr. Bosanquet sends me the following note:—

'In connection with the "furthest north" which you have established

⁶ Cf. 'The Pottery of Knossos,' Mackenzie, *J.H.S.* xxiii, p. 201.

for Mycenaean vases, it is interesting to notice how far their range has been determined in other directions.

‘(1) *West*. A pyxis found in Spain and published by Gascon de Golos, *Saragoza* i. Pl. III., was recognized as Mycenaean by Furtwängler (Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, vi. p. 940, note 5).

‘(2) *East*. The fragments found at Tell-es-Safi and other sites in Southern Palestine are described by Welch in *B.S.A.* vi. 119. For the interior of Asia Minor I know only of a fragment obtained by Crowfoot in 1900 at Utch Euyuk in the Konia desert, on the road leading from Iconium to Tyana.

‘(3) *South*. The Egyptian finds extend up the Nile as far as Thebes.’

In the Museo Aestuario, which stands a few yards off and contains the same sort of miscellaneous collection, is a large Corinthian black-figured vase. It stands about eighteen inches high, and its body is nearly spherical. The neck is short and the mouth large. The rim is sharply turned over and flat. At two points this lip widens into a broad lug which touches the tops of the horizontal handles. A vase of exactly similar shape, except that the body is not so spherical, is figured in Tafel II, 25 of Wilisch's *Die Attkorinthische Thonindustrie*. The lower part of the vase is black; the upper part is decorated with two friezes, of which the upper consists of warriors fighting, the lower of animals. The figures, being in black on the clay ground, have their details inside the outline indicated by scratches on the black paint.

The vase is of interest because Wilisch (*op. cit.* p. 109), in giving a list of places where vases of this style have been found, states that, though found north of the Alps, they are entirely lacking in the plain of the Po.

R. M. DAWKINS.

THE BRONZE STATUE FROM CERIGOTTO AND THE STUDY OF STYLE.

THE article of Mr. Frost in the preceding number of this *Journal* (pp. 217, *seq.*) gives me an opportunity to protest against what I consider a dangerous development of archaeological study in our days. I must thank the Editors for having, in spite of the great pressure upon their space, granted me a few pages in the present number to record this protest; while I must defer to a later issue of this *Journal* the fuller exposition of my views on the Cerigotto Bronze, the statue of Agias from Delphi, on Scopas and Lysippus.

The protest—or, perhaps better, the warning—which I wish to publish concerns the course given in the present day to the study of style in Classical Art. To this study, as practised by the late Heinrich v. Brunn, Archaeology owes its greatest advance; and the serious students of Mediaeval and Renaissance art have borrowed these methods from classical archaeology, thus opening out a vast field of accurate information. I have myself devoted my energies to its cultivation and endeavoured to lay down the principles of its proper application in the first chapter of my *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* published in 1885. I believe, moreover, that we are only at the beginning of this line of work which promises such great results in the future. Nor need we remain content with the establishment and amplification of our knowledge of Greek art in the great classical period, as little as in Greek literature study, and especially research, are to be confined to the great classical writers. Still, even as regards the art of the classical periods, with the thousands of statues and other works of art still unidentified in our museums and the enormous increase of rich material every year yielded by new excavations, there is enough original work to be done in the great historical periods for generations to come. But the time has come to go further in the differentiation of works which by their origin distinctly belong to a later date; though—and I shall recur to this later—we must be careful in defining the nature and true meaning of such a term as ‘Hellenistic,’ or else we shall increase the confusion. In an article in this *Journal* in 1886 (Vol. VII. pp. 240 *seq.*) I wrote as follows with regard to some monuments belonging to the Roman period of Greek art in Asia Minor: ‘There can be no doubt that the interest attaching to such works will grow with the development and systematisation of the study of archaeology. For we may reasonably hope that, as our

power to fix in time and to distinguish with accuracy the broader characteristic points of distinction between Greek and Graeco-Roman art grows, we shall not halt at this stage, but shall advance still further in successful endeavours to establish more detailed distinctions of time and even locality within these broader divisions, &c.'

There is thus a right way of developing such methods; but there is also a wrong way which is finding favour at the present time and threatens to demolish the whole archaeological system. This wrong way is, to my mind, represented by an archaeologist of much prominence, of extensive knowledge and indefatigable industry, I mean Professor Furtwängler.

In his endeavour to increase our store of identified works of ancient art he has put forward hypotheses which are, many of them ingenious, some well founded as hypotheses. But in a large number of cases these hypothetical identifications rest upon comparisons in which late and debased Roman works are compared with early Greek works, slight similarities in some one detail—the curls of the hair, the curve of the mouth, nay an attitude which a work may share with many others not at all considered in such a relationship—are insisted upon and exaggerated, while essential differences in other points are ignored. There is not a single chapter in his *Meisterwerke* in which I do not feel prepared to point to such misleading comparisons. But what is still more harmful is a habit, into which he has allowed himself to fall, of gliding into full assurance from beginnings of mere surmise as he proceeds in his methods. Thus a very tentative hypothesis, resting upon slight foundations of probability, when once stated and published by him, is afterwards referred to as a firm and well established starting-point for further surmise: 'We have seen,' or 'I have shown, that the Hermes is Myronian, or by Praxiteles or Argive [which was a mere surmise], now the work under consideration has the following important points in common with it.' This is a familiar form of his stylistic method. When once one has recognised this peculiarity, however much one may disapprove of it, one can make allowances in dealing with any piece of evidence presented by that distinguished master; but one is sorry to see the same tendency spreading among younger archaeologists.

Of this recent development of the practice of studies in style Mr. Frost's article is a striking instance. Thus without giving any reference,¹ he speaks of the 'Portrait of Pericles after Kresilas' (p. 234), of 'the same Praxitelean method' 'in the Hermes, the Eubuleus, and the Hygieia' (p. 218. —I am absolutely at a loss which head of Hygieia is here meant) which ought to be thus taken as a starting-point in the study of Praxitelean style; he refers to the 'Sabouroff bronze' without reference; we are also informed

¹ Such well-known works as the Apollo of Tenea, the Diadumenos from Delos, the portrait of Sophocles (I suppose the one in the Lateran) might be given without reference; though it must help the non-specialist reader to be referred to some illustration. But when

the 'Portrait of Iucundus of Pompeii,' the bronze Satyr at Munich, statues in the Museum of Athens and in the British Museum are mentioned without reference, we have the right to ask for more details.

that 'the Lysippean hair stands up to fall down again, as in the Zeus, Poseidon, and Alexander heads.' (p. 218). I am utterly unable to guess which head of Zeus or of Poseidon and which extant head of Alexander are thus taken as *loci classici* of Lysippean style. We have no right to assume that the extant portraits of Pericles are by or after Kresilas—an artist about whom we know very little that is positive.² I am far from being convinced that the so-called Eubuleus is a work to be ascribed to Praxiteles, and I know nothing about the 'Hygieia.' It is certainly not admissible to take them as fixed starting-points for Praxitelean style. I could continue, were it worth while, to give instances of this exaggeration of the defects in Professor Furtwängler's 'stylistics'; but there is one more case concerning which I gladly take this opportunity of correcting what may become a serious abuse.

In connexion with the small bronze statuette from Liguria (Fig. 1) which Professor Furtwängler has, with some slight probability, ascribed to Ageladas (none of whose works are extant or described in detail by ancient authors) Mr. Frost says p. 223: 'Professor Furtwängler has shown how the way was paved for the canon of Polycleitus, nay, how the whole school seemed to be tending inevitably towards a canon: the continuity of the tradition of the Argive school both before and after Polycleitus is one of its most striking characteristics.' Now, if ever there was a hasty theory resting on the most precarious grounds, it is this one which Mr. Frost again makes the sole basis for his further theories. In the Berlin Winckelmannsfestprogramm for 1890, pp. 125 *seq.*, Professor Furtwängler published his proposed identification of the bronze from Liguria with some unknown statue by Ageladas, and then proceeded to show the continuity of this influence from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. down to the latter half of the first century B.C. He did this in maintaining that the small bronze showed essential and unmistakable similarities of style with the statue signed Stephanus, the pupil of Menelaos, who again signs himself as a pupil of Pasiteles (Fig. 2). We have thus fortunately a series of works illustrating the interesting reactionary and eclectic character of Pasitelean art in Rome. As the illustration here given (Fig. 1) will show, the Liguria bronze gives a youth of unusually thick-set muscular type, squat in proportion, with a large head in which Furtwängler sees the forerunner of the Polycleitan 'canon.' The



FIG. 1.—THE LIGURIO
BRONZE.
(From 50th Winckelmanns-
festprogr. 1890, Pl. I.).

² Cf. my remarks on Furtwängler's treatment of this artist in *Argive Heraeum*, vol. i. pp. 164 *seq.*

attitude of the statue, especially as regards the legs,—for which there are other instances in the early fifth century—is supposed to be the same as in the Pasitelean statues. Some of the most striking characteristics of the Stephanus ephebus, however, are the simple modelling of the body, without accentuation of muscular development, the curious eclectic proportions in which the slimness, attributed to Lysippus (contrasted in this respect to the Argive canon), is much exaggerated, as is the smallness of the head. Even the squareness of the shoulders and chest has nothing in common with Polycleitan types; for the shoulders are peculiarly straight, almost pointed in their angles, while the upper part of the chest is very flat. There is

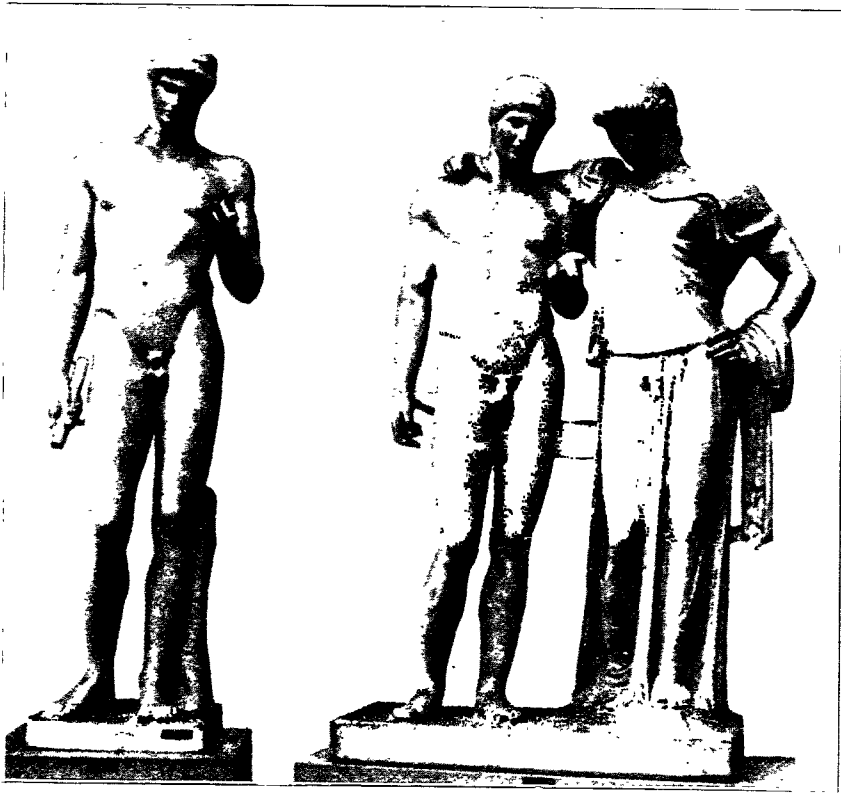


FIG. 2.—STEPHANUS STATUE AND 'ORESTES AND ELECTRA' AT NAPLES.
(From *Casts in the Fitzwilliam Museum.*)

absolutely nothing to go on; and the attempt to establish a continuity of Ageladian or even Polycleitan influence means stylistics run mad. With singular *naïveté* Professor Furtwangler gives his reasons for choosing in his illustration the replica from the Naples group called 'Orestes and Electra,' which he takes pains to tell us are inferior, in preference to the signed statue by Stephanus. Practically they are: that its differences from the Stephanus statue are in the direction of the work with which he desires to establish a

stylistic relationship *coûte que coûte*. But I feel bound emphatically to protest against the misleading character of the drawing I here reproduce (Fig. 3) and on which the 'stylistic comparison' rests. The figure of 'Orestes' has been materially shortened and thickened in the drawing.

I have made careful measurements of the figure in Furtwängler's drawing and of the same figure and the Stephanus-ephebus as given by Collignon (*Hist. I. A. Gr.* vol. ii., pp. 61 and 62). The result is that the figure (from arm-pit to heel) in Furtwängler's drawing is 3.83 times as high as the torso (from arm-pit to hip), while in Collignon's cut it is 4.18 times as high. In Furtwängler's drawing the whole statue is 6.73 lengths of the head, in Collignon's it is 7.27, while in the Stephanus ephebus it is even 7.43. In round figures: in the one it is $6\frac{3}{4}$, in the other $7\frac{1}{4}$ heads. Imagine the difference in a living figure, both in size and slimness,



FIG. 4.—METOPE FROM THE PARTHENON.
AFTER CARREY.

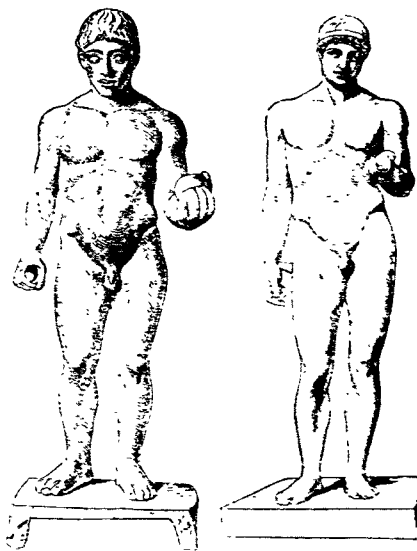


FIG. 3.—THE LIGURIO BRONZE AND THE
ORESTES FROM THE NAPLES GROUP.

(From Furtwängler, *50th Winckelmanns-
festprog.* 1890, p. 137.)

of half a head's length! [The Ligurio statuette, by the way, is $5\frac{1}{2}$ heads in height.] I have had photographs made, here reproduced, of the Stephanus statue and the Orestes from the casts in the Fitzwilliam Museum and I think the whole question will answer itself.

As I shall not recur to the other works from Cerigotto again, I must point out in a few words that the marble figure which I interpreted as a crouching fighter³ and compared with a Lapith from the Parthenon, is dealt with summarily by Mr. Frost. He says that 'the Lapith, however, is only taken from a drawing.' What can this 'only' mean? I here repro-

³ I am happy to find that Mr. J. N. Svoronos, in his remarkable publication, *Das Athen. Nationalmuseum* ii. pp. 66 seq. Pl. XII., had also maintained that this statue represented a

combatant. I am not, however, convinced from his plate that the crouching fighter had an opponent fighting on foot before him. It was more probably a horseman or centaur.

duce the drawing⁴ made by Carrey of a metope no longer extant and beg the reader to compare it with the Cerigotto figure on p. 231 of the previous number. After considering the right hand with the oval opening and imitating the posture of the crouching youth whose left arm, the stump and shoulder, is raised high (too high, by the way, for the act of shielding the eyes to look into the sun), I would ask what the youth could be doing? After considering extant statues of fighters on foot meeting the advance of horsemen to which I referred, I should have thought that the metope from the Parthenon showing this action on the reversed side, would settle the question to all conversant with such evidence. But Mr. Frost suggests that the youth in that forced attitude, with his right hand in which a round shaft was inserted and the other arm strained up, formed part of a group of ἀστραγαλίζοντες. 'The player was in the act of picking up his die, but has stopped suddenly to hurl some gibe accompanied by a gesture of disdain at his opponent, who has probably made a remark.'

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

⁴ I have to thank Mr. John Murray for permission to use this block, already published in the *Monthly Review*, May 1901, p. 124.

ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF CYZICUS.

[PLATE VI.]

THE site map of Cyzicus reproduced in this number (Pl. VI) represents the results of Mr. A. E. Henderson's survey in the summers of 1902—3. The first season's work, of which alone I can speak at first hand, accounted for the coast line, prominent remains (including the city walls), and main roads: the limits of the marsh land on the isthmus were also ascertained with considerable exactness with a view to the recent discussion of the original nature of the Cyzicene Peninsula¹: these limits, however, are subject to a certain amount of variation with the season, and cultivation is yearly encroaching upon them. The maze of walls within the *enccinte*—some of them modern vineyard boundaries, others doubtless resting on ancient foundations—was added by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Peet in 1903: contouring was found impossible in the time at their disposal, and indeed the general levels of the site are fairly adequately shown on the excellent Admiralty Chart of Artaki Bay (of which a section is here reproduced in miniature in Fig. 1) and on the sketch maps of Perrot and De Rustafjaell.

The walls, which are built chiefly of the local granite, enclose an irregular space stretching practically from sea to sea, and, with the exception of the acropolis hill, fairly level. This height slopes steeply east and west to the valleys which form its natural defences and more gently southwards to the isthmus: on the north it is connected with the mountain mass of the Kapu Dag.

The very varied structure of the walls betrays that they were built and rebuilt at many periods. Records help us but little: the town was unwallled in 410,² and defences were under construction towards the middle of the fourth century.³ The commercial prosperity of the city as evidenced by the stater coinage hardly allows us to suppose that it was then defended for the first time, and Thucydides may allude to a result of the Spartan occupation.⁴ We may assume local demolitions in the peaceful Antonine period, but the

¹ *Rev. Et. Gr.* vii. 98.

² *Thuc.* viii. 107. *Diod.* xiii. 40; but cf. *Frontin.* iii. 9. 6.

³ *Rev. Arch.* N.S. xxx. 93.

⁴ At Teos the walls were levelled under similar circumstances (*Thuc.* viii. 16).

caecitate was so restored as to be considered impregnable in the fourth century A.D.⁵ and had probably repulsed the Scythians a hundred years before.⁶ Villehardouin mentions the defences of the Crusaders, who made the place their headquarters in 1206,⁷ and the accounts of Muntaner⁸ and Pachymeres⁹ shew that the isthmus wall was kept up as a defence against the Turks as

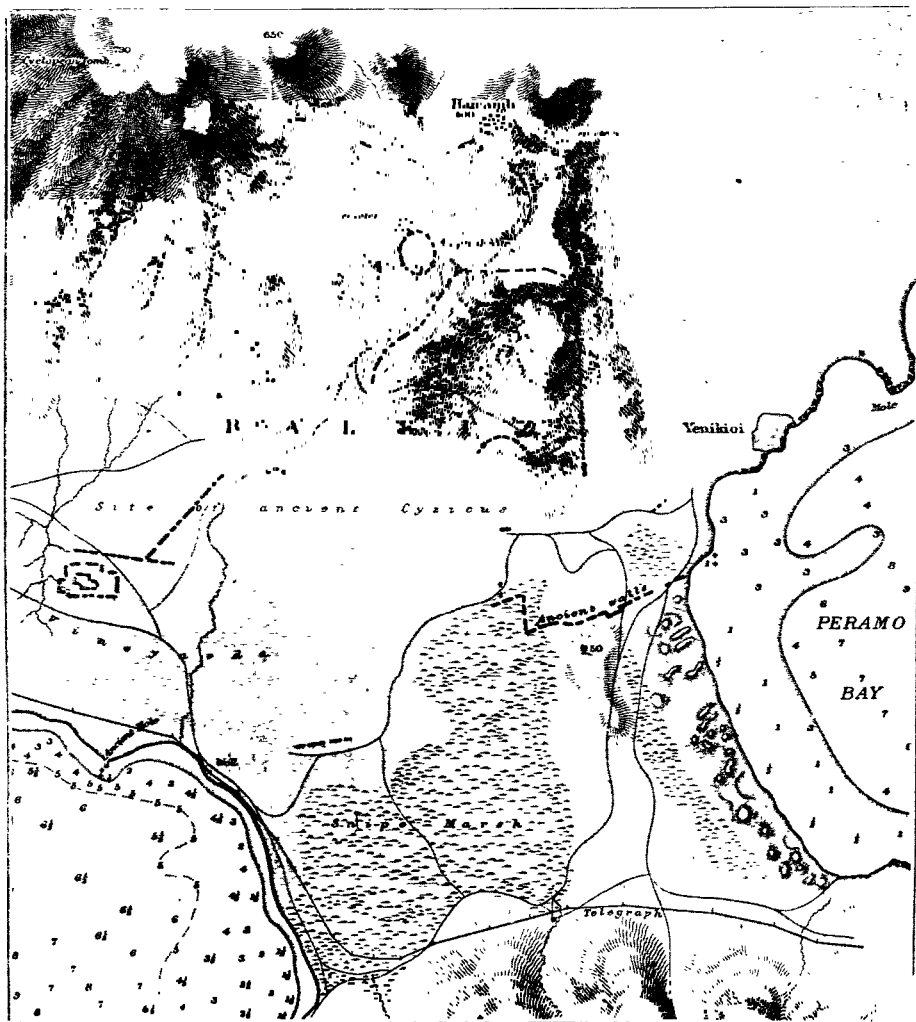


FIG. 1.—FROM THE ADMIRALTY CHART OF ARFAKI BAY.

late as the fourteenth century—practically, that is, down to the final conquest.

⁵ *Antiq. Mop.* xxxvi. 8.

⁶ *Zos.* i. 43. *Vita Gallicani* xlii. *Cron.* xxxi. 5, 15.

⁷ § 236.

⁸ § 203.

⁹ ii. 390 B.

The styles of building found in the existing remains of the *enceinte* may be roughly classified as follows:—

I. Granite blocks laid in irregular courses, frequently with diagonal jointing: interstices filled with mortar or small stones. This is the construction of the great south-eastern bastion. Perrot gives a measured drawing of a section of this wall, which he assigns to good Greek date: his opinion was borne out by a fourth century inscription, relating to the building of a tower, which was discovered by Carabella clamped to the base of the wall in this neighbourhood. The wall has evidently suffered since, and it is now difficult to distinguish it from the stones which have been gathered from the vineyards and piled against it. We found no architectural detail built in except a large Doric drum of brown sandstone.

II. Facing of rectangular dark granite blocks slightly bossed and laid in regular courses about 40 m. deep: the blocks are disposed alternate 'headers and stretchers,' the exposed surface of one stretcher equalling about that of two headers: the jointing is fair in this and the succeeding style (III); the core of the wall is generally of whitish cement.

The best examples of this style are to be found (*a*) in the stretch of wall between Demir Kapu and the central harbour, where both facings are preserved, giving a thickness of about 1.50 m., and (*b*) in the fragment immediately south of the Upper Road, where the stretchers have disappeared so as to shew the headers tailing into the cement: (*c*) this is also the construction shewn at the west postern gate.

III. Facing of very long stretchers (sometimes as much as 2.20 m.) of various granites: headers only a few centimetres in thickness and often of marble; courses vary from 0.50 to 0.80 m. deep.

The best examples are:—(*a*) The hexagonal towers and the curtain wall between them: the towers stand to a height of some 5.00 m., their upper parts being of unfaced rubble set in coarse red cement. This may be a later addition to the substructure, but *inside* the western tower only the quoins are of squared stone, the rest rubble-faced. The wall between the towers is about 1.40 thick:—(*b*) A long stretch south of the conspicuous fragment below the Upper Road standing to the height of about 2.00 m. and well preserved.

IV. Massive but irregular white granite facing with coarse joints, filled with white cement, which is daubed carelessly over the face of the wall. This is shewn (*a*) in the stretch of wall adjoining the Erlek road (where many architectural remains and fragments of tile are built in) and (*b*) in the square tower opposite the head of the aqueduct. This construction may well date from the fourteenth century defences of the isthmus.

V. Rough rubble building with facing of small stones is found in the wall and buttress towers running from Demir Kapu towards the sea. This seems to be a late addition to the *enceinte* probably along the line of the original harbour defences.

The south-eastern corner is a convenient starting-point for a circuit of the walls. From Demir Kapu westwards to the mole of the central harbour the line of defence is represented by an embankment about forty feet high, still crowned in one place by the strong and well preserved section of wall we have mentioned as characteristic of our style II. In front of this is a short stretch of moat, still filled with water. The mole is so overgrown that its masonry is no longer visible. The curved sweep of the harbour is defined by a very irregular and largely modern stone wall generally one or two metres high. That the original wall lies behind or under this is evidenced by a considerable drop toward the marsh in the levels. [Inside the wall at this point are remains of a large rubble building, marked in the map, among which a vault some five metres high and a large semi-dome flanked by remains of two smaller are conspicuous.—A.E.H.] West of Baluk

Tash a point of low ground, sprinkled with trees, runs out southwards. The extremity of this was mistaken by Mr. De Rustafjaell for a mole, and from the acropolis hill, as he says, it presents exactly the same appearance as the brushwood-covered mole we have referred to: there is, however, no vestige of masonry, and the wall continues west of this point, curving gradually south to enclose the harbour, and returning west again at the square tower nearly opposite the entrance of the aqueduct.

This latter, of which no vestige remains within the city, is easily traced outside it across the low ground adjoining the wall and up the embankment opposite. From this point it continues with inconsiderable gaps, though the piers are hidden in brushwood, right across the marsh to the Erdek and Panderna road, which is level with the specus of the aqueduct at the point of junction. The piers are built of rubble, and the examples at the north end, which are preserved to a height of about 60 m., are placed some 3.00 apart, and measure about 1.80×2.20 m. The only surviving arch, adjoining the Erdek road, is of rubble and the specus (about 0.30 square) is lined with cement.

About the point where the aqueduct entered the town we again encounter a stretch of moat, and here there seems to have been a double line of fortification, viz., a low wall abutting on the moat and supporting a broad terrace (it is fair to state that no masonry of this wall is visible) behind which rises the main wall: the latter is here much overgrown and only occasionally visible. In this section Mr. Henderson discovered the outlet of a stream through the wall; just west of this is the opening described by Perrot and Guillaume as a postern: we hesitate to give it so definite a name, for though there are traces of a facing of squared stone running through the wall on the west side of the gap, an opening built in the same axis would be overlapped by the eastern boundary of the supposed gate.

[The difficult and largely uncultivated ground in the south-western portion of the city within the harbour contains remains of several buildings of importance, including (*a*) a series of vaulted substructures (somewhat similar to those of the temple of Hadrian), in the neighbourhood of which are many coarse architectural fragments, (*b*) a long vault (upwards of 24 m. long) to the north-west of this, and (*c*) an apsidal wall standing seven metres high further westward, which marks the point where the soil changes from loam to sand.—A. E. H.]

An irregular platform, perhaps the foundation of a strong corner tower, terminates the terrace, the wall being extended westwards to the Erdek road in the massive but careless masonry of Style IV. There are also traces of masonry leading south, perhaps representing the entrance of the western causeway from the mainland. The main line of the wall strikes north from the corner tower, crossing the stream and road and eventually connecting with the hexagonal towers of Balkiz Serai. This section has all but disappeared, though the remains shewn on the map give the probable line.

The hexagonal towers have been described as characteristic of Style

III.¹⁰ They are connected by three or four courses of a massive wall, and between them, beside the giant plane-tree, which is a conspicuous mark from many points of view, a stream of clear water issues from a long stone-vaulted passage beneath the wall. At the back of this stretch of wall are conspicuous remains of a large Byzantine building.

From Balkiz Serai northward the line of the wall is for some time doubtful: a conspicuous fragment rises nearly opposite the Temple Ruins, where the Agora of Hadrian probably met the wall.¹¹ Such a scheme would bring the temple into the middle of the south side of a long rectangular enclosure, some 450 × 100 m., whose western termination, with most of the southern wall, is clearly traceable. The ground at the western end has every appearance of having been artificially levelled, and the bank running along the north side, where even now broken monolithic shafts of red-veined St. Simeon marble may be seen, possibly represents a portico.¹²

The temple itself is to-day represented only by the substructures of the podium. A general view shews a great mound, or rather agglomeration of mounds, measuring about 120 × 180 m., rising four to six metres above the surrounding country and over-grown with stunted holly-bushes. While the marble of the temple has been consigned piecemeal to the kiln, the substructures, being of baser material, have escaped, and rather tempt one to doubt the correctness of Cyriac's description of the temple, and consequently of Reinach's restoration from these data.

The mound is traversed by seven parallel tunnels running east and west, for the most part built of rubble and very dilapidated. The best preserved portion, measured and planned by Perrot, probably supported the cella, and is (so far, in accordance with Cyriac's description of the deep colonnade on the east front) somewhat west of the centre of the mound: it occupies the breadth of the three central tunnels, and its outer walls are carefully built of squared blocks, now stripped of their metal clamps; the walls of the central nave and the vaults throughout are of rubble set in coarse pink cement. In the southern wall of the central nave is contrived a stairway (now ruinous) opening at right angles to the nave, but running parallel to it. Nearly opposite in the corresponding wall is a short passage leading to a domed well chamber: the entrance to this passage is nearly blocked by fallen *debris*.

The particulars given by Cyriac, and his dimensions in feet, imply a hexastyle building with fifteen columns a side and a long porch at either end, but it is to be noted that this restoration does not harmonise with his rough measurements (in cubits) even in the proportion of side to front: the dimensions in feet, though remarkable for their simple ratios, all based on the column diameter, give in reality a mathematical rather than an

¹⁰ Perrot gives a plan of the westernmost.

¹¹ Mr. Henderson sees in some semicircularly disposed rubble fragments at the eastern end the remains of an apsidal termination to the Agora: personally I cannot consider the evidence sufficient.

¹² Cf. Pococke, p. 115. 'The Piazza probably had a portico round it, because in digging for stones they found at the west end sixteen very large square pieces of marble which were probably the foundations of as many columns.'

architectural symmetry: Cyriac's good faith is not always free from suspicion,¹³ and the ruins as he saw them were obscured by *débris*. The evidence of the seven vaults rather suggests that the temple was *octastyle*, which plan would moreover be natural for a temple of such vast dimensions: the idea is borne out by all known coins representing the neocorate temple of Cyzicus: most of these, again, shew a further peculiarity in the wide central intercolumniation, which is also implied by the wide nave and narrow flanking aisles of the temple vaults.¹⁴

The temple at Aezani, which must be nearly contemporary with the Cyzicene (as its composite capitals and the Hadrianic inscriptions on its walls testify), shews the same vaulted substructures, and even the same stairway from the vaults and similar ventilation holes. This temple, though much smaller than the Cyzicene, is *octastyle* and has a wide central intercolumniation; it is further pseudodipteral, has fifteen columns a side, and a normal intercolumniation of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ diameters.

Working from a column diameter of about seven feet at Cyzicus (on which all authorities are agreed, and Perrot's measured drawing of the central vaults, we get a nave width of about 14 feet or two diameters as against an aisle width of about one and a half. In the cella above the vaults two ranges of columns—five a side according to Cyriac—probably continued the alignment of the central intercolumniation.¹⁵ We will assume therefore that the central intercolumniation was equal to two diameters, and the flanking intercolumniations to one and a half, the normal intercolumniation at Aezani. The length of the passage from the east gives us a pronaos *in antis* of two intercolumniations' depth if we assume that the lateral intercolumniation is also one and a half diameters. Applying this ratio to the length measurement of the central vaults we find that the cella wall above accounted for six columns and five intercolumniations—again paralleled at Aezani. Following out the Aezani plan we shall add front and back porches *in antis* of two intercolumniations' depth (the former it will be remembered has been found independently from the measurements of the ruins), thus accounting for ten of the fifteen lateral columns. Of the remaining five, two must probably be given to the back and three to the front.

Bending away north-west from the Agora the wall is traced to the crossing of the stream, and past it by confused masses of ruin, amongst which two huge granite corbels are conspicuous, to the crossing of the Lower Road: here the foundation stones of its two faces are visible in the ground; shortly after this the wall mounts the left bank of the stream to the postern gate mentioned by Mr. De Rustafjaell, which is a small opening with granite voussoirs measuring 1.25 m. \times 1.60 (to spring of arch): its position in an angle of the wall, and the steep fall away to the stream, probably led Perrot to mark it in his map as a portion of a theatre. From this point round the three sides of the Acropolis back to the Upper Road the general line of the wall is unmistakable, though it is entirely over-grown with the exception of the prominent fragment (called Kulé), at the N.E. corner.

[We may here remark in parenthesis that we can add nothing to previous descriptions of the amphitheatre: it was difficult even to obtain the general measurements (180 \times 155 m.) satisfactorily in the present overgrown state of the ruins. As regards Mr. De Rustafjaell's cutting from above the dam passing west of the amphitheatre, the levels do not seem to permit of its having been a bed for the diverted stream: it was more probably cut to take the

¹³ Cf. *A.-E.M.* viii, 102.

¹⁴ Lebas-Reinach, *Voyage Archéologique*, Pl. XXI.

¹⁵ I am inclined to doubt this correspondence since my last visit to the ruins.—A.E.H.

place of the natural road up the valley—perhaps the ‘Jasonian way’ of Apollonius—when the latter was blocked by the building of the amphitheatre.

The theatre is apparently a Greek embanked building, enlarged in Roman times by the addition of a rubble superstructure, and now completely over-grown with brushwood. The diameter is about 110 m. North-east of it are foundations of a Byzantine building, and glass-mosaics are here plentiful.—A.E.H.]

Almost immediately after crossing the Upper Road a stretch of wall, before mentioned as a typical specimen of style II, stands to a height of six or seven metres: below this the wall is preserved for several hundred yards to a height of about two metres, shewing the massive construction of style III. At this point there is a maze of flimsy walls outside the *cacinte* and a good deal of architectural detail is lying about or built in. At the south-east bastion, which is built on the first level ground after the slope of the Acropolis hill, the walls are, as has been said, ill preserved: the curious series of curves and angles perhaps implies that the eastern harbour originally extended further north.

The fragment of wall opposite the eastern harbour, originally of style II, is now stripped of its facing and stands only to the height of a few feet. From this point to the southern limit of the city the course of the wall is indicated by a broad low mound skirting the eastern marsh, and occasionally retaining remnants of its granite facing: we found no break in this wall which could have admitted De Rustafjaell’s canal, and the hollowness of the ground between this and the central harbour may perhaps be accounted for by the removal of earth for the embankment of the city wall on the inner side.

Demir Kapu is a mere mass of rubble masonry, overgrown with brushwood, and for the most part stripped of facing: in plan the ruin is a large projecting square tower: in the inner wall is still visible a small brick arch, too small, however, for that of the gate itself. It seems certain that one of the causeways entered the town at or about this spot: here is, in fact, one of the only points on the isthmus where land, as opposed to marsh and sand dune, extends the whole way to the mainland: along this line, moreover, architectural fragments are fairly plentiful, while potsherds and coins are found in the adjacent fields; on the mainland side remains of it are probably hidden under brushwood.¹⁵ The second causeway ran probably along the line of the Erdek-Panderma road.

We thus obtain a fairly symmetrical plan for the southern portion of the city: in the middle of the isthmus is the bight of the central harbour, flanked by projecting wings, at the extreme corners of which entered the two causeways from the mainland. From these points the circuit of the city bends northward and seaward, while the south wall is extended towards both

¹⁵ Hamilton, p. 103, remarks on the fertilizing properties of the local granite when decomposed.

seas. The walls thus partially enclose two marshes, which, from their connection with the dilapidated moles, we are justified in accepting as ancient ports. We have in a previous paper¹⁶ identified the central harbour with Panormus and the *λίμνη* of inscriptions, and the western conjecturally with Chytus. The eastern, being certainly on the right side of the isthmus for the returning Argonauts, may be the 'Thracian Harbour' mentioned by Apollonius¹⁷; from the name we may assume that it was the harbour regularly patronized by the traders from Byzantium and the Thracian ports, and compare the similarly named 'Egyptian harbour' at Tyre,¹⁵ and for the general idea Aristides' allotment of the three ports of Rhodes:¹⁸ it is worthy of remark that the arrangement of the southern portion of the site of Cyzicus, with its three harbours, bears a striking resemblance to the harbour quarter of ancient Rhodes.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PERSIAN WARS.¹

3. *The Campaign of Plataea.*

MARDONIUS reoccupied Athens. Herodotus tells us (ix. 3), in the tenth month after Xerxes had taken it, that is to say not earlier than June of the next year. The pause in the war lasted therefore far beyond the winter. Both parties were no doubt anxious to gather the new harvest, but there were also other reasons for their delay.

Mardonius had been left in a difficult situation. The forces at his disposal were, it is true, still formidable. First, he had his own division, which we have seen reason to suppose was one of the six Persian *corps d'armée*, 60,000 strong. In confirmation of that estimate it may be noted that Herodotus assigns to him one sixth of Xerxes' army, which he conceives to have been the levy of the whole empire; and that if we compare the details of Mardonius' division (viii. 113, ix. 31) with the catalogue of Xerxes' host (vii. 61-5), and reckon a myriad for each contingent of infantry (Immortals: *θωρηκοφόροι*: Medes: Sacae and Bactrians: Indians), we get 50,000 infantry, which with 10,000 cavalry gives the exact composition conjectured for a Persian army corps. The small drafts incorporated according to Herodotus from other contingents may be assumed to have filled up the gaps made in the ranks by the first campaign. Second, Mardonius had his Greek auxiliaries, say 20,000 men, including the valuable Thessalian and Boeotian cavalry. Herodotus (ix. 32) estimates the Greek contingents at 50,000 men, but he expressly says that he has no authority for their numbers, and both probability and analogy (*e.g.* vii. 185, viii. 66) are against so high a computation. It may also be noticed that he assigns the same proportion of auxiliaries to Mardonius as to Xerxes (50,000 : 300,000 :: 300,000 : 1,800,000). Third, Mardonius could draw upon the corps of Artabazus so far as troops could be spared from the siege of Potidaea and garrison duties,² that is to say to the extent of 40,000 men (Hdt. ix. 66, 70). Herodotus no doubt implies (viii. 129) that Artabazus had lost the remaining third of his force in the siege, but that is merely an inference from the numbers, 60,000 in chapter 126.

¹ Continued from vol. xxii. p. 332.

² It is pretty clear from Thucydides that 20,000 men were far more than enough to

besiege Potidaea. Was it the entry of Aristus through the sea (Thuc. i. 63) that revived the memory of Artabazus' attempt?

40,000 in Book ix. Similarly he infers from the subordination of Artabazus to Mardonius (cf. ix. 42) that the former's corps was only a detachment of the latter's (viii. 126).

Thus Mardonius might concentrate as many as 120,000 men for an attack on the Peloponnese. But the wall at the isthmus, defended by the best troops in Greece, must have appeared even to Xerxes impregnable by direct assault, and if we are to believe Herodotus (ix. 7-9) was still being strengthened. The position could not be turned by land, and Mardonius had not command of the sea. He might of course call across the Aegean the remnant of Xerxes' armada, which mustered at Samos in the spring and still numbered 300 ships (Hdt. viii. 130). But he must have known that it was no match for the allies if they met it with the full force of their united fleets, especially as a large proportion of the 300 ships were Ionian.

Under these circumstances irresponsible advisers might well recommend the policy of patience and corruption (cf. Hdt. ix. 2, 41), but Mardonius had to redeem his promises to the king. His best hope of effecting something seemed to lie in offering favourable terms to the Athenians. He might perhaps detach them from the league and bring over their navy to his side (Hdt. viii. 136), or failing that might use them as a lever to put pressure on the Peloponnesians and force them to come out of their 'island' and offer battle in Boeotia.

In this attempt the position of Athenian parties seemed to promise some chance of success. Themistocles, whose conspicuous loyalty to the common cause had been amply recognized by the Spartans, had surrendered the direction of affairs to his old rivals, Aristides and Xanthippus. We have seen in his retirement and their accession the bargain whereby he purchased their support for his policy in the war. But such an arrangement was not likely to be publicly known even among the Athenians, much less to Mardonius. In his eyes the new government, elected doubtless in the winter, represented only the party traditionally favourable to an alliance with Persia and hostile to Sparta. This was moreover the party of agrarian interests, and he held under his hand a precious hostage in the soil of Attica. It was also the party of the hoplite army, inclined to fight out the war on land rather than on sea. The new government assumed office in the spring (Hdt. viii. 131, cf. vii. 173-4) whether by the ordinary practice of the time³ or as an exceptional measure. Mardonius naturally waited for its installation before opening his negotiations. Meanwhile he had doubtless plenty to occupy him in organizing the new provinces and his own commissariat and Greek public opinion—if that was the purpose of the mission of Mys. It was not until diplomacy had been tried and failed that Mardonius took the field.

But what were the Greeks about all the early summer? Leotychidas mustered a fleet at Aegina at the beginning of spring, but to the great disgust of the Chian conspirators refused to proceed beyond Delos.⁴ The

³ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Aus Kgdathen*, p. 57 *seqq.*

⁴ Hdt. viii. 131-2. The comments of the H.S.—VOL. XXIV.

historian, especially the often quoted words *την δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στή-*

allied army was not yet assembled. If the Greeks advanced after midsummer, why did they not move sooner? Herodotus has a ready answer (viii. 141, 144, ix. 6-8). The Lacedaemonians were busy fortifying the isthmus. When Alexander came to the Athenians with the seductive offers of Mardonius, they promised to meet the Persians in Boeotia. But once they had finished their wall they had no further care for the defence of Attica. It was only the danger pointed out to them by Chileus of letting the Athenian fleet pass over to the enemy that roused them to action. But the more this account is scrutinized the less satisfactory does it appear. (1) The wall must have been for all practical purposes ready long before (Hdt. viii. 71, ix. 10). (2) A defence of Attica can scarcely have been seriously contemplated by any responsible person. It is an afterthought suggested by subsequent events and fostered by Athenian prejudices. Attica had been deliberately abandoned in the previous year. Xerxes had ravaged the country and sacked the Acropolis. Individual citizens may have ventured back to their homes to take stock of the damage, but the notion (Hdt. viii. 109-10, ix. 6) that the population returned *en masse* and fell to building and ploughing, however effective to enhance Athenian sacrifices and blacken Peloponnesian selfishness, is an outrage upon common sense. Thucydides (i. 89) ignores it, and Herodotus here as elsewhere supplies hints for his own refutation. He does indeed send Alexander to Athens (viii. 136, 140), but he afterwards implies that he had to cross the strait to Salamis (*διεπόρθμευσε* ix. 4). The Athenians sowed their corn (viii. 109-10), but they did not reap it (*καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διξῶν ἤδη* viii. 142), although they might have done so by the middle of June. There was no sufficient strategic motive to defend Attica. What was wanted was an offensive campaign to oust the Persians from Greece, and according to Herodotus' own version (ix. 7) the Athenians are even more urgent that the Spartans should march after Mardonius had occupied their territory. (3) The fact said to have been pointed out by Chileus must from the very first have been obvious to the meanest intelligence. (4) Herodotus does not account for the inaction of the fleet, except by the transparent hypothesis of timidity. Why was the Chian invitation declined and the Samian accepted (Hdt. viii. 131-2, ix. 90-2)? What accession of strength had meanwhile emboldened Leotychidas? The answer throws a curious side-light on Herodotus' story. We have already had some 'practice in dealing with his numbers. They are not arbitrary inventions, but neither are they always statements of literal fact. They are sometimes conventional, and sometimes cover a calculation. We have seen that the Athenian ships are still 200 at Salamis in spite of all their losses at Artemisium, and that the total number of the Greek fleet there may have been calculated from the Aeschylean figure 310. Now Herodotus (viii. 131) puts the fleet that assembled at Aegina in the spring under Leotychidas at 110 sail. Has he reformed his methods? I think not. These '110'

λας ἴσον ἀπέχειν, merely echo the disgust of the conspirators, and in particular of his name-

sake from whom he probably derived the information, at the failure of their mission.

represent only the Peloponnesian and other contingents. The '200' Athenian ships were absent! This inference is confirmed from quite a different quarter. It has often been observed that there is a redundancy of 800 in Herodotus' figures for the light-armed troops at Plataea (ix. 29). Professor E. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alt.* iii. p. 408) has neatly explained it by supposing that the Athenian archers (Hdt. ix. 22, 60) are included in the reckoning, and his suggestion has been generally accepted. But we learn from Thucydides (ii. 13) and the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* (24) that 1600 Athenians were bowmen. If 800 were serving at Plataea, where were the other 800? Plutarch (*Them.* 14) assigns 4 archers to each Athenian trireme in the fleet at Salamis. The obvious conclusion is that the Athenians still had 200 ships in commission and the missing archers were on board. The Athenians probably did not join Leotychidas until midsummer, after they had landed their army in Attica (Hdt. ix. 19). Hence Xanthippus was still able to go on the embassy to Sparta (Plut. *Arist.* 10). It may also be noted that Diodorus (xi. 34) reckons the allied fleet which crossed the Aegean at 250 ships. Probably he put the Athenian contingent at 140, as at Artemisium (xi. 12).

The equivocation about the ships (for that is what it comes to—mark the word *πᾶσαι* at the beginning of Hdt. viii. 132) is doubtless to be imputed not to Herodotus himself but to his Athenian informants. But it is none the less fatal to his attempt, already somewhat discredited, to fix the whole responsibility for the delay upon the Lacedaemonians. For it would seem to show that the authors of this version felt that there was something less heroic than they pretended in the attitude of the Athenians at this crisis. The withholding of the fleet was at least open to criticism, and *prima facie* the Athenians were no less to blame than the Spartans.

Are we then to accept the theory of most recent historians, that the allies were pulling different ways? The Spartans wished to remain on the defensive by land, but make a diversion in the Aegean, which by threatening the Persian communications might force Mardonius to withdraw without a battle. The Athenians wished to make the Peloponnesian army march out and cover Attica before consenting to use their fleet. This hypothesis, plausible at first sight, is not, I think, really tenable. Our dispute with Herodotus has reinforced it on one point by showing that the Athenian fleet was actually withheld, but on the other hand has robbed it of its strongest argument by discrediting the supposed return of the Athenians to their homes. There are also other objections. (1) It is surprising on the face of it to find Sparta advocating a naval expedition and shirking a campaign on land, while Athens withholds her fleet and insists upon taking the field. Very different was their attitude after the battle of Salamis. And it was not by reversing their natural rôles that either would make the most of her proper advantages whether for the common cause or for her own ulterior objects. (2) It can hardly be said that the numerical superiority of the Persians, reduced to its true proportions, was enough to deter the Spartans, for it did not deter them a few weeks later. (3) If a diversion in

the Aegean had offered any immediate prospect of getting rid of Mardonius, would the Athenians have refused it? Would they not rather have been the first to propose it? (4) The interests of the two partners were not really opposed. Both wanted to get rid of Mardonius as quickly as possible. The Athenians had, to be sure, the more pressing need, but the Spartans had reasons urgent enough. So long as he remained on Greek soil Sparta could not rest. His presence incited against her every enemy inside as well as outside her entrenched camp, and was a standing menace to her whole political system. The strain upon the allegiance of her allies was perilous. Her very existence was in jeopardy. Historians have somewhat failed to appreciate the critical position of Sparta. Distracted by the noisy importunity of Athenian grievances they have not observed that the tardiness of Spartan action demands some better explanation than a conventional phrase such as 'selfish apathy', or 'characteristic slowness.'

The fact seems to be that although the situation called for an offensive campaign, and the general plan of it had doubtless been agreed upon during the winter, both the allied governments found serious difficulties in carrying out their undertaking. The great obstacle to a Spartan advance was, as before, the danger from hostile neighbours in the Peloponnese. Persian intrigue penetrated, we have seen, behind the isthmus. Mardonius had an alternative plan in case the Athenians stood fast to their allies. He had concerted a scheme with the Argives (Hdt. ix. 12), whereby they undertook to hold back the Spartans from marching to the defence of the isthmus, while he was doubtless to attack the wall. How the Spartans were to be held in check may be gathered from subsequent events. The Mantineans and the Eleans arrived too late for the battle at Plataea, and afterwards banished their generals.⁵ Probably these two states were infected with Medism, and the delay was due to treason. Mardonius, in fact, like other enemies of Sparta—Pheidon, Themistocles, Alcibiades, Epaminondas—combined against her the central zone of disaffected states. Argos, Mantinea, and Elis, which runs across the Peloponnese. The roads to the isthmus were to be blocked and the Spartans cut off from their allies in the north. This danger explains, very differently from Herodotus (ix. 8–11), the backwardness of the Spartans, the secrecy and suddenness of their march, and the indirect route by which they went. The road by Orestheum⁶ kept well away from the Argive frontier, and held open to them the choice of passing by Mantinea or to the west of Maenalus as might prove advisable. The confederates, unready or irresolute, let them through. The Mantineans and Eleans waited for the issue of the battle of Plataea and then tardily gave their adhesion to the victors. The banishment of their leaders probably means a political revolution.

⁵ Hdt. ix. 77. The significance of the passage was, I think, first suggested to me by a remark of Mr. E. M. Walker's.

⁶ On Orestheum, or Oresthasium, and the road see Mr. W. Loring's excellent discussion

in this *Journal* vol. xv. (1895) pp. 26–31 and 47–52. It was a route not infrequently used by the Spartans when the Arcadians were hostile.

Another reason, closely related to the former, must also have contributed to recommend to the Spartans a policy of waiting. It suited the political situation in the Peloponnese and the conditions of the campaign much better to let Mardonius come as far south as possible rather than to march north to seek him. A distant expedition was not only much more difficult, but also greatly increased the risks which the Spartans were leaving behind them.

Moreover the Ephors may well have felt some uneasiness as to the loyalty of the Athenians. The same considerations which encouraged Mardonius to hope must have filled them with misgivings. No Alcmaeonid statesman from Megacles to Alcibiades had many scruples about throwing over principles and changing sides when it suited the interests of his party or himself. The Spartans had reason to remember the shiftiness of Cleisthenes. And even if the fidelity of the leaders were above suspicion, could they guarantee the steadfastness of an ill disciplined and inconstant Demos? Until Aristides had prevailed on the Athenians openly and definitely to reject the overtures of Mardonius, the Spartans may not have felt sure on which side the Athenian fleet might eventually be ranged.

Aristides and Xanthippus had indeed a difficult game to play. They had to carry out at the head of one party the policy proper to another, and many of their own followers must have been puzzled and dismayed at their conduct. To many the league with oligarchic Sparta must have seemed an unholy alliance, and no danger so great as absorption in her political system. The loss of their country seemed to put the Athenians in complete dependence on their ally. How could they reassert themselves but by coming to terms with the Persians? How far the tendency to Medism extended amongst them is not easy to say, but that it existed there can be little doubt. The repeated overtures of Mardonius awaken distrust. The embassy from Sparta is surely significant. The answers attributed to the Athenians are pitched in so loud a key of rhetoric that they inevitably rouse the suspicion which they are designed to allay. Had the loyalty of Athens been above cavil it would not have needed to be so vociferously asserted. Lycides, we may be sure, did not speak for himself alone. Plutarch (*Arist.* 13) tells a story, which is none the worse attested because it is not to be found in Herodotus, of a conspiracy among the Athenians at Plataea to overthrow the constitution and, if necessary, betray the Greek cause to the Barbarians. Plutarch speaking the language of a later day represents the plot as anti-democratic, but we may probably recognize in it a revolt of the Agrarian party, with which interpretation the extreme leniency shown by Aristides in dealing with the conspirators is quite in harmony. The presence of the *ναυτικοὶ* may have been needed to counteract the discontent of the sorely tried *ἀγροικοί*, and uphold the policy of Themistocles and the government against the temptations of Mardonius. In the retention of the fleet at Salamis we may see a symptom of the internal crisis through which the state was passing.

Possibly another motive may also have influenced the Athenian

government. After the victory of Salamis politicians so astute as Aristides and Xanthippus could not mistake their part. They were now as zealous in appropriating the ideas of Themistocles as they had before been in combating them. Themistocles had been eager to push on across the Aegean in the wake of the vanquished enemy, had already laid (or relaid) the foundations of the Athenian empire among the Cyclades, and had looked forward to an expedition in the spring against the Hellespont and Ionia (Hdt. viii. 108-112). The subsequent policy of Xanthippus and Aristides shows how completely they adopted his imperial schemes. But the Spartans, we may suppose, were opposed to offensive action by sea, and would have confined the rôle of the fleet to covering the flank of Greece against naval attacks. They checked the pursuit of Xerxes' fleet, and declined the invitation of the Chians. They would have preferred to leave Asia to the Persian (Hdt. ix. 106). Conscious of the limits imposed upon them by their peculiar institutions they were unwilling to incur responsibilities across the sea, and they were naturally averse to conquests for the benefit of a possible rival. The Athenian statesmen may have used the diplomatic advantage given them by the offers of Mardonius and the need of their fleet to bargain for a freer hand in Asia. The fleet may have been withheld partly in order to extort the assurances which they desired, and Leotychidas' acceptance of the Samian proposals may have been due to Athenian pressure as much as to Athenian reinforcements.

Alexander's negotiations with the Athenians, dramatically condensed by Herodotus, probably occupied several weeks. It may have been about the middle of June⁷ that Mardonius broke up his cantonments in Thessaly and took the road for the south. Presumably he had with him his own corps and the Thessalians. The other Greek auxiliaries would join on the march or in Boeotia. An order was doubtless dispatched to Artabazus to follow in support with all the troops that could be spared from the army of Thrace.

Herodotus (ix. 1, 3) assumes that the objective of Mardonius was Athens, and attributes to him some very inept motives for re-occupying the city. He asks us to believe that Mardonius had occupied, and (on receipt of the Argive message) evacuated Athens, before Pausanias and his force arrived at the isthmus (ix. 13, cf. 6, 7, 12). But it is clear from the compact with the Argives that Mardonius must originally have directed his march against the isthmus, and it is incredible that he should have wasted time on Athens, and missed his opportunity, if the isthmus was undefended or only weakly defended. If the Argives had fulfilled their promise and held back the Spartans in the Peloponnese, he would of course have carried the wall, and certainly would never have deviated down to Athens. The Spartans therefore must have arrived at the isthmus before Mardonius quitted Boeotia, and Herodotus has put the Athenian embassy, the Spartan march, and the

⁷ On the date see Busolt's argument, *Griech. Gesch.*,² vol. ii. p. 722, note 2. But he makes too much of the story of the embassy to Sparta.

Argive message too late in his story. The message probably reached Mardonius not at Athens but at Thebes, and determined him not to evacuate but to occupy Athens. His two first plans had both miscarried. He had failed to seduce the Athenians, and the Spartans had safely got through to the isthmus. But if he occupied Athens and renewed his offers to the Athenians backed by the threat of thorough and instant devastation, he would raise such a ferment among them (cf. Thuc. ii. 20-1), and such alarm among their allies, as might compel the Spartans to come out to the rescue. Moreover the occupation of Attica was calculated to detain the Athenian navy at Salamis, while the Spartan advance would denude the Peloponnese of its strongest garrison. If the Persian fleet could defeat or evade Leotychidas at Delos, it might land troops in Argolis or elsewhere and provoke the contemplated outbreak. We may suppose that this idea, and not mere vainglory as Herodotus fancied, was the purpose of Mardonius' signals to Asia—*πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλείῃ δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχου Ἀθήνας* (ix. 3). Since almost all the Cyclades must by this time have been in the enemy's hands, the words *διὰ νήσων*, if significant at all, may be taken to mean the islands of the northern Aegean, and it is not unlikely that Aeschylus has preserved for us in his famous description of the beacon-chain from Ida to Argos (*Agam.* 281-314) the list of Mardonius' signal-stations. Aeschylus may of course have adapted the extremities, but it is not impossible that Mardonius signalled also to Argos.

The Greeks on their part were probably as eager to come forth as Mardonius could desire. We may conjecture that the details of the expedition had been settled between the Athenian envoys and Pausanias at Sparta. Herodotus' account of the embassy (ix. 7-11) clearly can not be treated as historical, and at best merely reflects Athenian impatience and gossip at Salamis. Pausanias waited at the isthmus only to give time for the Peloponnesian allies to join him. Mardonius by his sudden march southward had put a long gap between himself and his supports in Thrace. It was the obvious strategy for Pausanias to bring him to close quarters and force a battle before the arrival of Artabazus. Moreover by his advance to Athens Mardonius had, perhaps purposely, offered his enemy a chance of cutting him off from his base at Thebes. We are not told with what force he entered Attica, but probably the main bulk of his army had been left behind on the Asopus.

Pausanias accordingly pushed forward without waiting for belated contingents (Hdt. ix. 28, 38, 41). But Mardonius was forewarned, and after burning Athens had set his force in motion for Boeotia. The message which came to him at Athens must have been, not the Argive message as Herodotus fancied (ix. 12), but another, from the isthmus. His intention seems to have been to take the road through Eleutherae, by which he had probably come, but hearing on the march that the Spartan vanguard had already reached Megara, he changed his route and withdrew by way of Decelea and Sphendale to Tanagra, covering his left flank by a cavalry

demonstration in the Megarid, which was no doubt meant to head off the Peloponnesians from the direct roads to Thebes over Cithaeron.* From Tanagra Mardonius gained Scolus, where he set to work to erect a stockade, (if that had not really been done during his absence, as we may suspect,) and camped his army in the plain of the Asopus. Pausanias moved out eastwards to Eleusis, where he picked up the Athenians, and then advanced north of Cithaeron and drew up his forces on the skirts of the mountain facing the enemy (Hdt. ix. 15, 19).

Mardonius, we have seen, may have had with him something like 80,000 men, of whom about a fourth part may have been cavalry. Artabazus with his 40,000 must have been still far away in the north, for Mardonius, hoping to anticipate the Spartans at the isthmus, had marched suddenly and fast—ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἤγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας (Hdt. ix. 1). The Greek army, when all or nearly all had come in, mustered according to Herodotus (ix. 28–30) 110,000 men, composed of 38,700 hoplites, 35,000 Helots, 34,500 other light-armed troops, and 1,800 Thespians. These figures have been much criticized. The Thespians are a rather obvious complement to make up the round number. The light-armed are confessedly a conjecture on the assumption of one for each non-Spartiate hoplite.⁹ The Helots are in extraordinary force—no parallel can be quoted for the proportion of seven to each Spartiate. The numbers of the hoplite contingents have been vigorously impugned,¹⁰ and their authenticity remains open to question. On the whole Herodotus' list looks like an estimate of the forces, heavy and light-armed, which the allies (except Athens and Sparta) might have furnished if their citizens had turned out πανστρατιᾷ. Although such an estimate is no historical record, and might be based on data of a later day—*e.g.* statistics of the contingents required of their allies by Sparta and Athens, or calculations, such as must have been much discussed at Athens at the opening of the Peloponnesian war (cf. Thuc. ii. 9), of the relative strength of the rival leagues—it can hardly be pretended that modern critics are in a position to form a better. But it may reasonably be doubted whether the entire levy was in every case present. Is allowance made for those serving on the fleet, as it is in the case of the Athenians? or in garrison, as it is in the case of the Spartans (cf. vii. 234)? At all events the conjectural number of light-armed is probably exaggerated, and it is scarcely to be believed that the Spartans took every available Helot. There was however, as Stein remarks, special need of light-armed troops on this

* Hdt. ix. 14–15, cf. Paus. i. 44. 4. Herodotus does not see the point of the cavalry demonstration. For the site of Sphendale v. Michhofer *Karten von Attika*, Text, ix. pp. 27–28. As Hauvette, *Hérodote* pp. 453–4, justly contends against Delbrück, we need not take Herodotus to imply that all Mardonius' movements were crowded into a single day.

⁹ The redundancy of 800 has already been

explained above.

¹⁰ Notably by Beloch and Delbrück. If Beloch's ingenious suggestion, that Παλῆες in Hdt. ix. 28 is a misreading of Φαλῆιοι, could be accepted, it would much enhance the argument that the figures are conjectural, for 200 hoplites would be a natural contingent from Pale but not from Elis. But it is too venturesome.

campaign, and, it may be added, there was special reason for not leaving too many Helots at home. Herodotus repeats the number of Helots several times (ix. 10, 28, 29, 61). Possibly the great revolt made the Spartans more chary of using Helots in their later wars. After every allowance for exaggeration we may suppose that the two armies were approximately equal in numbers, although the Greeks had an advantage in their heavy armour and the Persians in their cavalry. But in view of the advent of Artabazus, we should expect that *cæteris paribus* Pausanias would press things to an issue, and Mardonius maintain the defensive.

Every interpretation of the campaign of Plataea must now take account of Dr. G. B. Grundy's valuable survey of the field and Prof. W. J. Woodhouse's brilliant criticism of Herodotus.¹¹ It is not necessary to labour points which these scholars have settled. But unfortunately much remains obscure, and Plataea must rank after the Scythian expedition and the Ionian revolt as the most difficult of Herodotus' detailed military narratives. At Salamis we can correct Herodotus by Aeschylus, at Marathon and Artemisium he supplies clues for his own emendation, at Thermopylae the topography comes to our aid. But at Plataea Herodotus has his say without much check, dark places remain in his story after all the elucidations of Prof. Woodhouse, and in spite of Dr. Grundy's researches the fixed points in the topography are still too few. What is here offered is mainly tentative suggestion, and on many difficulties I have nothing useful to say.

Our first question must be, where was Scolus? Mardonius, having reached Tanagra from Decerea and Sphendale and spent a night there, turned to Scolus, where he was in Theban territory. There he built his wooden fort, more than a mile square, on the left flank, as appears from Herodotus' description (ix. 15), of his position on the Asopus, which extended from Erythrae past Hysiae into the Plataeid. Agesilaus in 376 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* v. 4, 47-9, cf. Polyæn. ii. 1, 11) made a feint from Plataea in the direction of Thespieae, then doubled back on his tracks, and taking the road to Erythrae got inside the stockade at Scolus before the Thebans came back from their other frontier. He then proceeded to ravage the country as far as the bounds of Tanagraean territory. Strabo (408) describes Scolus as a village of the Parasopia under Cithaeron, *δυστόκητος τόπος καὶ τραχύς*. Most explicit is Pausanias (ix. 4, 4), who says that if one turned off the road from Plataea to Thebes just before crossing the Asopus, and travelled down stream for about 40 stades, one came to the ruins of Scolus. Since he entered Thebes by the Electran gate (ix. 8, 7), he seems not to have followed the direct road through the plain, which is sometimes impassable,¹² and was perhaps bridgeless, but to have struck across onto the main road to Thebes from Megara, which probably coincided near Thebes with the road from Athens and Eleutherae, and was presumably the usual driving route between Plataea and

¹¹ Grundy, *The topography of the battle of Plataea*, 1894, *The great Persian War*, 1901.

Journal, xviii, 1898, pp. 33-59.

Woodhouse, *The Greeks at Plataea* in this

¹² Leake, *Northern Greece*, ii. p. 324. Grundy, *Topography*, pp. 24, 50.

Thebes.¹³ Measured from the crossing of the river on this road Scolus ought to be about where Leake placed it, near the village of Darimari.¹⁴ and with this situation the other indications very well agree. But if so, Scolus must have lain close to the point where the roads from Athens by way of Phyle and from Eleusis by way of Oenoe and Panactum cross the Asopus. Mar-donius therefore built his fort, not (as Greek afterthought fancied, Hdt. ix. 15) to be a refuge in case of disaster, but to guard this important point on the river.

We have next to determine, if possible, the sites of Erythrae and Hysiae. The passages already quoted throw some light on them. It is clear from Xenophon that Erythrae lay on the road from Plataea or Thespieae to Scolus. It is clear from Herodotus (ix. 15, 19, 25) that Erythrae lay to the east of Hysiae. Pausanias here comes to our assistance with some welcome 'cross-bearings' on Hysiae. He says (ix. 1. 6) that when the Thebans marched to surprise Plataea in 373 B. C., the Boeotarch Neocles *σφᾶς αὐτίκα οὐ τὴν εὐθείαν ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβῶν τὴν πεδιάδα, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ῾Τσιᾶς ἤγε πρὸς ῾Ελευθερῶν τε καὶ τῆς ῾Αττικῆς*. Hysiae therefore was on the main road from Thebes to Athens by way of Eleutherae. This is the road by which Pausanias himself enters Boeotia (ix. 1. 1 and 2, 2). The branch to Plataea probably diverged from it at about the same point as the modern loop road through Kriekouki. Pausanias notes (ix. 2. 1) that the ruins of Hysiae and Erythrae (in that order) lay a little off the direct Plataea road, on the right. He appears to have made a loop to the right to visit Hysiae, where he notices an unfinished temple of Apollo and a sacred well. Probably he kept on down the Thebes road as far as Hysiae, and then back up the lower side of the Kriekouki loop to rejoin the Plataea road. Now close under the rocky base of Cithaeron and immediately to the right of the Thebes *chaussée* there is an ancient site marked by a great quantity of loose stones, traces of buildings, and (that surest of tests) Hellenic pottery, and crowned by the ruins of an old fortress on the rocks above.¹⁵ In view of the references in the ancient authorities there can be little doubt that this site represents Hysiae, as Leake suggested. Other passages in Herodotus support the identification—vi. 108, the Athenians *τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὖρους, τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν ῾Ασωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὖρον Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ ῾Τσιᾶς*, obviously the Asopus on the north and Hysiae on the east of the Plataean territory. Leake's site would make a very natural frontier on the east—ix. 25, the Greeks move past Hysiae from their first position near Erythrae to their second position in the Plataeid. The road from Erythrae would lead them a little below Leake's site, or if they kept to the hills their natural point for crossing from the bastions of Cithaeron to the ridges out towards the Asopus would be just there. Thucydides iii. 24. presents a slight difficulty. The fugitive

¹³ On the Electrian gate cf. Frazer's *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 36.

¹⁴ Leake, *N. Greece*, ii. pp. 330-1. *Karten von Attika*, No. 10.

¹⁵ Leake, *N. Greece*, ii. pp. 327, 333. W. Irving Hunt in the *Amer. Journ. of Archae.* vi. 1890, p. 472, note 39. Grundy, *Topography*, p. 9, *Gl. Pers. War*, p. 458 note.

Plataeans turn out of the road to Thebes and take τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος φέρουσαν ὁδὸν εἰς Ἐρυθρὰς καὶ Ῥυσίᾱς. Thucydides appears to invert the geographical order of the places, but his form of expression is not unnatural if we remember that the road was 'the Erythrae road' (cf. Xen. *l. c.*), and that Hysiae lay a little off it on the Eleutherae road. His phrase may be paralleled on a hundred guideposts. For Erythrae, which is rather less prominent in history than Hysiae, no better site has been suggested than Leake's, who puts it at Katsula, a hamlet about two miles east of the proposed Hysiae. If this distance seems to any to overstrain Pausanias' words ὀλίγον τῆς εὐθείας ἐκτραπέειν, (which I do not feel that it does), it may be urged that Pausanias does not appear to have gone on to Erythrae, and may well have accommodated his expression to the nearer of the two places. In a general view, *e.g.* a retrospect from Thebes, it would be the conjunction not the separation of the two villages that would impress itself on the memory (cf. Euripides, *Bacchae*, 748-54).

Our topographical investigation has led us to adopt Leake's sites for Scolus, Erythrae, and Hysiae. Dr. Grundy has, I venture to believe, been misled partly by a prepossession as to the first position of the Greek army, and partly by a misapprehension as to the ancient roads across Cithaeron. To begin with the latter, Dr. Grundy clearly distinguishes and marks on his map three passes: (1) the Eleutherae, or so-called Dryoscephalae,¹⁵ pass; (2) a pass about one mile to the west of it, which he calls the Plataea-Athens pass; (3) another pass about a mile and a quarter to the west of the second, and one mile or less from Plataea, which he calls the Plataea-Megara pass. Dr. Grundy's special interest in Plataea has led him to view these routes primarily in relation to it. But however prominent in history, Plataea was after all but a little town, which did not determine the course of the main roads, or their nomenclature. If we would see them in their true bearings we must start from Thebes. There were two great highways from Thebes over Cithaeron, although they probably coincided for a short distance out of the city. The first was the road to Eleusis and Athens through the 'Dryoscephalae' pass. This was the road to, or from, or through, Eleutherae, and no other could be so described. The second was the main road to Megara and the Peloponnese. It ran probably a little to the west of Kriekouki, and traversed Dr. Grundy's second pass to Vilia, which may be identified with the Megarian village of Ereneia, and thence over Mt. Karydes to Megara. This road did not touch Attic territory (Xen. *Hell.* v. 4, 19), and had therefore great political importance. There was a branch from this road to Plataea from the northern exit of the pass, where Dr. Grundy has discovered its wheel-ruts. The rough track through the third pass can be nothing else than another branch used as a short cut by travellers from Megara to Plataea on foot or on horseback. Travellers driving from Megara to Plataea would take the other branch from the second pass. Travellers driving from Thebes

¹⁵ I am not convinced that the Eleutherae pass has any exclusive right to the name Dryoscephalae. Herodotus, ix. 39. seems to apply it

to the whole group of passes, and Thucydides, iii. 24, is quite consistent with this interpretation.

to Plataea would probably follow the Megara road to a point near Leake's Gargaphia, and there find another branch up to the town, by which we have supposed Pausanias to have journeyed in the reverse direction. Doubtless there were also cross routes between the two great roads. The southern side of the Kriekouki loop is an obvious one, and has been already suggested for Pausanias' direct road to Plataea from the Eleutheræ pass. Perhaps there was another higher up the mountain near the brow of the ridge, where there seems to be a modern cross cut. In particular it was no doubt possible for a traveller from Attica to cross the frontier from the valley south of Eleutheræ to the Megarian road at Vilia, and so up to Plataea. But to treat this route as the ordinary Plataea-Athens road seems to me to be a gratuitous perversion. Whether Pausanias at Plataea (ix. 2, 3) means by the road from Megara the branch from the second pass or the short cut through the third, is unimportant for the general question. To Cleombrotus (Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 14), advancing presumably from Megara, 'the road to Plataea' was naturally the road by Vilia; the particular branch is again of little moment, but Dr. Grundy is probably right in sending him through his second pass. Xenophon's words *τὴν μὲν οὖν δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν εἰς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσαν* give the reason, not of Cleombrotus' choice of this route, for he could hardly have contemplated any other, but of the fact that he did not encounter Chabrias. Why Dr. Grundy takes him almost to Eleutheræ, and how he gets him there without violating Attic territory, I cannot understand. So much for the roads over Cithæron, which have a not unimportant influence on the campaign, but may be dismissed with this summary treatment because no one who has read Prof. Milchhofer's authoritative account¹⁷ of the country south of the range requires much further explanation.

We come now to the problem of the first position of the Greek army. If we accept Leake's site for Erythrae, and Herodotus' statement (ix. 19) that the first position of the Greeks was there, we have to account for their taking up this somewhat inconvenient station. The ground was, to be sure, inassailable for the most part by cavalry (Hdt. ix. 21)—which shows that the army must have been drawn up along the top of the rocks which overhang the Hysiae-Scolus road¹⁸—but water was scarce (Hdt. ix. 25), communications must have been difficult, and supplies precarious. Herodotus unfortunately gives no details of the Greek movement from Eleusis to Erythrae. It has been generally assumed that it followed the Eleutheræ road. But it would be strange if Mardonius made no attempt to hold the Eleutheræ and Vilia passes. By doing so he would secure his own retirement from Attica, gain time for Artabazus to come up, and force Pausanias farther eastwards, that is to say farther away from his base at the isthmus. We have already seen that before quitting Attica he flung his cavalry into the Megarid, probably with the object of checking any advance by these routes, and Hero-

¹⁷ In the text to *Karten von Attika*, ix. § iv, *Rapport. Nouv. arch. d. missions scient. et* especially pp. 35, 38-40. *letter.* 1892, p. 369.

¹⁸ Leake, *N. Greece*, ii. pp. 327-30. Hauvette,

dotus' statement (ix. 15), that part of his position lay in the Plataean territory, can only mean that his right wing was thrown forward for the defence of the passes. I would suggest that Pausanias may have contented himself with a mere demonstration on the Eleutheræ road, and marched with the bulk of his forces by Oenoe, Panactum, and the Portaes pass, with the idea of turning the Persian left flank and crossing the Asopus at Scolus. Here he was checked by the stockade, and deployed his army to the left along the base of the mountain, continually extending his left flank to the westward as the troops came into line. By this manœuvre he would threaten to cut the enemy's centre near Hysiae, and force him to withdraw his right wing and evacuate the roads over Cithaeron.

Herodotus gives no precise indication ¹⁹ of the spot at which the conflict with the Persian cavalry occurred, or in what part of the Greek line the Megarians were stationed. The scene may possibly be laid at the little valley between Katsula and Bubuka, up which the German map marks a path. But it is a tempting conjecture that the encounter was near Hysiae,²⁰ and that Mardonius was covering with his cavalry on the Eleutheræ road the withdrawal of his right wing to the Asopus by the Megara road. We may perhaps suppose that the Greek contingents held the same relative stations as afterwards in their second position (Hdt. ix. 28). If so, the Megarians were presumably the last deployed troops, and thus temporarily formed the extreme left of the army at the moment of the Persian attack. The [Plataeans and] Athenians would be the next to come up, and on them naturally fell the duty of relieving the Megarians. Aristides rightly pushed forward his most active corps [of hoplites?] and his archers to the rescue as soon as he learnt that the Megarians were in distress. The main body came upon the scene later.

It is characteristic of Herodotus' history that whereas he is blankly ignorant of the strategic manœuvres of the Greek army, he knows all the details of this skirmish. The reason has been generally recognized. The hero of the day was Olympiodorus, son of Lampon, and father no doubt of the more famous Lampon, who played a part in the foundation of Thurii. Herodotus probably had relations with the family, and heard the story from some member of it. It is likely that it lost nothing in the telling, but the details may be trusted. Hence it is worth noting ²¹ that the body of Masistius is carried along the Greek lines on a cart (ix. 25), a touch which fits in very well with the road close along the front of the army. The breastplate of Masistius is doubtless described from the original in the Erechtheum (Paus. i. 27, 1), and the tradition which hung about it may have contributed to the tale.

If our interpretation of the action may be accepted, the importance of the repulse of the cavalry lay in the fact that it cleared the Hysiae gap

¹⁹ The words *ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς* in Hdt. ix. 22 qualify *παρόντων*, not *ταχθέντες*.

²⁰ Much where Dr. Grundy puts it. The words *ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον* (Hdt. ix. 20) are no objection, and Hysiae is

not too far west of Erythrae if we remember how long the Greek front must have been.

²¹ Cf. W. I. Hunt, *Amer. Journ. of Archae.* vi. 1890. p. 473.

between the bastions of Cithaeron and the hills to the north-west, and so opened the way for the next move. Mardonius had been taken by surprise and manœuvred out of the Plataeid. He fell back behind the Asopus leaving the passes in the hands of the Greeks. Pausanias was encouraged to continue his advance towards the west, and attempt to carry out on the enemy's right flank the turning movement which had been foiled on his left. The credit of having first seen the meaning of the change of position is due to Dr. Grundy.

The Greek army moved down past Hysiae into Plataean territory. Herodotus (ix. 25) describes its new station as *πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἡρώος, διὰ ὄχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου*. Hauvette and Woodhouse²² seem to me to be right in putting the shrine of Androcrates at the church of S. John (see Dr. Grundy's map). Thucydides (iii. 24) says that the fugitives from Plataea *ἐχώρουν ἄθροοι τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσαν ὁδὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρώου*, then after proceeding for six or seven stades along this road they turned towards Erythrae. The words *ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρώου*, although grammatically constructed with the subject *οἱ Πλαταιῆς*, really describe the *road*, which Thucydides wishes to distinguish from the *other* road to Thebes,²³ which passed to the *right* of the shrine. This latter was, after the first mile and a half out of Plataea, simply the highway from Megara to Thebes. It was probably the ordinary route for vehicles, and we have already seen reason to suppose that Pausanias the traveller used it. The road taken by the fugitives on the contrary was the direct road over the plain to the Asopus, and passed to the *left* of the chapel of Androcrates. The distance traversed by the Plataeans is therefore immaterial for the position of the shrine. What is important is the prominence of that position, which made the chapel a landmark on the right of the road. The church of S. John is the most conspicuous site which can be suggested. Plutarch's description (*Arist.* 11) also to my mind conveys the idea of a conspicuous point in a general view of the field.²⁴

For the fountain Gargaphia there are according to Dr. Grundy two and only two possible sites—either the Apotripi spring close under the church of S. John, or 'Leake's Gargaphia,' a spring about half a mile to the east of the Apotripi. Too much stress must not be laid on the measurements given by Herodotus, which are obviously in round numbers—10 stades or 20 stades, a mile or a couple of miles. There is practically nothing to choose between the

²² Hauvette *Rapport* pp. 370-1. Woodhouse. *J.H.S.* xviii. 1898. pp. 38-40.

²³ Similarly Pausanias in a passage already quoted (ix. 1, 6) is at pains to distinguish from the direct road the still more roundabout route through Hysiae.

²⁴ Plutarch probably knew the ground at least as well as Herodotus or Thucydides. Objection has been taken e.g. Leake. *N. Greece*, ii. p. 366, note; Grundy. *Topography*, p. 35.

note, *Gr. Persian War*, pp. 496-8) to his grouping together Hysiae, the temple of Demeter, and the chapel of Androcrates. But it ought to be remembered that he is preoccupied with the oracle and inclined to stretch a point in its favour, and that he is describing the scene on a panoramic scale. Dr. Grundy (*Topography*, p. 3) notes how the mass of Cithaeron falsifies impressions of distance at Plataea.

two springs as regards distance from the 'Island' and the probable site of the Heraeum. Prof. Woodhouse prefers Apotripi, Dr. Grundy Leake's Gargaphia. I agree with Leake and Dr. Grundy for the following reasons. (1) Gargaphia is introduced into Herodotus' narrative as a familiar landmark, which needed no description to identify or locate it. But Apotripi is hidden away in a hollow beside the comparatively little frequented road to Thespieae, whereas Leake's spring must have lain close not merely to this road, but also to the main highroad from Megara and the Peloponnese to Thebes, and just at the probable junction of the branch from Plataea. It was in fact the most important meeting-point of roads in the whole Plataean territory, and doubtless well known to all wayfarers in that thirsty land. (2) Gargaphia lay near the right of the Greek position (Hdt. ix. 49). But we cannot believe that Pausanias had relinquished his hold on the Megara road, the main artery of his communications. The Spartans must have occupied the valley of Dr. Grundy's stream A. 4 on their right flank, and probably the hill beyond it on which stands the church of S. Demetrius. The enemy's cavalry, to whom the Eleutheræ road lay open, raided freely round the right of the Greek line (Hdt. ix. 38-9). It would not be difficult for them, by a combined attack along the Megara road on the Spartan front and a turning raid round their right flank, to get momentary possession of Leake's Gargaphia, whereas the Apotripi spring would be considerably harder to reach, and to get away from, without being intercepted. (3) Leake's fountain agrees much better with the distance (Hdt. ix. 57) to what I regard as the probable site of the temple of Demeter.

Wherever Gargaphia and the chapel of Androcrates be placed, it is evident that only the right wing of the Greek army could be near them. The Greek line can hardly have been less than three miles long. Where was the left wing? Perhaps Herodotus' Athenian informants preferred not to be too explicit about their countrymen's share in this part of the operations. After Prof. Woodhouse's analysis of the Athenian element in the narrative it is unnecessary to demonstrate its influence and character in detail. The prominence of the Athenians in the opening and closing encounters is paraded before us, but between these valorous feats all their best endeavours seem to be frustrated by the cowardice of their allies. We are given to understand that it was owing to the timidity of the Spartans that nothing came of the advance, and owing to their losing hold of both the water and the food supply of the army that retreat became inevitable. The retreat itself nearly proved disastrous through the flight of the Greek centre and the insubordination of a Spartan captain. The Athenians suffered for the sins of their confederates! Now anyone who has studied the controversial methods of that amiable people will easily divine that the 'tendency' underlying these chapters is an attempt to shift the blame of the failure on to other shoulders, and can, I think, form some conception of what probably happened. The general idea of the advance seems to have been to force the passage of the Asopus at the crossing of the direct road from Plataea to Thebes, the road over the plain. As it had to be carried out in face of the enemy, the movement from the first

position may have been made by brigades. The Athenians, who formed the left wing, would stand fast near Hysiae, while the Lacedaemonians moved from the right, passed behind them, and occupied the plateau and hills to the west as far as the Megara road. Then the centre would move to the ridge on which stands the church of S. John. Finally the Athenians would push rapidly along the Thespieae road behind this screen of hills and troops into the plain of Plataea, and make a dash for the ford. Such a manœuvre would account for the extraordinary story of the change of wings, worked up in Herodotus' narrative (ix. 46-7) to the glory of the Athenians and discredit of the Spartans. But however the movement was managed, we find the Athenians still on the left flank and to them must have fallen the honourable responsibility of leading the advance across the river. Once across they would take the Persians on their right flank while the other Greeks assailed them in front. What happened is of course not told. It looks as if the Athenians had quailed before the task, and instead of rushing the ford had taken refuge from the enemy's cavalry on the Pyrgos hill at the western edge of the plain, leaving a gap of a mile of level ground between them and the centre. Pausanias then had to close the gap by moving the centre down into the plain, and shifting the Lacedaemonians along to the station vacated by it on the 'Asopus ridge' (v. Dr. Grundy's map). This hypothesis may appear somewhat adventurous, but it would explain three facts which present no small difficulty. First, the fact that Pausanias entirely abandoned the Eleutheræ road to the enemy, although he thereby risked the loss of his communications and the fate of the whole army. Second, the fact that the Greek centre appears to have borne the brunt of the Persian attacks on the position, and to have been harassed, if we may believe Herodotus, to the verge of demoralization. Third, the fact that the Athenians, when they start to retire to the Island, begin by *descending into the plain* (Hdt. ix. 56).

At all events the forward movement failed miserably, leaving the Greeks in a very critical situation, and the Athenians, who led it, must bear the chief blame for the failure. There was nothing for it but to withdraw to a safe defensive position covering the passes of Cithaeron. This necessity must have become obvious at once. The attempt to cross the Asopus, if it was to succeed at all, must have followed instantly on the advance, or rather formed part of it. The Persian counter-attack on the Greek communications surely cannot have been long delayed. It is almost incredible that Pausanias can have stayed on in his perilous situation for nearly a fortnight, as the ordinary interpretation of Herodotus demands. Prof. Woodhouse's chronology of the campaign,²⁵ which would limit the occupation of the second position to three days, seems to be much more probable.

The new position to which the retreat was to be directed is given by Herodotus (ix. 51) as 'the Island.' The earlier modern explorers boggled a little about describing as an island what is really only a peninsula, but the

²⁵ *J.H.S.* xviii. 1898, p. 57, note B.

Greeks were less pedantic, *e.g.* Peloponnesus, Arctonnesus,²⁶ or indeed *chersonesus*. The description in Herodotus is too precise to leave much room for difference of opinion as to the site, and the general identification of the Island has never been seriously in doubt since the topography was first investigated. But whereas the earlier travellers fix their attention on the lower part of the strip so designated, Dr. Grundy has justly insisted upon the far better defensive character of the upper part, the ridges at the foot of Cithaeron as opposed to the flat meadow in the Plataean plain. There can be little doubt that Dr. Grundy is right in his contention that this upper part of the Island was the position intended by Pausanias and his staff. The earlier explorers were misled by the statements of Herodotus (ix. 51) that the Island is ten stades from the Asopus, and in front of the city of the Plataeans. But the words *πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος* naturally mean not north of Plataea but *east*, the side from which most travellers (especially Athenians) approached the city. The sentence *ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίου ἀπέχουσα* is more difficult. Dr. Grundy is driven to suppose that by the Asopus is meant in this passage the tributary stream which he labels A. 1. Prof. Woodhouse suggests that *κ'* (20) has dropped out of the text before *καί*, and if we insist upon finding a topographical fact in the statement this solution seems to be the best. But I suspect that the real explanation is psychological. The Lacedaemonians alone were posted near the fountain Gargaphia (ix. 49, 50). The rest of the Greek line stretched away north-westwards towards the Asopus (ix. 49), and the Athenians formed the extreme left. A measurement from the Asopus would have suggested, what was true, that the Athenians ought to have occupied the Island. A measurement from Gargaphia suggested, what was false, that the Lacedaemonians ought to have done so. If, as is fairly obvious, Herodotus' source for these chapters was Athenian, there was sufficient reason for the equivocal and invidious turn given to the sentence—'the Island is distant from the Asopus or rather from the fountain Gargaphia, at which they were then encamped, about a mile.'

For the idea attributed by Herodotus to the council of war, and doubtless insidiously suggested to him by his disingenuous informants, that the whole Greek army was to move to the Island, is surely absurd. So large a force could not be crowded onto so narrow a ground, and the main purpose of the movement, the recovery of the passes, would have been barely half attained. It is significant that this purpose is represented in Herodotus' narrative as merely secondary—to rescue a particular convoy by a sortie, as it were, from the Island, after that position had been occupied! But it is clear from Herodotus himself that only the Athenians were to go to the Island. Prof. Woodhouse has pointed out that the centre, in spite of the Athenian story of its panic, took up its proper station in good order at the

²⁶ It does not affect my point that the termination of these and similar words may prove to have nothing to do with *νήσος*, but to be the

-assos or *-essos* so common in Anatolian names, for the Greeks certainly took it for *νήσος*.

Heraeum, and that the movement of the right wing was directed to quite another quarter of the field.

The probable site of the Heraeum is marked by a large temple discovered by the American excavators in the northern part of the ruins of Plataea. It lies to the east of the fortified north-west corner of the town, which has been identified by Dr. Grundy as the citadel and original (or at least fifth century) Plataea.²⁷ Herodotus (ix. 52) says of the Heraeum τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον. The distance, twenty stades, is somewhat exaggerated for a bee-line measurement, but is not far wrong if it be taken as a sum of two reckonings, (1) from Gargaphia to the Mound on the Island (see Dr. Grundy's map), (2) from the Mound to the Heraeum. The description 'in front of the city of the Plataeans' is perfectly appropriate if *πρὸ* means 'east of' as we have already proposed. Now the Greek centre took up its new station *πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, 'in front of the temple,' and these words again naturally indicate the east, whether we think of the general direction or of the orientation of the building. We may suppose therefore that the fortifications of Plataea, which were doubtless still defensible although the town had been burnt by Xerxes (Hdt. viii. 50), were to cover the left flank of the new position, and the contingents which had composed the centre were now to form the left wing, and were drawn up between the Heraeum and the Island.

The course taken by the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans on the right must be inferred from the spot on which the battle was fought, and that depends on the situation to be assigned to the river Moloeis and the temple of Demeter Eleusinia, for Herodotus' third landmark, Ἀργιόπιος χῶρος καλούμενος, gives us no clue. Dr. Grundy's second suggestion²⁸ for the river Moloeis, viz. the stream which he calls A. 6, seems much the most probable. It is the largest stream of the neighbourhood after the Asopus and Oeroe, and the most likely to have had an independent name. But there are many streams, and the really decisive point must be the temple of Demeter. Dr. Grundy, followed by Prof. Woodhouse, puts this temple at the church of S. Demetrius on the hill between his streams A. 4 and A. 5. Of course modern names often preserve an echo of ancient, and many a pagan deity has become a saint. But S. Demetrius is a particularly common saint, e.g. there is another (ruined) church dedicated to him just outside the wall of Plataea,²⁹ and modern sites do not always exactly correspond to ancient even when they preserve their names. The church of S. Demetrius is only $4\frac{1}{2}$ stades from Gargaphia, whereas Herodotus (ix. 57, cf. 49, 51, 52) implies that the temple of Demeter was about 10 stades from the fountain (which is evidently the starting-point of his measurements). On the other hand it is fully $7\frac{1}{2}$ stades from the probable Moloeis, whereas Herodotus implies that the

²⁷ H. S. Washington, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.* vii. 1891, pp. 392-404. Grundy, *Topographical*, pp. 54-61.

²⁸ *Ut. Pers. War*, p. 495.

²⁹ *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.* vi. 1890, p. 110.

temple was quite near the river. Now beside a well a few yards west of the Eleutheræ road, and close under the rocky foot of Cithaeron, two inscriptions have been found, which relate to the worship of Demeter, and seem to date from the early part of the fifth century B. C.³⁰ They do not of course prove that there was a temple of Demeter on the exact spot where they were found, but the natural presumption is that there was one not far off. This presumption is confirmed by Plutarch's description (*Arist.* 11) of the situation of the temple on the field of battle—*τῶν Ὑσιῶν πλησίον ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ναὸς ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος πάνυ Δήμητρος Ἑλευσινίας καὶ Κόρης προσσαγορευόμενος. εὐθὺς οἷν παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον εὐφύεστατον ὄντα παρατάξαι φάλαγγα πεζικὴν ἵπποκρατουμένους, διὰ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἄφιππα ποιούσας τὰ καταλήγοντα καὶ συγκυροῦντα τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν.* There can be no question that Plutarch means the same temple as Herodotus. He describes it as situated at the edge of the rocky foot of Cithaeron near Hysiae, that is to say in the very neighbourhood to which the evidence of the inscriptions points. If it stood at the northern extremity of the village of Kriekouki, it would be about 11 stades from Gargaphia, within 2 stades of our supposed Moloeis, and about 6 stades from the site already assigned to Hysiae. This position also well accords with what Herodotus says of the course taken by the Corinthians and other Greeks who came from near the Heraeum to the assistance of the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans (ix. 69)—*οἱ μὲν ἰμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος*—where *ἄνω* signifies, not that the road went uphill, but that it was the *upper* road over the ridges of Cithaeron, not the lower road at the bottom of the slope. The attack of the Persian cavalry with which the day opened (Hdt. ix. 57) is not inconsistent with Plutarch's description of the ground, for there is no indication that it was pressed to close quarters. The cavalry drove in Amompharetus, and doubtless harassed the Lacedaemonians with their arrows (cf. ix. 49), but this skirmishing is probably magnified by Herodotus' informants in order to give colour to the obviously apocryphal message from Pausanias to the Athenians which follows (ix. 60). It is significant that the cavalry takes no part in the actual battle, but reappears during the Persian flight to the stockade (ix. 68). Pausanias wisely refused to be drawn from his strong defensive position on the rocky ground until the Persian infantry was fairly engaged.

If we have rightly identified the site of the temple of Demeter and the battle, certain important consequences result from it. It is evident in the first place that the Greek right wing reached its proper allotted station, and was not overtaken by the enemy on its march as Herodotus was given to understand. The notion (Hdt. ix. 56) that the Lacedaemonians were making for the Island by this roundabout route in order to be secure against the enemy's cavalry is simply an Athenian misconception or rather misrepre-

³⁰ *C.I.G.* vii. 1670, 1671. Grundy, *Topography*, p. 9; *St. Pers. War*, p. 458, note. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 5.

sentation designed to involve them too in the blame of not having carried out orders. For in the second place it becomes clear what was the new position which the generals intended to occupy. The left was to be covered by the walls of Plataea, the right was to rest upon Hysiae or the high bastions of Cithaeron above it, the centre was to occupy the Island, and perhaps the next ridge to the east of it. It is evident in the third place that this central station was assigned to the Athenians, and that they alone of the three divisions failed to take up their post. What hindered them of course we are not allowed to know. The excuse put forward in Herodotus (ix. 54) — *εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὥς ἄλλα φρονούντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων*—is justly stigmatized by Prof. Woodhouse as transparently false. The most charitable explanation is that they were delayed by the slow procession of the old centre (new left wing) across their path. But it ill accords with the precipitate flight ascribed to that body in their own version of the retreat, and their obvious anxiety to throw blame on their allies suggests a more discreditable reason. Perhaps we may take a hint from their recriminations on the Lacedaemonians, and infer that it was fear of the enemy's cavalry that deterred them,³¹ for the Athenians, if our conjecture as to their starting-point may be accepted, had to cross the open plain north of Plataea to gain the Island. Finally the tenacity of Amompharetus assumes a very different character from that attributed to it in the Athenian tradition. Prof. Woodhouse has argued that Amompharetus and his company were left behind to cover the retirement of the right wing. One might go further and suggest that the delay of the Lacedaemonians, and the messages which passed between Pausanias and the Athenians (Hdt. ix. 54–5, 60), are best explained on the hypothesis that the Spartan general waited as long as possible in order to protect the movement of his allies to the Island, and that Amompharetus was ordered to hold the Megara road at the valley north-east of Gargaphia till the last moment as much in their interest as in that of the Spartans themselves. If so, the treatment of that gallant officer in the Athenian story is peculiarly infamous.

Sunrise found the two Greek wings in position, but separated by a gap of a mile's breadth which ought to have been filled by the Athenians, still trailing across the Plataean plain. Like their own Amompharetus the Athenians would seem to have come to their senses only when they realised that Pausanias was in very deed leaving them to their fate. The Persian attack on the Lacedaemonians must have been developed along the two main roads to the passes, the attack on the Athenians along the direct road from Thebes to Plataea. Hence the centre at the Heraeum, when it goes to the support of the wings, splits into two sections, of which the one turns (eastwards) along the slope of Cithaeron, the other makes (northwards) over the plain. *τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν* (Hdt. ix. 69). The isolation of the three

³¹ If the left wing was indeed a coveted post of honour (Hdt. ix. 26–28) the Athenians may also have resented being ordered out of it, however richly they deserved the degradation.

divisions of the enemy, which had lost all touch with one another, was an opportunity such as no general could have neglected. Mardonius must have thought he had the Greek army at his mercy, and theoretically he ought to have won an overwhelming victory. What saved the day was the steady discipline of the Lacedaemonian hoplites, and the masterly judgment of Pausanias in timing his charge.

Mardonius in fact was unfortunate in his opportunity. It brought about what Pausanias had doubtless hoped for when he pressed forward from the isthmus over Cithaeron—a pitched battle on something like equal terms. For the part played by Artabazus in Herodotus' story is hardly to be taken as strictly historical. The dramatic instinct of the writer demands a foil to the infatuation of Mardonius and finds it in him. He is one more impersonation of a stock character in Herodotus' repertoire. What Solon is to Croesus, Croesus to Cyrus, Artabanus and Demaratus to Xerxes (to mention only a few of the examples), that is Artabazus to Mardonius. Artabazus and his 40,000 men took no part in the battle (Hdt. ix. 66). Did he ever effect his junction with Mardonius? I think it more probable that he was still several marches in the rear, but Herodotus (or his informant³²) has construed his absence into prudence. The victory of the Greeks is glorious enough without exaggerating the numbers of their enemy.

J. A. R. MUNRO.

³² Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* II.² p. 713, note 1, conjectures that Herodotus may have had relations with the family of Artabazus.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Aristotelis Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων. Quantum edidit F. BLASS. Pp. xxx + 161. Leipzig : Teubner, 1903. 1 m. 80.

Aristotelis Respublica Atheniensium. Edidit FRIDERICUS G. KENYON. Pp. xiv + 160. [Supplementum Aristotelicum editum consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae, vol. iii, pars ii.] Berlin : Reimer, 1903. 6 m. 60.

Prof. Blass' fourth edition of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* includes practically no new readings of the papyrus, but it is marked by a further development of his theory of metrical correspondences. He has so firm a belief in the reality of these correspondences (which, be it observed, do not in any way follow the rhythmical structure of the clauses, but must be reckoned out with much toil and labour), that he uses them as a test for the detection of corruptions and the verification of conjectures. Prof. Blass has not yet persuaded any prominent scholar of the soundness of his theory (as applied to such a writer as Aristotle, whom it is difficult to conceive as counting his syllables with the elaborate art of Isocrates); and until he has done so, it is not likely that the conjectures which he bases on it will find much acceptance. The *apparatus criticus* continues to be very useful for its record of the readings and conjectures of various editors and critics.

Mr. Kenyon's edition for the Berlin Academy is the result of a fresh collation of the papyrus, and aims at giving an accurate reproduction of it, with emendations only where necessary, and with a full statement in the *apparatus criticus* of all departures from it, even the smallest. In the greater part of the work the text does not differ much from those found in the third editions of Blass and Kaibel-Wilamowitz (*φανεροίς* for *ἀναξίους* in c. 6, 3 is perhaps the most notable new reading), but there is a considerable amount of change in the mutilated conclusion of the book. These last six columns are now so far restored that they can be printed in chapters and sections like the rest of the work, of which they now form chapters 64-69; and except in c. 67 (the upper part of col. 34) the sense is now continuous and intelligible throughout, though not all the readings and restorations are regarded as certain. The *testimonia* (printed in full) have been edited by Prof. Wentzel, Mr. Kenyon adding some parallel passages from the *Politics* and the historians; and a very complete *index verborum* has been compiled by a young Berlin scholar, Mr. Neustadt. The preface is mainly palaeographical.

The Mimes of Herodas. Edited with introduction, critical notes, commentary, and excursus, by J. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN. Pp. lxxxviii + 116. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1904. 12s. 6d.

A full commentary, critical and explanatory, on Herodas has long been needed, and has now been very adequately provided by Mr. Nairn. His introduction, in five chapters, deals with (1) Herodas and his work, (2) the Mime, (3) Herodas and his contemporaries, (4) Evidence for the text, (5) Dialect, Grammar, and Metre. The textual notes give full and detailed information with regard to the evidence of the papyrus. The commentary

faces all the difficulties fairly, and takes into account the views of other scholars, while containing many new and probable suggestions. The illustrations (from vases, wall-paintings, and sculptures) are good and to the point: and at the end is a facsimile, in three plates, of the new fragments of the papyrus, published by Mr. Kenyon in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* in 1901, but not hitherto photographically reproduced. Altogether an indispensable edition for the student of Herodas.

Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker: griechisch und deutsch. Von HERMANN DIELS. Pp. x + 602. Weidmann: Berlin, 1903. 15 m.

This collection of all the extant fragments of pre-Socratic philosophers, on the same lines as Professor Diels' separate edition of the remains of Heraclitus, is intended to serve as a basis for the instruction of students in Greek philosophy. Prof. Diels' original plan was for a critical edition, but this he was forced to abandon for want of adequate editions of many of the authors from whom the material must be drawn, such as Galen, Clement of Alexandria, Plutarch, etc. He has therefore been obliged to content himself with providing a simple text, without annotation, but with a German translation; but even this will be a very great convenience to those who wish to examine the entire remains of any of the early philosophers, and not to be dependent on the selections of editors. It is needless to say that the work, within its own limits, is very thoroughly done.

Platons Dialogue: Inhaltsdarstellungen (1. der Schriften des späteren Alters. Von CONSTANTIN RITTER. Pp. vi + 219. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1903. 4 m. 50.

In 1896, Dr. Ritter published an abstract or analysis of the *Laws*: and in the present volume he follows it with a similar abstract of the other works of Plato's old age,—the *Parmenides*, *Sophist*, *Politicus*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, and *Cratylus*. These (with the exception, perhaps, of the last-named fragment) are less read than many of the earlier works; yet an acquaintance with them is essential for a full knowledge of Plato's mind, and many readers will be grateful for this very full and careful abstract, whether as an assistance to or a substitute for a study of the difficult originals. Dr. Ritter claims—and apparently with truth—that he has omitted no important thought or even expression which occurs in the original; yet the whole goes into a clearly printed volume of moderate size, of which fifty pages are occupied by a very full index. In England we have Jowett's introductions and translations to serve the purpose of a guide to Plato's philosophy; but even in this country there may be use for the more objective and minutely faithful work of Dr. Ritter. A sequel, dealing with Plato's earlier works, is hypothetically promised.

Memoria Graeca Herculanensis: cum titulorum Aegypti papyrorum codicum denique testimoniis comparatam proposuit GULIELMUS CROXERT. Pp. x + 318. Teubner: Leipzig, 1903.

This work, by the editor of the forthcoming revision of Passow's *Lexicon*, is the fruit of a visit to Naples, subsidised by the Berlin Academy. It is a grammar of the forms found in papyri and inscriptions, with the dates of the various forms carefully noted. Two books deal with orthographical (and some palaeographical) questions; two with grammatical questions affecting the modifications of the vowels and consonants; one with nouns; one with verbs; one with the forms of certain words in composition; and one gives an alphabetical index of verbal forms. Altogether an indispensable book to editors of papyri, and indeed to all who have any interest in lexical questions. It is provided with full indices.

A History of Classical Scholarship from the Sixth Century B.C. to the end of the Middle Ages. By J. E. SANDYS. Pp. xxiv + 672. Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d. net.

It is quite impossible to treat such a book as this adequately in a short notice. It is executed with characteristic care and thoroughness, full of compact learning in a readable form; and it fills a place occupied by no other work in English, nor, on a similar scale, elsewhere. It has a number of facsimiles of MSS. and other illustrations, and is very cheap at its price. The present volume comes down to about 1350; and Dr. Sandys promises a second volume, to deal with the history of modern scholarship.

Lectures on Classical Subjects. By W. R. HARDIE. Pp. x + 348. Macmillan: London, 1903. 7s. net.

Five of these lectures, on (1) the feeling for nature in the Greek and Roman poets, (2) the beliefs of the Greeks and Romans concerning a life after death, (3) the supernatural in ancient poetry and story, (4) the Age of Gold, (5) the vein of romance in Greek and Roman literature, deal with the ideas embodied in classical literature; two,—on (6) the language of poetry, and (7) the metrical form of poetry,—with its form; two—on (8) literary criticism at Rome, (9) a sketch of the revival and progress of classical studies in Europe—with its history; while the last is on the aims and methods of classical study. Of these the seventh is the most important contribution to classical scholarship. The rest are mainly popular, but popular in the best sense, giving clear, if slight, studies of the several topics by a scholar endowed with taste and a full knowledge of the literatures in question.

The Makers of Hellas: a critical inquiry into the philosophy and religion of Ancient Greece, by E. E. G. With an introduction, notes, and conclusion, by F. B. Jevons. Pp. xxix + 711. C. Griffin and Co.: London, 1903. 10s. 6d. net.

The author of this work, who wished to remain anonymous, died before it was quite completed, and left it to Dr. Jevons to see through the press. It is a history of Greek religious thought, based, not on mythology or archaeology, but on the literature. Preliminary chapters on the land, language, and people are followed by an examination successively of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Plato, and Aristotle. The pre-Platonic philosophers are hardly touched at all, but for the rest the book is the result of a full study of the great writers.

Aristophanis Comoediae Undecim cum Scholiis: Codex Ravennas 137, 4 A., phototypice editus. Praefatus est J. VAN LEEUWEN, J.f. Pp. xxxviii + 384. Sijthoff: Leyden, 1904. £10.

This reproduction of the Codex Ravennas in Sijthoff's well-known series, following close upon the edition of the Codex Venetus by the Archaeological Society of America and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, places the principal authorities for the text and scholia of Aristophanes beyond the reach of destruction, and makes them accessible to scholars in all parts of the world. The plates are as good as usual, and Prof. van Leeuwen's introduction deals fully with the character of the MS., and especially with the various classes of transcriptional errors found in it. In date it is assigned to the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. The superiority of the Venetus in respect of the scholia is not disputed.

H. Schliemann's Sammlung Trojänischer Alterthümer. By HUBERT SCHMIDT, etc. Pp. xx + 354. 9 plates and 1176 figures in text. Berlin: Reimer, 1902. 20 m.

This is the authorized *catalogue raisonné* of the Schliemann collection in Berlin, as it has now been rearranged in the light of the further discoveries made at Hissarlik since Schliemann's death. The products of Stratum I are kept apart: those of II-V are grouped together, subject however to distinction not only of the strata, but of the three successive periods of construction visible in the remains of II: VI-VII go together as 'Mycenaean': and VIII-IX as Greek and Roman. A little comparison of objects from other sites is introduced,—mainly objects of Cypriote provenance. The comparative dates, which Crete would supply, are not given: indeed Cretan evidence seems to have come to light too late to be of use for this catalogue. The catalogue is profusely illustrated with small cuts; and the nine plates are devoted exclusively to the spinning-whorls, now arranged in series according to their ornamentation.

Geschichte der Baukunst. Von R. BORRMANN and J. NEUWIRTH. 1 Band, Die Baukunst des Altertums, der Sassaniden, und des Islam. Leipzig: Seemann, 1904. 8 m. 50; in linen, 10 m.

The first volume of this work is by Prof. Borrmann; in the preface it is stated to have been begun as a new edition of Lübke, though it has now taken an independent form. The only part that strictly concerns this Journal is Griechenland, pp. 87-173, though of course there is much that has Hellenic relations in the architecture of the east and of Italy. On so small a scale only the barest sketch is possible; but, within its limits, the account is clear and well up to date, including recent discoveries at Cnossus, Miletus, Delos, etc. In some cases brevity may be misleading; for example, on p. 147 the plan of the Hall at Eleusis is given in a form it did not assume until Roman times; yet in the text the only comment is that the portico of Philo was a late addition. Again, in a popular work, it may cause confusion to see figures from the Parthenon frieze drawn as part of the frieze of the Erechtheum. The treatment is systematic: first come buildings of the Mycenaean age; then classical Greece, the greater part of the space being assigned to the temple, and halls, civil buildings, theatres, etc., being very briefly treated; and then the Alexandrian age, mainly Pergamene, with a short account of private houses.

Die Archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen. Herausgegeben von THEODOR WIEGAND unter Mitwirkung von W. DOERPFELD, E. GILLIÉRON, H. SCHRADER, C. WATZINGER und W. WILBERG. 1 Vol. of text, pp. 233, 247 illustrations; 1 vol. of 17 plates. Cassel and Leipsic: Fisher and Co., 1904. 60 m.

A searching and brilliant examination of the archaic 'poros-stone' sculptures of the Acropolis, considered in relation to the various buildings supposed to have contained them. The first and most striking reconstruction is that of the 'old Hecatompodon,' which is shown to have been a temple *in antis*, with polychrome decoration. The front pedimental group consisted of two halves, separated by a tree stem in the centre. In the right half was the well-known figure of Typhon, and in the left half the group of Heracles and the Triton. Hitherto these subjects have not been regarded as belonging to the same pediment. The rear pedimental group consisted of a central figure of a goddess, presumably Athene; an enthroned figure of Zeus on the left, turned towards the centre, and a corresponding figure, now entirely lost, on the right. Towards the angles were two large serpents, whose convoluted tails filled the remainder of the space. This primitive sculpture, assigned approximately to the time of Solon, is supposed to have been demolished in the time of Peisistratus, when the old temple *in antis* became the nucleus of the hexastyle

temple, of which the foundations remain between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum. One pediment consisted of a gigantomachia with the well-known group of Athene and a fallen giant in the centre of the composition.

Five smaller Doric buildings (numbered from A to E) of poros-stone are also inferred to have existed from the remains of their various entablatures. The description of these structures is followed by an account of the minor unassigned fragments. The most remarkable group of these compose a portion of a pedimental subject and seem to represent a small Doric building, with a temenos wall, the branches of an olive tree, a figure as of a priestess carrying a burden on her head, and a nude heroic figure. The conjecture is offered that we have a representation of the old Erechtheum, with the sacred olive, and a figure of one of the heroes connected with the temple.

Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums. By WALTHER AMELUNG. Band I. Text (8vo.) pp. x+935. With 121 plates (4to.). Published under the auspices of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute. Berlin: Reimer, 1903.

This is the first volume (text and plates) of the long looked-for catalogue of the Vatican sculptures. It deals with the collections of the Braccio Nuovo, the Galleria Lapidaria, the Museo Chiaramonti, and the Giardino della Pigna. The objects are dealt with under their official numbers, which follow in sequence round the galleries. The order is therefore arbitrary in respect of subject, style, or place of discovery, but suits the convenience of visitors to the Museum. The history of each object, so far as known, its material, restorations, and literature are very carefully given, and in most instances an attempt is made to define the period. For the first time, the catalogue of a large Museum of Sculpture is illustrated throughout by collotype plates, showing every object. The author does not seem, however, to have adopted the logical consequence, and to have modified his verbal descriptions, on account of the abundant illustrations.

Die Eleusinischen Göttinnen. Entwicklung ihrer Typen in der Attischen Plastik. By MAX RUHLAND. Pp. xi+108. 3 plates and 8 illustrations. Strassburg: Trubner, 1901. 5 m.

The book is mainly occupied with a minute examination of the sculptural types of Demeter and Persephone, which can be referred to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Starting with the great Eleusinian relief of the two goddesses and Triptolemus, the author finds the nearest parallel (in the round) to the Demeter in the statue at Cherchel, published not long ago by Kekulé von Stradonitz. To this he assigns an Attic origin of about 400 B.C. The type represented by a Demeter in the Capitoline Museum, which Overbeck had regarded as connected with the Demeter of the relief, he takes to be a later development in the school of Alcamenes, of about 420 B.C. In the same way two variant types of Persephone are connected with the Persephone of the relief. Further sections discuss a fifth century throned Demeter, a fourth century Demeter with a veil, a Persephone with a mantle, and a Demeter with a mantle. The last section is devoted to a lost group of the two goddesses, the mother seated and the daughter standing, and to the group of Damophon of Messene.

Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes. By M. COLLIGNON and L. COUVE. Plates, with explanatory text. Pp. 22. 52 plates. Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1904. 25 f.

The appearance of an Atlas to accompany the Catalogue of the Athens vases (see vol. xxiii. p. 209), is a matter for much satisfaction. In 52 photographic plates, illustrations of

256 vases are given, and special attention has been paid to the forms of the vases, in order to include besides the ordinary shapes all those which are rare or exceptional. Naturally this entails a considerable preponderance of the earlier fabrics. As regards the sixth and fifth century vases photography can never be a very satisfactory medium for reproduction, but it is claimed that in view of the complete descriptions given in the previous volume, a comparatively rough presentment of the principal specimens will suffice. The plates are preceded by a summary catalogue or *résumé* of their contents, giving dimensions, subjects, and bibliographical notices of the vases. Thus the volume is intended to give the student a general idea of the contents of the collection, but not to provide definitive publications of the vase-paintings.

Griechische Vasenmalerei: Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder. By A. FURTWAENGLER and K. REICHOLD. Parts V-VI. With 20 plates. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1903-1904. Each 40 m. (See vol. xxiii. p. 209.)

The completion of the series promised us by Herren Furtwaengler and Reichhold has been reached, and it is satisfactory to note that in view of the favourable support it has received, a second series is now promised. The two parts under consideration include twenty-three vases, all but five of the red-figure period. Part V. is devoted entirely to Dionysiac subjects, and includes the famous Würzburg Phineus cup, the beautiful Exekias cup in Munich, others by Chelis, Hieron, and Brygos, and the Duris p-ykter in the British Museum. In Part VI. we have the Caeretan Hydria in Vienna with the subject of Busiris, two cups by Duris, three R. F. pyxides in the British Museum together with the magnificent lebes from Gergenti formerly in the Forman collection, and the Phaon Krater at Palermo, with its interesting subject, which is almost certainly from the hand of Meidias. The reproductions are fully up to the mark of the previous numbers, and the text as usual is illumined by Prof. Furtwaengler's acute criticisms and valuable suggestions.

Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. By P. DI CESNOLA. Vol. III. Pp. 284, and 150 plates. New York, 1903.

After an interval of several years the publication of the Descriptive Atlas of the Cypriote Antiquities in the Cesnola Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has been resumed and completed in the appearance of the third volume in five parts. The third volume deals with the objects in gold, silver, bronze, lead, rock crystal, glass, Egyptian pottery, alabaster, ivory, bone, seals and cylinders, engraved gems, and inscribed stones. The purpose of the book is to present illustrations of the objects accompanied by a text which is purely descriptive. The objects are grouped by their nature, and not by their places of discovery, which are given in the text when known. The illustrations are amply sufficient for objects of minor importance, but little attempt seems to have been made to discriminate between the important and the trivial, and to illustrate the former in a really adequate fashion. The volume has been prepared, under the general supervision of General Cesnola, by Messrs C. R. Gillett and J. H. Hall.

Die Typen der Figürlichen Terrakotten. [Vol. III. of Die Antiken Terrakotten.] By Dr. F. WINTER. 2 Teile. T. 1, pp. cxxx + 272; T. 2, pp. 480. Berlin and Stuttgart. 1903.

Dr. Winter's monumental Corpus of terracotta types, begun in 1889, has now appeared and its value to all students of the subject can hardly be overestimated. In addition to

130 pages of introduction, it contains about 1500 outline drawings of typical figures, each carefully described and collated with similar specimens and with full museum and literary references, while a long list of 'Additions and Corrections' at the end of each volume brings the work almost up to the date of publication.

The Introduction, which affords a valuable conspectus of the whole subject, gives, under geographical headings and subheadings (*e.g.* Greece, Athens, etc.) a short survey of the general characteristics and circumstances of the principal finds, with references to the plates on which the various 'types' are figured. This is followed by the 'Corpus of Types,' volume i. containing those of earlier, volume ii. those of later style; in this section of his work Dr. Winter is solely guided by questions of style and subject. Volume i. contains all primitive figures, including those painted in Mycenaean and Geometric style and Rhodian and Cypriote specimens; next the archaic types, divided into the two main groups of male and female, which are again subdivided into seated and standing figures, groups, caricatures, etc. In volume ii., which deals with later types, the same principles of subdivision are followed, only that the subdivisions are more numerous as it is possible also to group the figures by their attributes and actions, *i.e.* *female figures*, standing; indefinite; dancing and playing; Niké, female figures with wings. *Male figures*, seated; youths; crouching boys; Erotes; groups.

Great pains have been taken to verify all references and wherever possible the museum numbers are given, though, considering how often the latter change, it was hardly worth while to do so. It is however a further proof of the care with which the Corpus has been compiled.

Catalogue of Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. By H. B. WALTERS. 4to. Pp. 469. With 44 plates. Printed by order of the Trustees. 1903. 35s.

This volume, the eighth of the fully illustrated catalogues published by the Department during the last ten years, makes the collection of terracotta statuettes for the first time accessible to those who cannot study it in the Museum. It includes everything exhibited in the Terracotta and Etruscan Rooms with the exception of the lamps, the moulded and glazed ware, and the moulds of Arretine vases, in all 3018 objects, and is profusely illustrated, with 44 plates (of which 30 are collotypes), and numerous woodcuts in the text.

The classification adopted is, in the main, geographical; the Greek terracottas (with the exception of those from Cyprus) are grouped under *B* (Archaic) and *C* (Later Periods); the Italian ones of Later Period under *D*; stamps, moulds, and seals under *E*. All the Cypriote figures which, throughout a period of (circ.) 800 years, show marked local peculiarities, are grouped together under *A*.

Mr. Walters prefaces his catalogue with a very interesting and useful Introduction, in which he deals with the history of the collection, the fictile art in antiquity, the methods employed in making the statuettes, and the different centres of productions. The vexed questions of the use and meaning of the figures, and the date of the 'Tanagras' are clearly stated, with the conclusions now generally adopted. The work is completed by a full index.

Ausgewählte Griechische Terrakotten im Antiquarium der k. Museum zu Berlin. By Dr. E. PERNICE. Herausg. von der Generalverwaltung. Pp. 28. 37 plates. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1903. 27 m. (bound, 30 m.)

An official publication of the Greek terracottas in the Berlin Museum, with the exception of those from Tanagra. The specimens are mainly from Athens, Megara, and Corinth, but the classification adopted is neither purely geographical nor strictly according to style. Dr. Pernice's text is confined to details of height, dress, gesture, etc., with special attention

to an accurate description of all existing traces of colour. References are given to Dr. Winter's 'Typenkatalog.'

The collotype process of reproduction has been employed, as giving the best rendering of the uneven and often mottled surface of the terracottas, which are shewn five-sixths of their natural size.

Antike Schnitzereien aus Elfenbein und Knochen in photographischer Nachbildung.

By H. GRAEVEN. Serie I. [Nos. 1-80]. Text, 8vo. Pp. 134. Plates, fol. Hannover: Th. Schäfer, 1903. 36 m.

Dr. Graeven's new work consists of a small volume of text with one plate and twelve woodcuts, and an album of eighty photographs. It deals with ivory and bone carvings in all the principal Italian Museums, excepting the Vatican, where the forthcoming publication by Father Ehrle (*Avori della Bibliotheca Vaticana*) made a further one unnecessary, and the new Capitoline Museum, where permission to photograph was refused.

The photographs are all to scale; the text gives full details about each object, its place of discovery and its bibliography.

Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstage. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Griechisch-Römischen Alterthumskunde. Pp. 513. 1 plate and engraved portrait. Berlin: Weidmann, 1903. 20 m.

This is a collection, of the accustomed type, of brief essays by sixty-three contributors, gathered together in one volume, issued in honour of the sixtieth birthday (March 16, 1903) of Professor Otto Hirschfeld. A fine etched portrait of that distinguished scholar forms the frontispiece. The contributions, first among which is one by the late Th. Mommsen, deal with questions of history, epigraphy, papyri, Roman law, provincial history and antiquities, religion, numismatics, and architecture. To these must be added a few papers touching on literature and scholarship.

Les Monnaies antiques de l'Italie. By ARTHUR SAMBON. Tome I. Fasc. I (ÉTRURIE). Pp. vi+84. With 125 Cuts in the Text and a Photographic Plate. Paris: Bureaux du 'Musée,' 1903. 6 f.

This is the first instalment of what promises to be an important enterprise, a *corpus* of the ancient coins of Italy. No attempt is to be made to compile an exhaustive list of published specimens, but it is hoped to include all known varieties. While the geographical order of the districts is to be retained, the alphabetical arrangement of cities is to be discarded in order to secure greater clearness in the historical explanations. Apparently the question of dies is not to receive much attention. Evidence of *provenance* is, however, to be carefully recorded. A special feature is the effort to estimate the current commercial value of each variety. The engravings in the text are all from the author's own drawings. The advantages attaching to this are obvious, although the plan is not without its dangers, especially where obscure legends have to be reproduced. The classification of the coins of Etruria is beset with so many difficulties, metrological and other, that one turns with keen anticipation to any fresh essay to grapple with the problem. Mr. Sambon has no startling theories to propound. He frankly confesses that, in the meantime, no satisfactory solution seems possible, and he therefore contents himself with a sober and careful statement of facts. The general result is to make it increasingly probable that a large proportion of the uninscribed coins were minted at Populonia. It becomes clear too that Head was right in declining to accept Deecke's theory as to a chronological succession of the standards. The

Euhoic and the Coreyean (or Persic, as Sambon prefers to consider it) were employed for a long time simultaneously within the limits of Etruria. Materials are given for forming a judgment on the relation of the bronze currency to the coinage of Rome. On grounds of style Sambon rejects Babelon's attractive suggestion as to a connection between Hannibal's Italian campaign and the small bronze pieces that have for types a negro's head and an elephant.

Jewish Coins. By THÉODORE REINACH. Translated by MARY HILL, with an Appendix by G. F. HILL. Pp. xv + 77. With 12 Photographic Plates, and 5 cuts in the Text. London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1903. 3s. 6d.

The well known *Monnaies juives* of M. Théod. Reinach is here presented in a very attractive English dress. The book, however, is more than a translation. It is really a new edition, specially revised by the author. Reinach now abandons his attribution to the First Revolt of the familiar shekel with the jewelled cup and the flowering lily, and assigns them once more to the Maccabæan period. He bases his change of view on grounds of historical probability; the difficulties of style and fabric are but lightly touched on. As a general guide to Jewish coins, especially in their relation to Jewish history, no sketch could be more luminous or more interesting. Mr. Hill's appendix deals with a curious chapter in the annals of coin forgery. The illustrations are very good.

Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON. Pp. xxii + 674. Cambridge University Press, 1903. 15s.

This book establishes from ritual evidence the importance of 'certain neglected aspects of Greek religion.' The author first seeks to show that the familiar distinction between 'Olympian' and 'Chthonian' ritual was based on a fundamental difference of intention. The Olympians received 'cheerful tendance' (*θεραπεία*), the underworld powers were the objects of systematic 'aversion' (*ἀποτροπή*). Following Prof. Ridgeway, the Olympians are regarded as the gods of immigrant conquerors, the Chthonians as those of the indigenous race. Hence *θεραπεία* and *ἀποτροπή* represent, not complementary aspects of one primitive religion, but the leading principles of two never wholly reconciled faiths. Apotropaic rites are shown to play an important part in the Anthesteria, Thargelia, and Thesmophoria, but the presence in the two latter of equally primitive 'rites of induction' tells against the author's theory, which seems indeed to invert the natural sequence of ideas. For unless early man conceived of the unseen potencies enveloping him as evil *per se*, and not till later as 'good to me or bad to me,' avoidance pure and simple cannot have been his sole method of dealing with them. Again, the distinction so sharply drawn between Achæan and Pelasgian religion should surely not be based on Homeric evidence. Homer's Achæans are after all not Prof. Ridgeway's, nor can we be certain how far the religion of the Northern invaders, at its entry into Greece, differed from its Epic afterglow. Three chapters on the evolution of divinities, while admirably illuminating dark corners of demonology, do not bridge the gulf between it and theology. One great factor in the making of a god seems left out of sight, viz. the savage conception of the physical solidarity of kinship, inherited or sacramentally acquired. With the advent of Dionysus, whose worship is taken as a revivifying graft on the Pelasgian stock, the author reaches firmer ground, and the book its best chapter. The four concluding chapters form a brilliant and sympathetic study of Orphism, regarded as the raising of the ancient faith of Greece to its highest spiritual expression by the genius of a great reformer. Mr. Gilbert Murray's Critical Appendix on the Orphic Tablets is a valuable supplement to this part of the work. In illustrating her arguments, Miss Harrison has throughout made effective use of her profound knowledge of vase-paintings.

Cilicia. By FRANZ X. SCHAFER. [141st *Ergänzungsheft* zu Petermanns Mitteilungen.] Pp. 110. 2 maps, 5 figures. Gotha : Perthes, 1903. 12 m.

Dr. Schaffer's exploration of Cilicia during the years 1900 and 1901 was made mainly in the interests of the natural sciences, especially geology. But he did not neglect archaeology altogether, and contributed a paper to the *Jahreshefte* of the Vienna Arch. Inst. on the route taken by Cyrus' general Menon across Taurus. The substance of this he now includes in his general account of the whole region, and notices briefly other questions of ancient history and topography, *e.g.* the situation of Mallus and Mopsukrene ; the former navigability of the Cydnus ; and the passes across Taurus. He describes with some fulness the ruins of Tarsus, Anazarba, Elaeousa-Sebaste and Olba, and mentions in passing many minor monuments of the Greek, Roman, and Lesser Armenian periods.

Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum edidit WILHELMUS DITTENBERGER. Vol. I. Pp. viii. + 658. Leipzig : Hirzel, 1903. 18 m.

In the Preface to the second edition of the indispensable *Sylloge*, the author promised a supplement containing a selection of Greek inscriptions of the East. The first volume of this Supplement now appears, two years only after the completion of the *Sylloge*. The book is arranged on the same plan ; the inscriptions themselves are not provided with descriptive titles, but reference is facilitated by headlines giving somewhat more detailed information. It is hardly necessary to speak of the high quality of the work, or to point out how convenient to the historian is the inclusion in one volume of new critical editions of monuments like the Canopus Decree, the Rosetta Stone, the Adule inscription, the Ilian law concerning tyrants, the Smyrna-Magnesia treaty, the dispute between Mytilene and Pitane, the Nemrud-Dagh inscriptions. The 434 inscriptions are classified under the following heads : (1) Regna Alexandri, Antigoni, Demetrii, Lysimachi ; (2) Regnum Lagidarum ; (3) Nubia et Aethiopia ; (4) Regnum Seleucidarum ; (5) Regnum Attalidarum ; (6) Regna Asiana Minora (Bithynia, Galatia, Iudaea, etc.) ; (7) Regna Arsacidarum et Sasanidarum. The largest numbers naturally fall to the Ptolemies (183), Seleucids (53) and Attalids (76). Recently published inscriptions of importance are reserved for Vol. II., which is to contain inscriptions relating to the Roman provinces, down to the time of Justinian, and Indices.

Inscriptiones Graecae consilio et auctor. Acad. Litt. Reg. Boruss. editae. Vol. XII. Inscriptiones Insularum Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. Fascic. V. Pars Prior. Inscriptiones Cycladum praeter Tenum. Ed. by F. HILLER DE GAERTINGEN. Pp. v. + 227. Berlin : Reimer, 1903. 24 m.

The present part of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions contains 797 inscriptions, of Ios, Sicinos, Naxos, Paros, Olios, Siphnos, Seriphos, Cythnos, Ceos, Gyaros, Syros, and Andros. Among the new or recently published inscriptions are : No. 109, treaty between the Parians and Thasians. c. 411 B.C. ; No. 114, decree in honour of Cephisophon for services rendered to Paros and Thasos ; No. 444, the Parian Chronicle, with the new fragment ; No. 445, the Archilochus inscription ; No. 489, the Siphnian version of the Athenian fifth century decree regulating the coinage, weights, and measures of the allies ; No. 481, Siphnian decree in honour of Perigenes, admiral of Ptolemy Philopator, who was in the Aegean in 217 B.C., after the battle of Raphia.

Ächtung und Verbannung im griechischen Recht. Von PAUL USTERI.
Inaugural-Dissertation, Zurich. Pp. viii + 172. Berlin: Weidmann, 1903. 6 m.

This work is divided into two parts. The first deals with outlawry, the second with banishment. The method followed is that of collecting from literature and inscriptions instances in which outlawry and banishment are threatened as penalties for particular crimes, and in which these punishments are recorded as having been inflicted upon particular persons. In Part I cases of outlawry pronounced as penalty for offences in Attica are first brought together, after that similar penalties threatened in places outside Attica. Thus the law of the Hypocnemidian Locrians relating to a colony at Naupactos threatens outlawry as the penalty for attempted repeal. Specific cases follow, within or without Attica, in which the penalty of outlawry was actually inflicted. Finally conclusions are drawn from these instances. It is pointed out that a variety of words—*ἄτιμος*, *ἀγώγιμος*, *πολέμιος*, *ἔκσπονδος*—are used of the outlaw, but that the first expression is old and falls into disuse at Athens towards the end of the fifth century. Outlawry is a punishment inflicted particularly for offences against the community as a whole. An appendix is devoted to a discussion of the difference between *ἀτιμία* = *capitis diminutio* and *ἀτιμία* = outlawry. Part II deals with banishment, first as the result of a judicial sentence, secondly as coming into effect *ipso iure*. Then follow cases of banishment for political reasons, whether pronounced by the banished persons' own government (cf. the banishment of Alcibiades and Xenophon), or enforced by a foreign power, e.g. the banishment of the Messenians by the Spartans 455 B.C. An interesting *Excursus* discusses cases of banishment in the First and Second Athenian Confederacies. The treatment of banishment in the latter Confederacy is very useful, though the author does not altogether avoid the error of drawing too wide conclusions from very scanty evidence. The remainder of the book is occupied with the attitude, favourable or otherwise, assumed by foreign states to those banished for political reasons, and with an examination of the various amnesties recorded in Greek history. The work is well arranged and admirably indexed.

Griechische Geschichte. Bis zur Schlacht bei Chaeroneia. Von DR. GEORG BUSOLT.
BAND III. Teil 2. Der Peloponnesische Krieg. Pp. xxxv. + 1049. Handbucher der alten Geschichte. II. Serie. Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1904. 18 m.

In this massive volume the author tells in continuous narrative the whole story of the Peloponnesian War. Taking into account the size of its page, the book is rather longer than the two and a half volumes which Grote devoted to the same subject. Nor does it deal at all with Literature and Art, or speculate on Weltanschauung. It is a detailed record of events, concise, weighty, and severe. As the fullest modern commentary on Thucydides, it ought to be in the hands of all who deal with him. 167 pages are devoted to Sources, and the modern literature on the subject is adequately noticed, and, at least in the case of German work, well digested. Many interesting pages are devoted to financial matters, and to the strength of the forces engaged on either side. Proportion is well maintained, and the judgments given are fair and reasonable. There are no maps and plans. The absence of an Index, which will presumably come at the end of the whole work, is rendered less serious by a full table of contents, and a strictly chronological arrangement of subject matter.

Griechische Geschichte. Von JULIUS BELOCH. Dritter Band. Die Griechische Weltherrschaft. Erste Abteilung. Pp. xiv. + 759. Strassburg: K. J. Trubner. 1904. 9 m.

In this volume the author carries his history from Alexander's entry into Ekbatana in 330 B.C. to the peace between Philip and the Aetolian League in 217 B.C. An introduction deals with the old question whether the Macedonians were Greeks, and answers it vigorously in the affirmative. Separate chapters are devoted to the development of industry, to the general conditions of society, to literature and art, to Wissenschaft, to Weltanschauung. As might be expected from the author of the *Bevölkerung der Griechisch-romischen Welt*, pages of interest are devoted to statistics of population, and the new evidence furnished by papyri is used on this and other questions. The rest of the book is concerned with the general aspects of constitutional changes and the general march of events. It does not attempt to give details, but, like the volumes that preceded it, is the impression of a period formed by a thoughtful and original mind. The second part of the third volume is announced as already in the press, and to be published at Easter. It will apparently carry the History no further in point of date than the present volume, but will discuss sources, and deal in greater detail with special chronological and constitutional points. It will also contain an index to both Parts, and maps. It may be hoped that some competent English scholar will at once get Dr. Beloch's permission to take in hand the translation of both parts. The fact that all specialists now read German should not mean, as it unfortunately does, that hardly any German works are translated, and that the general public of English students and English schoolmasters is brought less directly into touch with modern German thought than it ever was.

Probleme aus der Griechischen Kriegsgeschichte. By DR. GUSTAV ROLOFF. Pp. viii + 141. Berlin: E. Ebering, 1903. 4 m. 80.

This book is a vigorous criticism of J. Kromayer's *Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland*, noticed in the last volume of this Journal. A general introduction on the method of ancient military history, and Kromayer's treatment of his sources, especially Polybius, is followed by a chapter on Epaminondas' strategy, and another on his tactics. Having in these chapters challenged Kromayer's account of the Battle of Mantinea (B.C. 362), Roloff devotes only six pages to Chaeronea (B.C. 338), not going into detail over what is one of the most interesting parts of Kromayer's work, his reconstruction of the chronology of the campaign. The campaign of Sellasia (B.C. 221) he discusses at length, and ends the book with a chapter on the Battle of Mantinea (B.C. 207). The whole book is frankly an attack on Kromayer, and to a large extent a defence of Delbrück's views, as presented in his *Kriegskunst*. Students of Polybius will find it valuable to read Kromayer and Roloff side by side, even if they are not immediately concerned with the particular battles discussed.

Cyrus. Entstehung und Blüte der altorientalischen Kulturwelt. By ERNEST LINDL. Weltgeschichte in Charakterbildern hrsg. v. F. Kämpers, etc. Erste Abteilung. Pp. 121. Kirchheim: München, 1903. 4 m.

The first title of this book is misleading. It is not in any sense a monograph on Cyrus. Indeed there are only about two pages directly concerned with him. The book only justifies itself in regard to its second title: it is an account of the ancient civilisations of the East, written from the popular point of view, but, so far as can be judged, sound and accurate. There are 98 excellent illustrations, 5 pages of chronological tables, and a well engraved map of Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Herodot und sein Geschichtswerk. Von A. Höck. Pp. 144. 1 Plate.
Gutersloh : Bertelsmann, 1904.

A volume of Hoffmann's Gymnasial-Bibliothek, containing an introduction on historical writing before Herodotus, life of Herodotus, account of his travels, analysis of his work, etc.

The following books have also been received :—

Die Schrift der Mykenen. Eine Untersuchung über System und Lautwert der von A. J. Evans entdeckten vorphonizischen Schriftzeichen. Von H. KLUGE. Pp. viii + 110. 4 Schrifttafeln u. 80 Abbildungen. Cöthen : Schulze, 1897.

Euripides der Dichter der griechischen Aufklärung. Von W. NESTLE. Pp. xiii + 595. 1 Pl. Stuttgart : Kohlhammer, 1901.

Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum, 1898-1904. A Handbook. By E. BURTON-BROWN. With Preface by Comm. BONI. Pp. xvi + 210. Illustrations and Plans. London : Murray, 1904.

Das Floss der Odyssee, sein Bau und sein phoinikischer Ursprung von E. ASSMANN. Pp. 31. 4 cuts. Berlin : Weidmann, 1904. 60 pf.

Didymes : Fouilles de 1895 et 1896. Par E. PONTREMOLI et B. HAUSSOULLIER. Pp. viii + 185. 20 PLATES and 63 cuts. Paris : Leroux, 1903. 75 fr.

Greek Sculpture, its spirit and principles. By E. von MACH. Pp. xviii + 357. 40 Plates, 32 full-page illustrations. Boston, U.S.A. : Ginn, 1903. 15s. net.

The Homeric Hymns ed. with preface, apparatus criticus, notes, and appendices, by T. W. ALLEN and E. E. SIKES. Pp. lxxviii + 330. London : Macmillan, 1904. 10s. 6d.

Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité. Par G. PERROT et CH. CHIRIEZ. Tome VIII. La Grèce Archaique. La Sculpture. Par G. Perrot. Pp. xv + 756. 15 Plates, 352 cuts in text, 11 cuts-de-lampe. Paris : Hachette, 1904.

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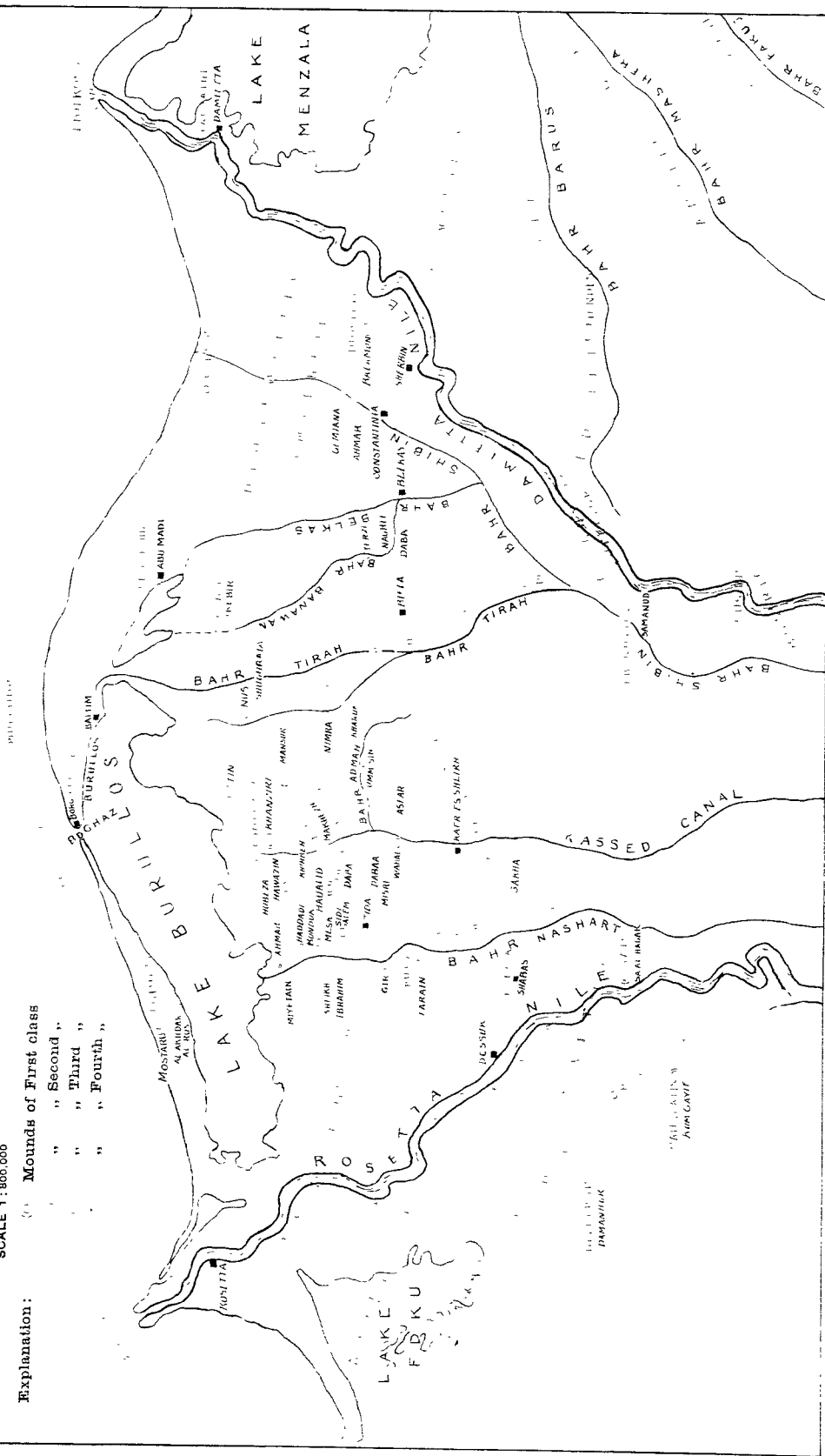
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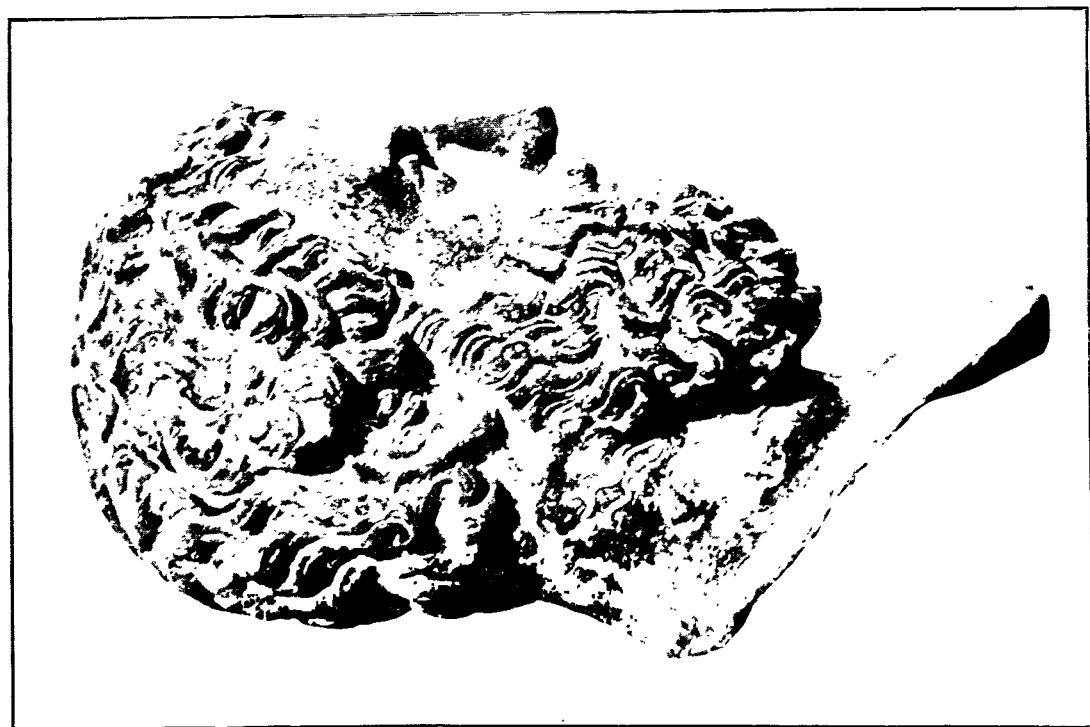
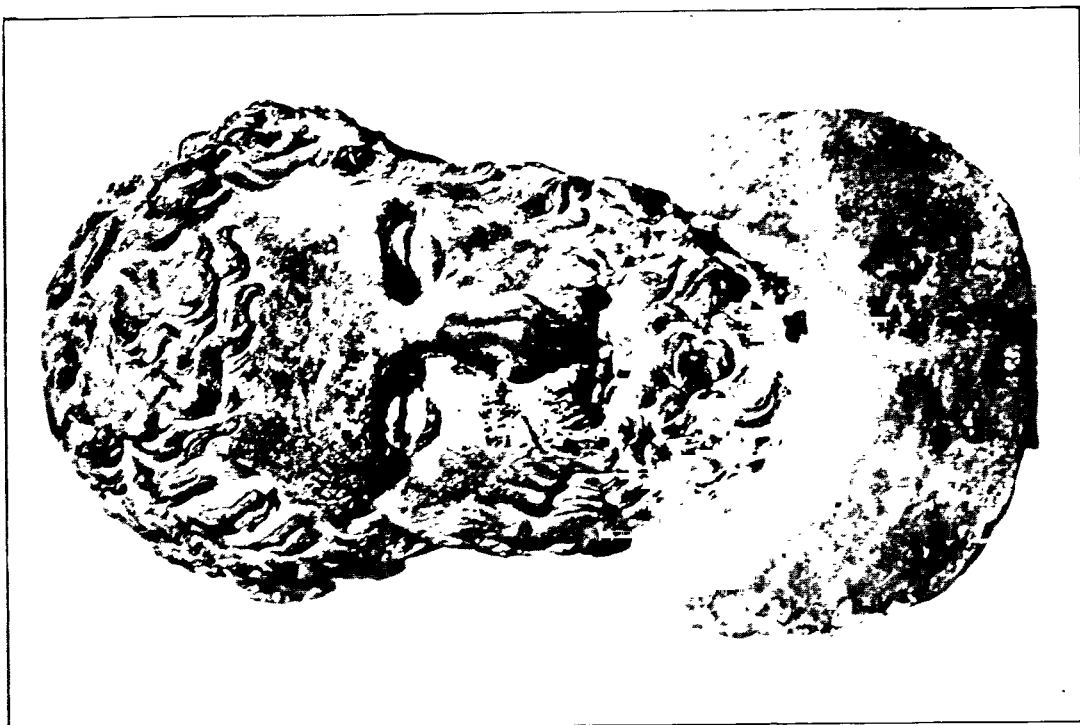
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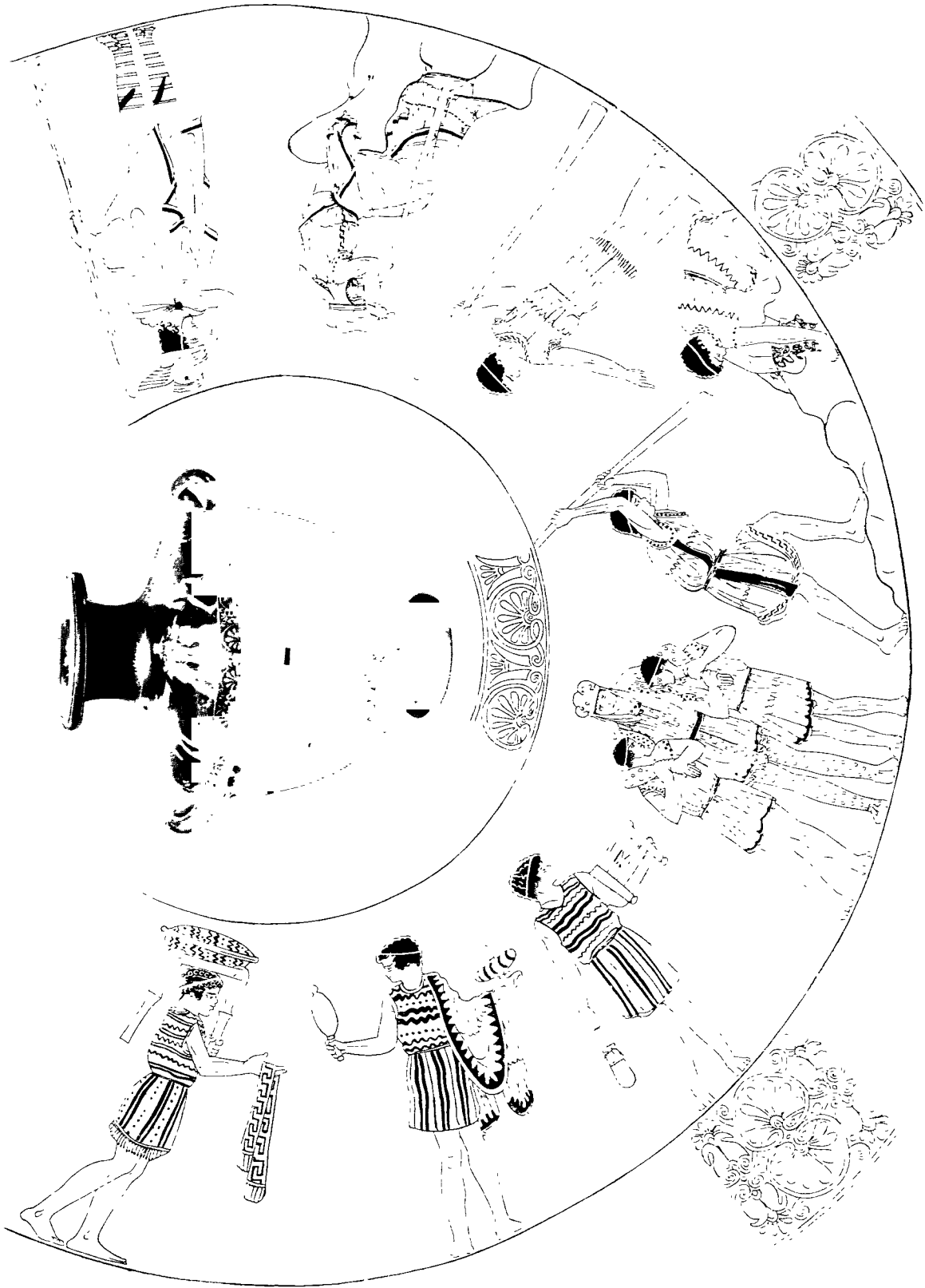
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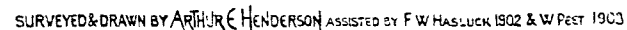
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HYDRIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



FURTHER NOTES ON THE GREEK JUMP.

IN my last article I tried to show that there is no adequate evidence for the statement that the Greek frequently jumped fifty feet or more, and still less for the theories of a 'triple jump' or a 'hop, skip, and jump,' which have been suggested simply to explain such a record. Other misconceptions are due to the same cause. The old idea, that the rods which so frequently occur in vase-paintings of the palaestra are jumping-poles, has been long since abandoned, and they are now recognised as akontia, or possibly measuring rods (*καρόνες*). On a black-figured kelebe in the British Museum¹ (Fig. 1), we see a bearded athlete carefully laying down rods as if to measure a jump, while another with rods in his hands watches him. The other figures are a diskobolos, akontistes, and flute-player. If we can connect the kneeling figure with the jump, we have a typical Pentathlon scene, but as the akontion is frequently represented as a plain rod without a point, the precise object of these rods is sometimes difficult to determine. They may be akontia, or they may be measuring rods, and possibly they served for both purposes: at all events no one now regards them as jumping-poles.

But it is still sometimes stated that the Greeks used a springboard. That the springboard (*πέταρον*) was known to the Greeks and was used by acrobats, is shown by the literary evidence and by the monuments,² but there is not the slightest indication that it was used by athletes either in practice or in competition. Nor are we justified in saying that the Greeks jumped from a height. French and German writers, following Dr. Krause,³ tell us that the Greeks practised the various forms of jump known to the modern gymnasium, the high jump, the long jump, and the deep jump. But beyond Dr. Krause's authority the evidence in literature and art for any form of jump except the long jump is practically non-existent. We have a single passage from Seneca, who speaks of 'saltus vel ille qui corpus in altum levat vel ille qui in longum mittit vel ille, ut ita dicam, saliaris aut ut contumeliosius dicam, fullonius.'⁴ Such a statement is no evidence as to the practice of the Greeks, and even if it were, there is no ground for explaining

¹ *B. M. Vases*, B. 361.

² *F. Krause, Gymnastik der Hell.* p. 325.
n. 3. For a representation of the springboard

c. Inghirami, *Muse. Chies.* cxviii. from a Chiusi wall-painting.

³ *Op. cit.* 385.

⁴ *Sen. ep.* xv.

the 'saltus saliaris' as a deep jump. The expression would be more appropriate to an exercise such as skipping, hopping, or jumping up and down in the same place, after the manner of a fuller treading clothes, an exercise actually described by Lucian, and well known in our own physical drill.⁵ M. de Ridder,⁶ indeed, enumerates a number of vase-paintings as representing either the high jump or the deep jump. These will be discussed later;⁷ for the present, it is sufficient to say that most of them undoubtedly represent the long jump, a few possibly represent the high jump, none can possibly represent the deep jump. On the other hand, we know that the long

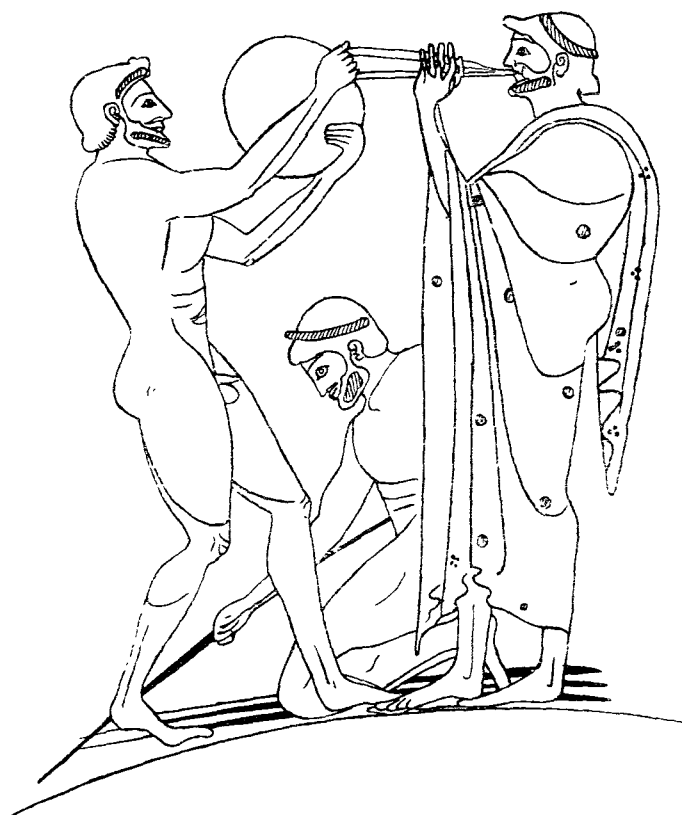


FIG. 1.—B. F. KELEBE. B.M. 361.

jump formed part of the Pentathlon, and we know of no other competition in jumping. Moreover, the silence of Philostratus, Aristotle, and other writers who mention the long jump is strong evidence that if, as is not unlikely, the

⁵ *Anacharsis*, 4 ἀναπηδῶσιν ὥσπερ θεόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ αἵτου μένοντες καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄνω συναλλόμενοι λακτίζουσιν τὴν ἀέρα. Perhaps the ball-exercise represented on an Attic sepulchral vase, published in *B.C.H.* vii. Pl. 19, is of this character. The treading of the clothes is

represented on the wall paintings of the Fullonica at Pompeii and on a relief in the museum at Sens, *c. Schreiber. Atlas*, lxxv. 7 13.

⁶ *Dar. Sagl. s.c. Italia*.

⁷ § v.

Greeks did practise other forms of jumping in the gymnasia, such forms were considered of quite secondary importance compared with the long jump. And the reason of this is obvious. Greek athletics were largely utilitarian, and in a land without hedges and fences the obstacle which a man would have to jump would be generally a ditch or a stream.⁹ Hence, the long jump must have been useful, the high jump useless, except for such physical training as is described in the passage quoted from Seneca.

Having thus cleared the ground of statements for which there is no authority, we may proceed to discuss the evidence of the monuments as to the method and style of the Greek jumper.

I.—The *Halteres*.

The various forms of halteres have been so carefully examined by Dr. Jüthner¹⁰ that it is only necessary to give a brief summary of his results. The oldest and simplest form is represented by an inscribed halter of lead found at Eleusis and now in the Museum at Athens. It is merely an oblong block of metal with slightly concave sides weighing 1·888 kg., and the inscription in which Epænetus ascribes his success to this halter enables us to assign it to the early part of the sixth century at the latest.¹⁰ On the earliest black-figured vases the halter appears as a nearly semicircular piece of metal or stone, with a deep recess in the straight lower side which affords a grip. The two club-like ends are almost equal, and the effect is that of a curved dumb-bell. This type does not occur after the sixth century, towards the close of which we find the halter improved by an increase in the size of the end held to the front, and a decrease in the hinder part. Numerous modifications of this type are found on the red-figured vases, differing merely in the shape of the club-like ends.¹¹ In the later red-figured vases the actual exercises of the palaestra are seldom represented, but though the halteres are seldom seen in use they constantly appear lying on the ground or suspended on the wall by a cord passed round the two smaller ends, as a symbol of the palaestra in scenes representing the life of the ephebi. To the few existing specimens of this type of halteres enumerated by Dr. Jüthner may be added a pair in the British Museum (Fig. 2). They are of lead, about 8 inches long, 3 inches wide at the thick end, 1½ inches wide at the grip, and about half an inch thick. One of them is much damaged, but the other is perfect, and weighs 2lb. 5oz. Side by side with this type in the fifth century we find another consisting of an oval piece of metal or stone with the ends sometimes pointed, sometimes round, the upper side of which is pierced or hollowed out so as to afford a grip for the thumb and fingers. The existing specimens are of stone and considerably heavier than the leaden halteres which we possess. A pair found at Corinth weigh 2·018 kg. each,¹² and a

⁹ Cp. Lucian, *Anach.* 27 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπεράλλευσσαι τάφρον εἰ δέοι, ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐμπόδιον, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀσκοῦνται ἡμεῖς.

¹⁰ *Antike Trainingsgeräte*, pp. 3-13.

¹¹ *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1883, p. 190.

¹² Jüthner, *op. cit.* Fig. 2.

¹³ *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1883, p. 103.

somewhat similar but more primitive specimen found at Olympia¹³ weighs as much as 4·629 kg. or four times as much as the British Museum weights. This is the type described by Pausanias¹⁴ as represented on the statue of Agon. Elsewhere he speaks of *ἀρχαῖοι ἀλτήρες*;¹⁵ but whether he means by this the club-like or the oval type is not clear. Under the Roman Empire a new cylindrical type of halter makes its appearance.¹⁶ This is merely a long cylinder slightly narrower at the centre than at the ends, and though very useful for dumb-bell exercises cannot have been as serviceable for jumping as the older forms. We know, indeed, from Roman writers and

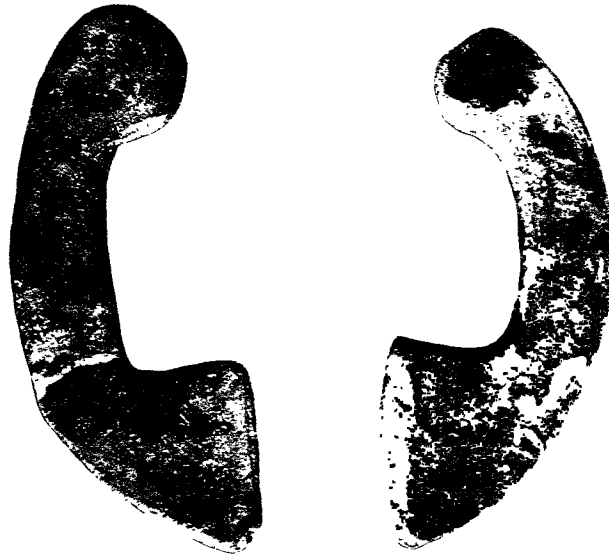


FIG. 2.—HALTERES IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

writers on medicine, that at this period halteres were used chiefly as dumb-bells, and not as jumping weights.¹⁷

II.—*The Method of Using the Halteres.*

The halteres are never mentioned except in connection with the long jump, or as a means of physical training. We have no literary evidence of their use as dumb-bells until Imperial times, and the evidence of the monuments as to their use for this purpose in the fifth century is by no means clear. With regard to their use as jumping-weights the monuments confirm the evidence of literature that they were used exclusively for the long jump: in the only monuments which can possibly represent a high jump the halteres

¹³ Furtwängler, *Bronzen u. d.* iv. p. 180.

¹⁴ Paus. v. 26, 3.

¹⁵ *Id.* v. 27. 12, vi. 3. 10.

¹⁶ Jutlner, *op. cit.* p. 10. 11.

¹⁷ Mart vii. 67. 5. xiv. 49; Seneca, *op.* xv. and lvii.; Antyll. apud Oribas. vi. 14; Galen. *De Sca. Tr.* ii. 9, et.

are absent.¹⁸ The few representations which we have of the actual jump leave us in no doubt as to the manner of using them. Two moments are clearly represented. At the moment of taking off, the hands are swung to the



FIG. 3.—R. F. KYLIX. (From *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, xvi. 2b.)

front, and a Bourguignon kylix shows us the jumper in mid-air, legs and arms extended forwards to their full extent and almost parallel (Fig. 3).¹⁹ Imme-

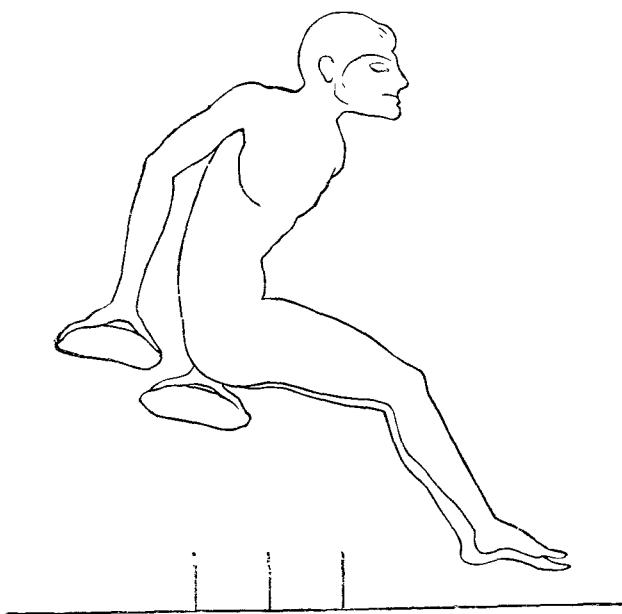


FIG. 4.—B. F. AMPHORA. B. M. B48.

diately before alighting, the arms are forced quickly backwards, a movement which increases the length of the jump and enables the jumper to land

¹⁸ P. 193.

¹⁹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, xvi. 2b

firmly and securely, the two-fold advantage which, according to Philostratus, the use of jumping-weights secures. This moment is clearly represented on the black-figured imitation Corinthian amphora, B.M. B 48, already published in Vol. II. of this journal (Fig. 4).²⁰ The three vertical lines underneath the jumper seem, as has been already stated, to represent either pegs or lines drawn on the sand marking the performances of previous jumpers.²¹ This appears to be the natural interpretation of the three curved lines, usually interpreted as spikes or arrows, on an Etruscan carnelian²² representing the jump, but here, though the jumper is on the point of alighting, the hands are still to the front, and he appears likely to land on all-fours (Fig. 5). The artist, indeed, appears to have sacrificed truthfulness to the desire of filling the space at his disposal.



FIG. 5.—ETRUSCAN
GEM.
(From Furtwängler,
xvii. 42)

Another attitude generally recognised as representing the moment before the actual jump is familiar from the Berlin and British Museum bronze diskoi.²³ The athlete stands with one foot advanced and the halteres held out horizontally to the front at arm's length. But the variations in this type and the numerous vases where athletes are depicted bending forward with halteres in their hands have not, as far as I know, received the attention which they deserve. Dr. Jüthner sees in this stooping position merely a form of gymnastic exercise,²⁴ but an examination of the whole series makes this view very doubtful.

It is obvious that no jumper could take off immediately from the position shown on the bronze diskoi, and the perception of this difficulty has induced some writers to regard this attitude also as purely gymnastic, and therefore as having no connection with the jump. But it would be very strange that in monuments which clearly represent the various events of the Pentathlon the jump should be represented by a dumb-bell exercise. The fact is that this position, though it is not the position immediately preceding the jump, does form a part of the preliminary swing. In a standing jump it is usual to swing the arms to the front and back again two or three times, at the same time straightening and bending the knees, the final spring taking place as the hands are swinging to the front, and the knees begin to straighten. With weights, this swing of the hands and the alternate bending and straightening of the lower limbs are still more important, and these are the very movements which we can trace in the vase-paintings.

1.—*The Upward Swing.*

The beginning of this movement is shown on a vase now lost, but figured by Dubois-Maisonneuve xvi. 4, and Tischbein v. 90. Here we see a

²⁰ *J.H.S.* ii. p. 219. The same moment is represented in a Chiusi wall painting, Inghirami, *Mus. Chius.* cxxv. = Krause, *op. cit.* ix. c. 25 f.

²¹ P. 76 of the present volume.

²² Tassie, *Pierres Gravées*, ii. 46 = Furt-

wängler, *Ant. Gem.* xvii. 42 = Krause, *op. cit.* ix. 24, p. 953.

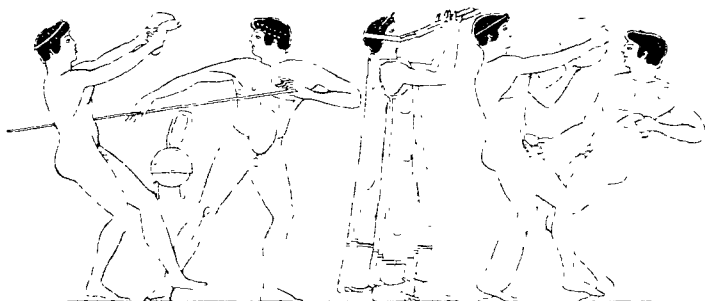
²³ Jüthner, *op. cit.* Fig. 20, 21. Baumeister, Fig. 612. *Gaz. Arch.* 1875. Pl. 35.

²⁴ *Id.* pp. 16, 17.

youth with right leg advanced, and body leaning back holding the halteres low down to the front. The flute-player opposite him shows that this is no mere gymnastic exercise but the actual jump. For Philostratus expressly tells us that the Greek jumper was assisted by the music of the flute.²⁵ An almost identical scene occurs on a British Museum vase, E 427 (Fig. 6),²⁶ the only difference being that the arms are slightly higher.²⁷ This position cannot possibly belong to the downward swing, for a few experiments with a pair of dumb-bells will convince anyone that if the body is leaning backwards in the downward swing, it is most difficult to preserve the balance, and the force of the return swing is thereby impaired. It follows that whenever the body is leaning backwards the movement of the halteres must be upwards. The figure on the B. M. diskos is still inclined backwards, and the hands are slightly above the horizontal. On a red-figured krater reproduced in the *Annali* for 1846 M.²⁸ (Fig. 7), the hands are still higher, and the left foot which is advanced is actually lifted off the ground in such a way as to suggest that there might actually be a step forward taken between the upward swing and the downward swing. A single



FIG. 6.—R. F. PELIKE. B.M. E 427.

FIG. 7.—R. F. KRATER. (From *Annali* 1846. M.)

vase is hardly sufficient evidence for such a theory, but, as we shall see, such a movement is quite natural in the case of a running jump. On a British Museum Panathenaic vase, B 134, the halteres are raised above the head and the arms are slightly bent as in other black-figured vases to be discussed later. As is usual with Panathenaic vases representing the Pentathlon the figures have a conventional, processional character, which

²⁵ *Gymn.* 55, cp. Paus. v. 7. 4; 17. 4; vi. 14. 5.

²⁶ Hancarville, *Ant. et. gr. et rom.* cxxiv. = Krause, *op. cit.* ix. 22.

²⁷ Cp. the following r.f. kylikes: *Arch. Zeit.*

1878, xi. = Munich, 795; *Bull. d. I.* 1856, xx. *Bull. nap. nouv. sér.* v. 12.

²⁸ Cp. *Mus. Greg.* lxx. 1. a, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, ii., both r.-f. kylikes.

diminishes their value as evidence. The body is here perfectly upright as it is in the Berlin diskos and on numerous vases.²⁹ Is the position of the body in these cases accidental, or are we justified in saying that it marks the commencement of the downward swing? Such an inference seems not improbable when we compare the series of vases on which the downward swing is certainly represented.

2.—*The Downward Swing.*

The commencement of the downward swing is clearly shown in the interior of a red-figured kylix in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris 511³⁰ and on a kylix at Corneto reproduced in *Mon. d. I.*, xi. 24. The position of the hands corresponds to that in the initial movement of the upward swing, but the position of the body is reversed, the shoulders being slightly rounded and the whole movement forwards. This forward inclination of the body is still more marked on a kylix reproduced by Zannoni,³¹ showing an athlete with a robed official opposite him. Another Bologna kylix³² shows us the movement still more advanced (Fig. 8). Two athletes stand on either side of

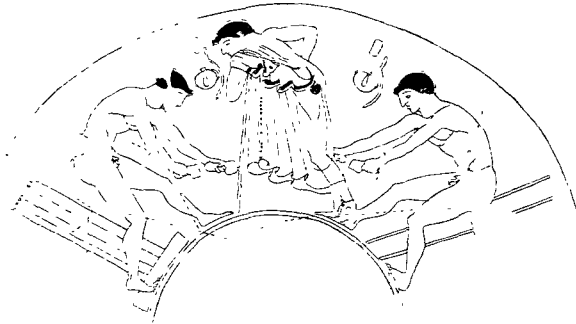


FIG. 8.—R. F. KYLIX. BOLOGNA. (From Juthner.)

an official; they are bending forwards so that their bodies are almost horizontal and their hands almost touch the ground. Parallel with the athlete on the left is the familiar fluted pillar, and on the right is a pair of spears or rods. An almost identical scene occurs on several red-figured kylikes³³ in all of which we see either the pillar, or the spears, or both. The repetition of these details justifies us in supposing that they represent the *βατήρ*, or take off. Further, the presence of these details and of the robed official, and the large number of vases on which this scene occurs, are strong evidence that it is

²⁹ Cp. krater Vienna, 173 = Laborde i. 7 = Krause, *op. cit.* xiii. 19, i.f. kylix Gerh. *A.V.* 294, *B. M. Vases*, E 499 = Hancuville, *op. cit.* II. 38 = Krause, ix. 20, *B. M. Vases*, E 96.

³⁰ de Ridder, *Catalogue*, Pl. xxi.

³¹ *Scavi di Bologna*, xxxviii. 2.

³² Juthner, *op. cit.* Fig. 16, from the same

vase as Zannoni, lxxvii. 1.

³³ *Mus. Barb.* iii. 13 = Krause, *op. cit.* xvi. 56, Hartwig, *Meisterschal.* lxx. 3 b, Krause, ix. b. 25 d. For single figures in the same attitude, v. Gerh. *A.V.* 294, Pottier *Louvre*, G 15, *Catalogue of Forman Collection*, 1899, 332.

not, as Juthner suggests,³⁴ a merely gymnastic exercise. Much less can this stooping attitude belong, as M. de Ridder³⁵ believes, to the deep jump; for anyone who started to jump from a height in such an attitude would inevitably alight upon his nose.

The examples which I have quoted of the upward and downward swings, though by no means exhaustive, are sufficient to show that the various positions pass almost imperceptibly into one another, and indeed often occur together on the same vase.³⁶ Any of them might, were it an isolated example, pass as a dumb-bell exercise. But, as has been shown, they are all closely connected, and when we remember that the swinging of the weights is an essential part of the jump, and remember, too, the importance attached to the jump by the Greeks, it is surely better to connect a series so numerous and so carefully graduated with the jump itself than with a mere physical exercise. If the halteres were freely used as dumb-bells in the fifth century, it is hard to explain why a simple dumb-bell exercise should have been so often repeated. At the same time we know that in wrestling the various movements were taught in the form of drill,³⁷ and it is quite likely that the same system was applied to jumping and other exercises. If so, jumpers may often have practised swinging the weights upwards and downwards as an independent exercise, and this would, if necessary, explain the pairs of figures swinging the weights with an instructor between them, although the artist's love of symmetry is of itself sufficient motive for such an arrangement. In such a movement, originally practised in connection with the jump, we may trace the beginning of the use of dumb-bells for general physical training.

III.—*A Standing Jump or a Running Jump.*

It has been generally assumed that the Greek long jump was a standing jump, and at first sight the vases which I have enumerated as representing the swing seem to support this view. There are, however, other vases which clearly depict a run, and a consideration of these will show that the swing is not inconsistent with such a run as they represent.

First, we have a number of archaic black-figured vases showing an athlete with halteres walking or running. On a stamnos in the Vatican³⁸ we see a band of athletes engaged in various sports, one of whom, holding halteres with his elbows by his side and arms bent at right angles, appears to be commencing to run. Very similar is the figure on an amphora at Würzburg,³⁹ save that the arms are slightly raised. The actual run is shown on another Würzburg amphora⁴⁰ on which the flute-player also appears, on a kyathos in the Bibliothèque Nationale, 354, and on a Panathenaic vase⁴¹ at

³⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 16.

³⁵ *Dar. Sagl. loc. cit.*

³⁶ *Cp. Mus. Greg.* lxx. 1. a. *Gerh. A. V.* 294 (Fig. 11).

³⁷ Grenfell and Hunt, *Carychacus Papyri*, iii. 466. *Anth. Pal.* ii. 206. Lucian, *Asotus*, 9.

³⁸ *Mus. Greg.* xvii. 1. a.

³⁹ *Gerh. A. V.* 259.

⁴⁰ *Gerh. A. V.* 260.

⁴¹ *Mon. d. I.* I. xxii. 8, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, ix. 1.

Leyden. In all these cases the arms are bent, as in the case of the B.M. amphora B 134 mentioned above. On the Leyden amphora the diskobolos and akontistes are also running in the same grotesque and exaggerated style, a fact which diminishes the value of its evidence. There can, however, be no doubt that the whole series represents the run, the general attitude and especially the position of the arms being confined to the black-figured vases. With the red-figured vases the style changes but the evidence is equally clear. Connecting the two series is a vase figured by Tischbein iv. 43.⁴² where the jumper seems about to start, holding his arms bent close to his sides in a way which reminds one of the black-figured Vatican vase denoting the same moment. Another Vatican vase⁴³ shows a jumper with his arms hanging by his sides just commencing to run. More frequently the arms are held slightly



FIG. 9.—R. F. KYLIX. (From Klein's *Euphronios*, p. 306.)

in advance of the body, which is somewhat bent forward. The treatment of the feet in the circular spaces in the interior of a kylix makes it sometimes difficult to determine whether a figure is really running or not. There is a tendency to make the line of the feet follow the line of the circle, as can be clearly seen in the figure on the Berlin diskos. But there can be no doubt that running is intended on the interior of the following vases: *Mus. Chius.* 154. i. figured Klein *Euphronios*, p. 306 (Fig. 9) (= Noel des Vergers xxxviii.), *Mus. Borb.* xiv. 56, Gerh. *A. V.* 294 (Fig. 11).⁴⁴ The run so depicted is by no means incompatible with the use of the halteres. The modern long-jumper depends principally on pace, and, as has been pointed out, pace is inconsistent with the use of

⁴² Krause, *op. cit.* viii. 18. Dar. *Sagl. loc. cit.*

⁴³ *Mus. Greg.* lxxii. 1 b.

⁴⁴ So too on a vase in the British Museum

depicting Hoplitodromoi, the device on one of the shields is an athlete running with halteres, *J.H.S.* 1903, 288. Fig. 15.

halteres. But the Greek jumper certainly does not sprint⁴⁵: like the modern high jumper he takes a few short, springy steps, intended to give elasticity to the limbs, and so to prepare for the final spring. Before he can jump, the halteres must be swung upwards and then downwards, and therefore a pause is necessary. This pause is clearly shown on the krater already referred to (Fig. 7). There we see an akoutistes, diskobolos, and two jumpers, all performing to the accompaniment of a flute-player. The jumper to the left has been already described, the other is leaning back with elbows forced back, and right leg forward, checking his pace in the way in which the Hoplitodromos is so often represented. When we compare this figure with those which denote the commencement of the upward swing, there can be little doubt that the two moments are consecutive.

The attitude of the jumper on the left of this vase suggests, as I have already remarked, that in a running jump the upward and downward swings were accompanied by one or more forward strides, and modern experience confirms this view. In the present day the long jump is seldom practised with weights, and such weights as are used are not sufficiently heavy to interfere with the pace, but in the high jump weights of five pounds and upwards are used by professional jumpers, and Mr. George Rowden, who some years ago held the championship for the high jump, sends me the following description of the method of using them:—‘The jumper starts about fourteen yards from the posts, taking two-thirds of the distance with short, quick steps, scarcely swinging the weights at all, after which he takes one or two comparatively long, slow strides, swinging the bells together twice, and on the second swing taking off from the ground as the bells come to the front.’ With heavy weights the run for the long jump would be very similar to that for the high jump, the chief difference being that while in the high jump the weights are thrown away at the moment of jumping, in the long jump they are retained all the time.

We can now reconstruct the Greek long jump.

1. The jumper starts with arms bent, and elbows close to the side.
2. He takes a short run, holding the halteres to the front.
3. On nearing the bates he checks himself by throwing the body back, immediately swinging the halteres upwards and making a slow stride forward.
4. With the next stride he swings them sharply downwards, bending the body and the front leg as the arms descend.
5. On the return swing he takes off, shooting both legs to the front, so that arms and legs are nearly parallel.
6. Before alighting he forces the arms vigorously backwards.

There is, then, no difficulty in reconciling the evidence of the vases with a running jump. But we need not therefore exclude the standing jump, the method of which was in many ways similar. In particular, some of the

⁴⁵ The only example to the contrary is on a Roman mosaic from Tusculum. Its late date and the exaggeration of the drawing make its evidence of little value. Schreiber, *Atlas*, xxiii. 10. *Mon. d. I.* vi. vii. Pl. 82.

figures represented as stooping forward and swinging the bells downwards are often more appropriate to a standing jump. We may conclude, then, that both kinds of jump were practised. In the Pentathlon the somewhat doubtful evidence of the Panathenaic vases is slightly in favour of a running jump.

IV.—*Variations in the Use of Halteres.*

The types which have been discussed seem to represent the method of using the halteres for the long jump. It remains briefly to consider, and if possible to explain, the motives of certain variations from these types.

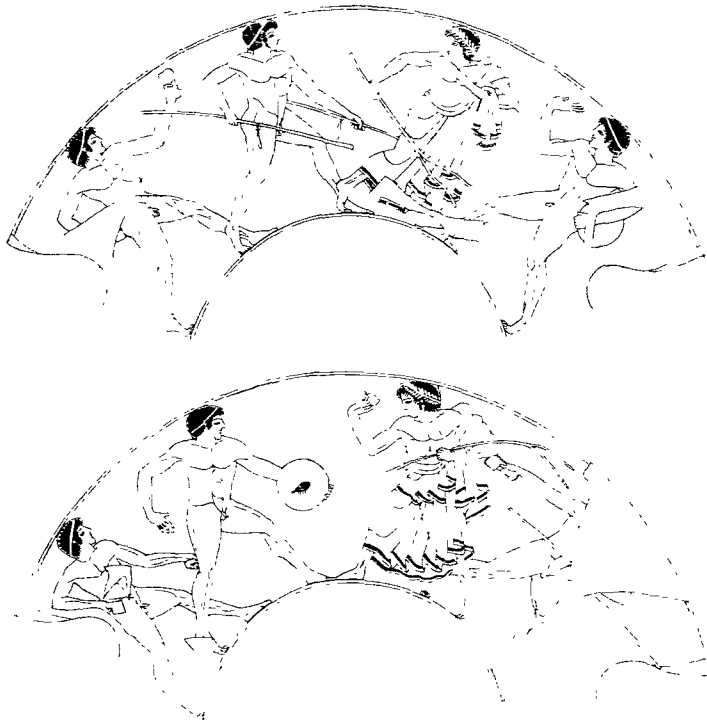


FIG. 10.—R. F. KYLIX. B.M. E 58.

1 On the interior of the Vatican kylix ⁴⁶ we find a variation in the run. A wreathed athlete is running with halteres, not holding them before him, but swinging the arms alternately after the manner of the Stadiodromos. It is the ordinary conventional representation of a runner, the right arm moving with the right leg, and not as it should do with the left.⁴⁷ The attitude is a favourite one on the interior of kylikes,⁴⁸ and the artist appears merely to have added a pair of halteres to an ordinary runner, perhaps to show

⁴⁶ *Mus. Greg.* lxx. 2 b.

⁴⁷ Pollack in *Hippodromien*, p. 50, uses this as an illustration of the way in which the Greek artist sometimes sacrifices truth to

artistic effect, and ascribes to the same cause a similar inaccuracy in depicting the movements of a horse.

⁴⁸ E.g. *B.M. Vases*, E 21, 22.

that he is a pentathlete, the halteres being the recognised symbol of the Pentathlon.

A similar explanation may be given of the figures on a red-figured kylix in the British Museum (Fig. 10),⁴⁹ where we have two jumpers running forward and swinging their halteres alternately. On either side of this kylix are a diskobolos, an akontistes, and a jumper with an instructor. The vase is an excellent example of the influence of symmetry in the arrangement and the attitudes of the figures. The jumper is on the left, the instructor one from the right on each side; in each case the instructor looks towards the two figures on his left, while the figure to the right looks towards the instructor. Finally, in all eight figures there are practically only two attitudes, attitudes

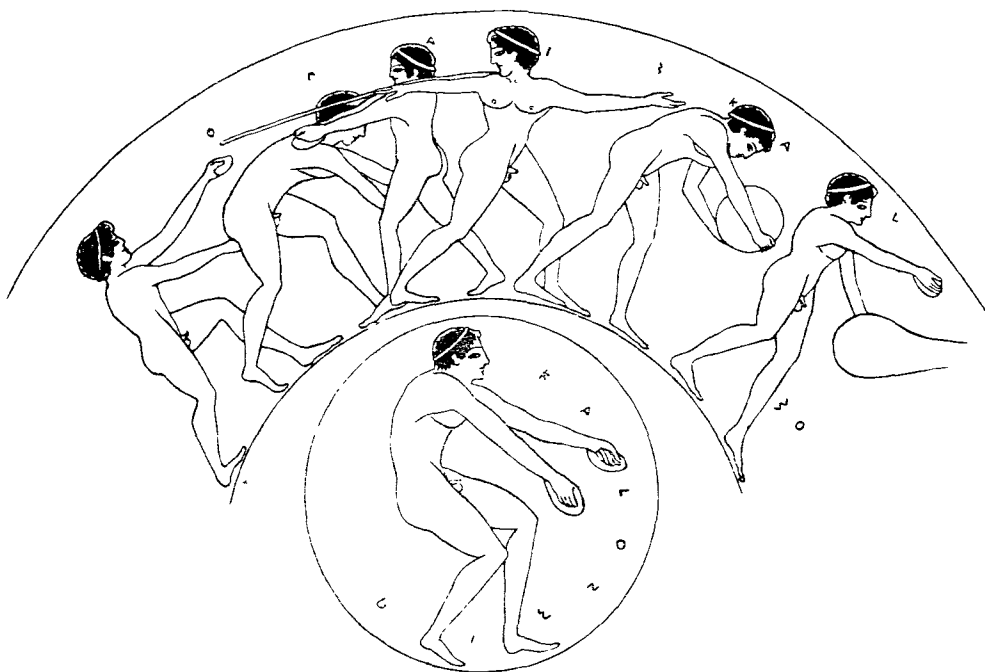


FIG. 11 —R. F. KYLIX. (From Gerhard *A. V.* 294)

typical rather of the diskobolos and akontistes than of the jumper. We can only conclude that the artist has simply drawn two figures in a favourite attitude and added to them a pair of halteres, to indicate that they are jumpers.

Similarly, on a kylix in the Forman Collection⁵⁰ there is a delightful little figure moving away to the left, with halteres in his hands, and turning his head and body round to the right. He certainly has nothing directly to do with the actual jump, nor have those athletes whom we see carrying

⁴⁹ *B. M. E 58 = Mon. d. I iv 35.*

⁵⁰ *Catalogue*, 332.

the halteres in one hand or both,⁵¹ or stooping down to pick them up.⁵² In all such cases the halteres are merely added as an attribute of the pentathlete, or the jumper.

2. Another slight variation seems due to the desire for artistic effect. We have seen that the halteres are naturally swung to the front parallel to one another. When the figure is represented in profile, the effect of the two arms parallel to each other is as stiff as the effect of a profile drawing with the feet together. So the artist sometimes (*e.g.* Fig. 11) draws the arms at slightly different angles,⁵³ and thus produces a much more pleasing picture. Yet the variation is due to artistic considerations, not to any difference in the scene depicted.

3. Lastly we have a few vases which really do seem to show the halteres used as dumb-bells. In the kylix representing the actual jump (Fig. 3), we see

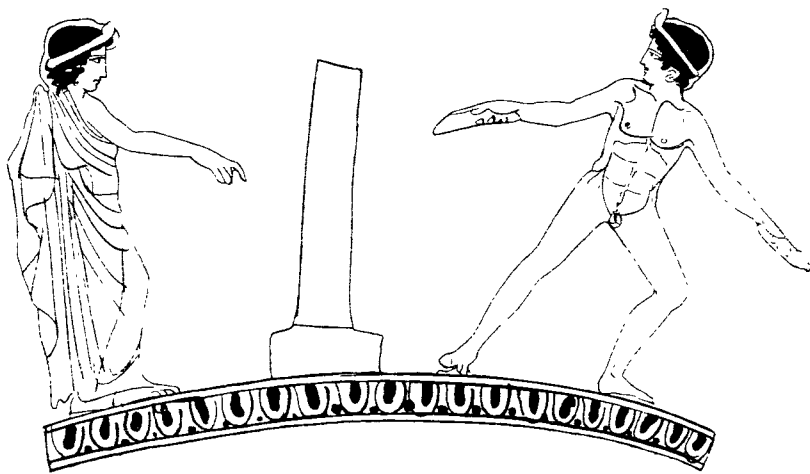


FIG. 12. R. F. OENOCHOE. B.M. E 561.

another athlete to the left swinging the bells sideways left and right.⁵⁴ He strides forward with his right foot, his arms level with the shoulders. His right arm is bent towards his breast, while the left is extended, and his head is turned towards the left. On a Berlin kylix figured by Krause⁵⁵ we have the reverse of this scene, with the right arm extended and left bent. The drawing of both these figures is remarkable for its vigorous action. Less vigorous but essentially similar is a figure reproduced by Juthner from a drawing in the Roman Institute.⁵⁶ The attitude is one which is generally associated with the akontistes, but the drawing in the first two vases is so vigorous that we can hardly explain it as merely an akont-

⁵¹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, n. Gerh. *A.V.* 271. Stackelberg, *Grab. der Hell.* xii xxiv. 5. *B. M. Vases*, B. 576. 691, E 499. *B. M. Beozes*, 668.

⁵² *B. M. Vases*, E 5, Gerh. *A.V.* 39.

⁵³ Gerh. *A.V.* 294. *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, xvi.

⁵⁴ *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, xvi.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.* ix. b 25 b.

⁵⁶ Juthner, *op. cit.* Fig. 10 = *Apparat des Rom. Inst.* ix. 68 (1836).

istes with halteres substituted for the akontion.- The exercise of swinging the dumb-bells alternately right and left is a familiar one in the modern gymnasium, and is especially valuable for developing and giving flexibility to the muscles of the shoulder, the muscles which are particularly important in throwing the diskos and akontion. It seems, therefore, only natural that some such exercise should have been employed by athletes training for these events, just as the jumper may have often practised swinging the bells upwards and downwards in the manner actually required in the jump. This view is confirmed by the drawing on a red-figured oenochoe in the British Museum, E 561 (Fig. 12), which represents a different moment in the same swing. On opposite sides of a pillar stand an athlete with halteres and a robed spectator or official. The former is leaning to his left with the head turned towards his right hand. The arms are not, however, horizontal, but the central moment of the swing is depicted when the arms are still swinging on either side of the body.

We may conclude, then, that the pentathlete in the fifth century did use the halteres for developing the special muscles required for the jump, the diskos, or the akontion. These exercises were subsequently adopted by trainers and medical men, and incorporated by them in their systems of physical training.

V.—*Jumping without Halteres.*

Aristotle in his Problems⁵⁷ discusses the question why the pentathlete jumps further with halteres than without them. Even if we had no such direct evidence the monuments leave us no doubt that, whatever was the case at athletic festivals, jumping without weights was certainly practised in the gymnasia. Dr. Hauser, in his articles on the Tübingen bronze, has collected all the vases illustrating such a jump in support of his theory as to the position of a runner at the start. In discussing the footrace I tried to show the fallacy of classing these vases with the Tübingen bronze, and suggested that they really represented jumping without the halteres.⁵⁸

On a vase given by Krause⁵⁹ we see a youth with feet together, knees bent, and hands stretched to the front, standing on a low bema, ready to jump. In front of him is a low pillar, and Krause supposes that he is preparing to jump over it. The attitude, however, is at least as appropriate to a long jump as to a high jump, and unfortunately for Krause's theory the interior of a red-figured Munich kylix shows an almost identical figure, but in this case the pillar is behind him.⁶⁰ The pillar, then, cannot represent the object to be cleared. The same figure but without the pillar appears on a roughly drawn kylix in the British Museum, E 101. Still better is the figure on a red-figured pelike,⁶¹ belonging to Dr. Hauser, opposite to whom stands a robed official stretching out his hand with a gesture of command.

⁵⁷ v. 8.

⁵⁸ *J.H.S.* 1903, p. 272.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.* ix 23.

⁶⁰ *J.H.S.* *loc. cit.* Fig. 4.

⁶¹ *J.H.S.* *loc. cit.* Fig. 3.

There can be no doubt that these figures represent jumpers, but whether long-jumpers or high-jumpers, we cannot say for certain. What is certain is that here we have a standing jump, whereas we saw that the evidence of the vases was in favour of a running jump with halteres. Perhaps we may add to these vases a bronze in the Museum at Athens⁶² which, as far as can be judged from its mutilated condition, represents the same attitude.

The interpretation of the second group quoted by Dr. Hauser is not so certain. A Leyden krater shows us a youth striding forward with his arms stretched out horizontally (Fig. 13).⁶³ Before him we see another youth holding

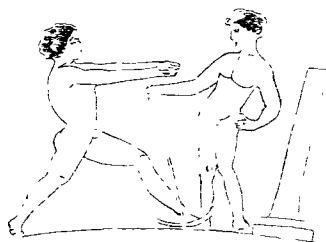


FIG. 13.—KRATER, LEYDEN.
From *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, ix, 2.

a skapane, and a pillar. Martin Faber suggests that this is an illustration of the two 'Sprungschritte' which, according to Fedde, formed part of the triple jump. Now Fedde is trying to explain the jump of Phayllus in the Pentathlon, and there is no doubt that in the Pentathlon halteres were used. Unfortunately, in this vase the halteres are wanting, and therefore it cannot be used in support of his theory. The attitude, save for the exaggerated stride, resembles that of the jumper on the

Berlin diskos. A similar position occurs on an Athenian skyphos,⁶⁴ showing a bearded athlete and an official on either side of a pillar. The athlete stands with his feet less widely apart, apparently waiting for the command, or receiving instructions from the official, who stretches out his hand towards him. Again, on a Bologna skyphos⁶⁵ published by Zannoni we see the same attitude twice. The details of the officials, the pillar, the skapane make it certain that the motive is athletic, and the analogy of the vases representing jumpers with halteres suggests that there, too, we have athletes preparing for the jump, presumably, as in the jump with halteres, a long jump. We may conclude, then, that the Greeks did practise jumping without halteres, that they practised thus a standing jump, certainly a long jump, and possibly a high jump.

My thanks are due to Mr. Cecil Smith for permission to publish various vases in the British Museum, to Professor Furtwängler for his kindness in enabling me to reproduce the gem, Fig. 5, and to Mr. George Rowden for much information about modern jumping.

E. NORMAN GARDINER.

⁶² De Ridder, *Catalogue*, n. 759.

⁶³ *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, ix, 2.

⁶⁴ *Jahrbuch*, 1895, p. 156, Fig. 8.

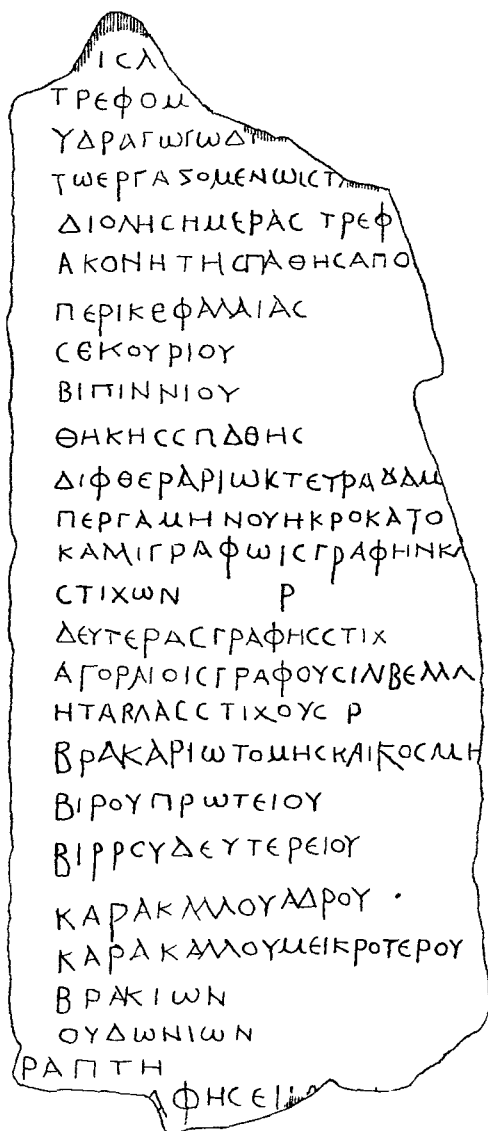
⁶⁵ *Scavi di Bologna*, xxii.

⁶⁶ The following records may be of interest. Running long jump without weights, 24 ft. 11½ in. Running long jump with weights, and

off a board, 29 ft. 7 in. Mr. Rowden considers that Howard who did this performance would not have jumped more than 21 ft. without assistance. High jump without weights, 6 ft. 5½ in.; with weights, 6 ft. 8¼ in. Mr. Rowden estimates that the weights were worth an extra foot.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE 'EDICTUM DIOCLETIANI.'

DURING a visit to Corone (the ancient Asine and medieval Coron) in March of this year, I copied and took impressions of a stone which had been recently found in the Venetian fortress there, not far from the church of



"Αγιος Χαράλαμπος. It is a fragment of a white marble stele, of which only the left margin is preserved. Height .365 m.; breadth .16 m.; thickness .09 m.

VII. 30	[το]ῖς λ[οιποῖς πλάσταις γυψαρίοις]	
	τρεφομ(ἐ)[νοῖς ἡμερήσια	× ν']
31	ὑδραγωγῶ δ(ι') [δ](λ)[ης ἡμέρας τρεφ(ομένῳ) ἡμερ(ήσια)	× κέ']
32	τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ ἰς τ(ᾶ)[ς ὑπορρύσεις?]	
5	δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας τρεφ(ομένῳ) (ή)[μερ(ήσια)	× κέ']
33	ἀκονητῇ σπάθης ἀπὸ [χρήσεως	× κέ']
34	περικεφαλαίας	[× κέ']
35	σεκουρίου	[× ε']
36	βιπιννίου	[× ἦ']
10	37 θήκης σπάθης	[× ρ']
38	διφθεραρίῳ ἰς τετράδ(ιον) ἄμ - -	
	περγαμηνῷ ἢ κροκιάτο[υ	× μ']
39	καλλιγράφῳ ἰς γραφὴν κ(α)[λλίστην]	
	στίχων ρ'	[× κέ']
15	40 δευτέρας γραφῆς στίχων ρ'	[× κ']
41	ἀγοραίοις γράφουσι λίβελλα	
	ἢ τάβλας στίχους ρ'	[× ι']
42	βρακαρίῳ τομῆς καὶ κοσμή[σεως]	
	βίρου πρωτείου	[× ξ']
20	43 βίρρον δευτερείου	[× μ']
44	καρακάλλου ἀδροῦ	[× κέ']
45	καρακάλλου μεικροτέρου	[× κ']
46	βρακίων	[× κ']
47	οὐδωνίων	[× δ']
25	48 ῥάπτῃ	
	- - [ρ]᾽α)φῆς ἐν[δύματος λεπτοῦ ?	× ε']

The letters are small and carelessly formed, often running into each other and rendering the reading somewhat difficult.

We have here a fragment of the well-known '*Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis rerum venditum*', of which portions, both in the original Latin and also in Greek translations,¹ have been found in Egypt and various parts of Greece and Asia Minor. The known fragments have been collected and the Edict comprehensively treated

(1) in 1851 by Mommsen (*Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Phil. hist. Classe, iii);

(2) in 1864 by Waddington (*Édit de Dioclétien, établissant le Maximum dans l'Empire Romain*, reprinted from his commentary to Le Bas, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, No. 535);

(3) in 1873 by Mommsen (*C.I.L.* iii pt. 2, pp. 801-841);

(4) in 1893 by Mommsen and Blümner (Mommsen's reconstruction of the text reprinted from *C.I.L.* iii, Suppl. pp. 1909-1953, with an introduction and commentary by Blümner).

¹ Was die griechische Übersetzung anlangt, so hat es eine officielle solche wohl nicht gegeben, sondern die Anordnung der Übersetzung

des lateinischen Originals blieb jedesmal den Ortsbehörden überlassen. — Blümner, *Maximaltafel des Diocletian*, p. 53.

Since 1893 an important addition has been made to our knowledge of the Greek version of the Edict by the publication (B. Στάης, 'Εφημ. Ἀρχ. 1899 pp. 147-176) of two fragments from Aegira, containing, besides the heading—[τί]νας τιμὰς ἐκάστου εἶδους ο[ὗδε]νὶ ἐξέσται ὑπ[ερβαίνει]ν ὑποτέτακτα[ι],—chap. i 1-vi. 10 and vii. 74-viii 42.

For a general introduction to the Edict it is enough to refer to the work of Mommsen-Blümner above cited, and also to a concise summary of the main points of interest in W. Loring's edition of the Megalopolis fragment (*J.H.S.* 1890 xi p. 299 foll.). I must content myself with noting here the following points :

1. The Edict was promulgated towards the end of 301 A.D., but proved a failure, and was soon abrogated.

2. The prices are reckoned in copper *denarii*, represented usually by ✕, sometimes in Greek by ϣ and in Latin by ⷍ. The value of this coin is fixed by the Elatea fragment (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885 p. 222 foll.), which gives the price of a pound of pure gold as 50,000 *denarii*: the value of the *denarius* is therefore $\frac{1}{50000}$ of a pound of gold, i.e. (Mommsen, *Hermes* xxv. 1890 p. 25 foll.) 1·827 pfennig of German currency, or a little less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of an English penny.

3. The prices named are *maxima*. Cf. the heading quoted above, and the following sentence from the preamble of the Edict; '*non praetia venalium rerum—neque enim fieri id justum putatur, cum plurima interdum provinciae felicitate optatae cilitatis et velut quodam affluentiae privilegio gloriantur—sed modum statuendum esse censuimus; ut, cum vis aliqua caritatis emergeret—quod dii omen averterent!—avaritia, quae velut campis quadam immensitate diffusis teneri non poterat, statuti nostri finibus et moderaturae legis terminis stringeretur.*'

The Corone fragment contains lines 30-48 of Chapter vii: the chapter is entitled '*De mercedibus operariorum*,' but vii. 24 introduces a second title '*De aeramento*' (περὶ χαλκωμάτων), a designation which strictly applies only to items 24 a-28 and 33-37. The Greek text of vii. 30-48 has been hitherto unknown, save for two fragments, (a) *I.G.* ix. 1. 279 frg. a col. ii, (b) *I.G.* vii. 3061.

	a	b
30	ΤΟ'	
	—	
31	Υ	ΚΕ
32	Τ	✕

The Latin text, however, is known from the Stratonicea copy (the largest fragment of the Edict yet discovered), while the Aezani fragment contains a few letters from 38-42 and 45 foll.

To facilitate comparison I quote in full the Latin text (Mommsen-Blümner, *op. cit.* p. 22).

VII. 30	Reliquis plastis gypsariis pastis diurnos	* quinquaginta.
31	Aquario omni die operanti pasto diurnos	* biginti quinque.
32	Cloacario omni die operanti pasto diurnos	* biginti quinque.
33	Saniatori in spatha exs usu	* biginti quinque.
34	In casside exs usu	* biginti quinque.
35	In sequri	* sex.
36	In bipenni	* octo.
37	Bagina spathae	* cen[tum].
38	Membranario in t endone pedali pergamene[ae]	Ø XL
39	Scriptori in scriptura optima versus n̄ centum	Ø XXV
40	Sequ[enti]s scripturae bersuum n̄ centum	Ø XX
41	Tabellario in scriptura libelli bel tabularum [in ver]si- bus n̄ centum	* X
42	Bracatio pro excisura et ornatura pro birro qualitatis primae	* se[xaginta]
43	Pro birro qualitatis secundae	* quadrag[inta]
44	Pro caracalla maiori	* biginti q[ui]nque].
45	Pro caracalla minori	* biginti.
46	Pro braciibus	* biginti.
47	Pro udonibus	* quattuor.
48	Sarcinatori in beste subtili replicaturae	* sex.

I must acknowledge my obligations to Blümner's commentary (*op. cit.* pp. 112, 113) for some of the matter contained in the following notes: I have, however, tried as far as possible to avoid repetition by confining myself to points directly suggested by the Greek version. I have marked with an asterisk (*) those words which do not occur in Liddell and Scott (seventh edition), and with a dagger (†) those which are wanting in the *Thesaurus*.

30. 'To other modellers in plaster,' *ic.*, all save the *plastae imaginarii* just mentioned (vii. 29). The word ⁺**γυνψάριος* is not found elsewhere, but the formation is parallel to that of *βρακάριος* (†2), *διφθεράριος* (38), *καψάριος* (vii. 75), *λανάριος* (xxi. 1), *λιβράριος* (vii. 69), *μαρμωράριος* (vii. 5). *etc.* The wage is reckoned by the day, and is exclusive of the workman's board, which is supplied by the employer.

31. Like the Latin *aquarius*, the Greek word *ύδραγωγός* is applied either to an official attached to an aqueduct or to a water-carrier employed to carry water for gardens, baths, *etc.* Here it is used in the latter sense. Compare Manetho, *Apoloism.* I. (v.) 84

πάντοτε πυκτηρινοῖσι μεσουρανέων Κρόνος αἰνὸς
 ῥέξει κηπουροὺς ἢ δ' ἀργαλέους ύδραγωγούς.
 ῥέξει δ' ύδροφόρους πολυπήμονας, οἳθ' ύπὸ γαίης
 κευθμῶνας δύνουσιν αἰκέος εἵνεκα μισθοῦ,
 ἢ πανύγροισι τόποισι παρήμενοι ἐργάζονται.
 μήποτε τῶν ἰδίων τι κτώμενοι ἐκ καμάτων γε.

In connection with this description we may notice that only one class of labourer, the *μυστωρ*, receives a smaller wage than 25 *denarii* daily. Cf. also Artemidor. iv. 74.

32. The *cloacarius* is he who keeps the drains in order: the reference here seems to be to the drains of private houses rather than to the public sewers. The usual Greek equivalent for the Latin *cloaca* is *ὑπόνομος* (Dittenb. *Syll.*² 580. 17; 536. 11, 15; *I.G.* ii. pars 5 169b 16; Strabo v. 3 § 8; Appian, *Hist. Rom.* iv. 40; *etc.*), but *ὑπόρρυσις* occurs with the same meaning in Strabo xiv. 1. §§ 37, 43. Possibly we should read *λαύρας* (Aristoph. *Pac.* 99, 158), or the Latin word may have been transliterated into Greek. This last, however, seems to me unlikely, for had the word been intelligible at all in Greek, we should probably have found *cloacarius* rendered by *κλοακάριος* (see analogous instances quoted above, 30), avoiding the paraphrase *ὁ ἐργαζόμενος εἰς κ.τ.λ.*

33. The **ἀκονητής* is a polisher of metal ware, especially weapons, corresponding to the Latin *samiator* or *samiarius*: the latter term occurs also in a Greek form in Joh. Lydus, *de magistr.* i. 46, where among the elements composing the Roman legion are mentioned *σαμιάριοι, οἱ τῶν ὅπλων στιλπνωταί*. The word *ἀκονητής* occurs in *Corp. Gloss.* ii. 178, 8; ii. 228, 12; iii. 25, 57.

The *σπάθη* is a broad, two-edged, pointless, cutting sword. *Ἀπὸ χρήσεως*, 'used.'

34. *Περικεφαλαία*, 'helmet.' The word is found in *I.G.* ii. 727b 16 (316/5 B.C.); *I.G.* xii. fasc. 5 pars 1 647 (beginning of third century B.C.); Polybius iii. 71. 4, vi. 23. 8, *etc.*; Schol. Arist. *Ac.* 1203; Suidas and Hesychius *s.v.*; Pollux i. 135 (with a description of its parts); LXX. The form *περικεφάλαιον* occurs in Polyb. vi. 22. 3 and *Etym. Magn.* *s.v.* *γλαϊνούς*.

The words *et usu* of the Latin text are omitted in the Greek.

35. †**Σεκούριον*, *securis*, 'an axe.'

36. †**Βιπίνιον*, *bipennis*, 'a double axe.' Cf. Quintilian i. 4. 12 a pinna (quod est acutum) securis utrinque habens aciem bipennis. This word and *σεκούριον* are, I believe, *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*.

37. *Θήκη σπάθης*, 'the sheath (Pollux x 144) of a sabre.' See above, 33.

38. †**Διφθερ'ριος* or **διφθεροποιός* (*Corp. Gloss.* iii. 371, 28, cf. 25, 38) 'parchment maker.' As in all these cases, the price is that of the labour alone, the materials being supplied by the employer. *Διφθέραι*, prepared hides, were from early times used as writing material (cf. Herodotus v. 58 τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βίβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρησι αἰγέησί τε καὶ οἰέησι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι), but the preparation of parchment on a large scale was first undertaken at Pergamum under Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.), when Ptolemy IX Euergetes II Physcon (170–117 B.C.) prohibited the export of papyrus from Egypt. See E. M. Thompson, *Gk. and Lat. Palaeography*, p. 34 foll. The usual form of the word is *Περγαμηνή* (*sc.* *διφθέρα*), but the neuter is found in Joh. Lyd., *de mensibus* i. 24 *Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μέμβρανα περγαμηνὰ καλοῦσιν*.

I am unable to restore the word following τετράδ(ιον): the latter word confirms Mommsen's conjectural *quaternione* for the corrupt *t cadione* of the Latin text. We would expect the Greek version to have τετράδιον ποδιαῖον. Another doubtful point is the meaning of †*κροκάτο[υ], which occurs only in Ducange, *Gloss. Graec.* 'κροκάτο· Rubens in Turcogr. Crusji.' The word is almost certainly a transliteration of the Latin *crocatum* (cf. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xvi. § 147 *semen crocatum*; Fronto *Ep. ad M. Caes.* 2, 1. *crocata vestis*), past participle of *croco*, 'to dye saffron-yellow' (Isid. *Orig.* vi. 11, 4). We are reminded of Juvenal's *crocea membrana tabellu impletur* (vii. 23). As regards the Latin text, the Stratonicea copy fails us for the end of this line, but the Aezani fragment has [IICROCI]: Le Bas read [nu]mero C, which the context shows to be untenable, while Mommsen (Mommsen-Blümner, *not. crit.* p. 22) has the note 'id est APERGA,' to which, however, the resemblance is of the slightest. Evidently the Latin version had *croca[ti]*, though I cannot explain the II preceding it where we would expect SIBE or VEL.

39. 'To a writer for the best writing, 25 *denarii* per hundred lines.' 'Mit jener sind vermuthlich Luxuseditionen gemeint' (Blümner *ad loc.*). The word καλλιγράφος is common in the fourth and succeeding centuries of our era, but before that it seems to occur only in Herodianus *Gram., Philet.* 435 (p. 477 *ed.* Piers), whose *floruit* falls about 170 A.D. The verb καλλιγραφέω is found as early as Aristotle (*Rhet. Alex.* i. 7) and Josephus (*Apion* ii. 31), but in reference to style, not to handwriting: καλλιγραφία is used by Plutarch to denote beautiful writing in either sense (ii. 397 C contrasted with 145 F).

40. 'For writing of the second quality, 20 *denarii* per hundred lines.'

41. 'To a notary for writing legal documents, 10 *denarii* per hundred lines.' Ἀγοραῖος here corresponds to the Latin *tabellio*, *tabellianioni* in the Latin text being an error of the engraver for *tabellioni*. This use of the word ἀγοραῖος is late and rare, but cf. *Thesaurus s.v.* 'Ἀγοραῖος. Tabellio, Basiliciarius. Glossae: Basiliciarius, Μαλακός, Ἀγοραῖος. "Notum est in Basilicis judicia Romae, praesertim centumvitalia. celebrata fuisse. Idem Auctor alibi: Tabellio, Ἀγοραῖος, Νομικός." Casaub. ad Theophr. *Char.* 6.' So also Ducange 'Ἀγοραῖα *forensia et publica instrumenta* in Nov. 49, 52, 73, 114, 142 diversa ab ἰδιοχείροις. Sed et ἀγοραῖοι dicuntur *Tabelliones*. Vide Cujac. ad Nov. 44.' The word frequently = *homo forensis*, 'one skilled in forensic speaking.' Cf. Plut. *Pericl.* xi, ἦττον μὲν ὦν πολεμικός...ἀγοραῖος δὲ καὶ πολιτικός μάλλον: *id.* περὶ δυσωπίας, 532 B, δίκην ἔχοντες πολλάκις οὐκ ἔωμεν εἰπεῖν τὸν ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἀγοραῖον: *id.* συμποσιακῶν 710 D, μεμιγμένοι πολιτικοῖς καὶ ἀγοραῖοις ἀνδράσι: Philostr. *Vitae sophist.* ii. p. 245 ἀφανῶς αὐτὸν ὑπεκάλυπτο δεινὸς ὦν χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀγοραίων εἰς οὗτος. Ταβελλίων occurs in Procopius iii. 154, 17.

†*Λίβελλα καὶ τάβλαι cover all documents of a legal or semi-legal nature which would be drawn up by a notary. Λίβελλος 'a petition,' 'memorial,' is common in late Greek (examples in Sophocles, *Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine*

Periods), but I know no other case of the neuter λίβελλον. *Libellus* is similarly used in Latin for a petition, a lawyer's brief (*cf.* Juv. vii. 107 *Quid cuiusdēis praestent magno comites in fuscē libelli?*), or a certificate (*Dig.* 39 4, 4 *significent id libello manu sua subscripto*). Τάβλα (ταῦλα), as a translation of the Latin *tabula* is common in Late Greek for 'the dice-board': so also ταβλίζω, ταβλιστής, etc. For its use with the meaning 'tablet,' 'label,' Sophocles (*Lexicon of Rom. and Byz. Periods*) quotes the apocryphal *Acta Andreae et Matthiae* 3 (*ed.* Tischendorf), Malalas p. 103 (*ed.* L. Dindorf), and Porphyrogenitus *Cerimon.* p. 338 (*ed.* Reiske). The word τάβλα also occurs, as Mr. Kenyon has pointed out to me, in *Berl. Papp.* 538 (second to third century) and 847 (A.D. 182-3), while ταβέλλα is found in *Berl. Papp.* 388 (second to third century) and *Oxyrhynchus Pap.* 273 (A.D. 95).

42. †*Βρακάριος. Originally the word, which in its Greek form occurs here only, meant a 'breeches-maker,' but both here and in the instances where it occurs in Latin (Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 24, *Cod. Iust.* x. 64, 1) its range is much wider. The βρακάριος undertakes the cutting out (τομή) and finishing (κόσμησις) of such articles as are made of coarse woollen cloth or felt, while the tailor (ράπτης) is chiefly engaged (below, 48 foll.) in the sewing of finer garments, especially those of linen or silk.

Βίρου πρωτείου 'a cloak of the best make,' for it is with the workmanship and not the material that we are here concerned. The various kinds of βίροι are detailed in xix. 26-42 and xxii. 21-26; in the latter passage the fuller's payment for his work is fixed, while in the former we have the maximum prices for the finished articles, ranging from 1,500 to 10,000 *denarii*. The βίρος (probably etymologically connected with πυρρός, 'red') was a thick mantle with a hood (*cf.* Juv. viii. 145: *tempora Santonico adoperta cucullo*, with the scholiast's note *cucullo de birro Gallico scilicet*), contrasting with the lighter and more pliant *lacerna* (Sulpic. *Sev. dial.* i. 21, 4: *illa ut birrum rigentem, haec ut fluentem texat lacernam*). The word is usually spelt with two ρ's, as in the following line, but the form βίρος occurs again in the Megalopolis text of xix 35 foll. The word is also found written βήρος and βήρρος and in the diminutive βηρίον, βηρρίον. *Cf.* Ducange, *Gloss. med. et inf. Graec. s.v.*

44. A somewhat similar garment was the *caracalla talaris*, a long mantle or great-coat with a hood, which gave the emperor Caracalla his name. Here, however, we have probably to deal with a different garment, either a short close-fitting tunic reaching to the knees with sleeves and a hood (E. Saglio *ap.* Dar.-Sagl. *s.v.*), or a kind of hood protecting the head and shoulders (Blümner *ad. loc.*). In xxvi. 120 foll. we have an elaborate list of the various qualities of *caracallae* at prices from 3,500 to 600 *denarii*. In Latin the word is always feminine, *caracalla* or *caracallis*: in Greek *καράκαλλον* is the only form met with²—*Pussio S. Christophori* quoted by

² Blümner (*op. cit.* p. 171) speaks of *καράκαλλαι*, but in the passage referred to (xxvi. 120 foll.) Mommsen writes *καράκαλλον*, not

καράκαλλων. Sophocles (*Lexicon s.v. καράκαλλα*) also makes the Greek noun feminine, but without ground.

Ducange *s.v.* *καρακάλλιον*, *Anth. Pal.* xi. 345, and here *Καρακάλλιον* also is found (*cf.* Ducange *s.v.*) meaning 'a small hood.'

46. The *βρακία* are the breeches which, originally Gaulish (*Cf.* Diodor. v. 30 *ἐσθήσι δὲ χρώνται [οἱ Γαλάται] καταπληκτικαῖς . . . ἀναξυρίσιν ὡς ἐκεῖνοι βράκας προσαγορεύουσιν*), were adopted by the Romans from contact with their Gaulish subjects (*Tac. Hist.* ii. 20) and by the time of Alexander Severus (222–235 A.D.) seem to have been worn by Romans generally, including the emperor (*Lamprid. Alex. Sev.* 40 § 11, *brucas albas habuit, non coccineas, ut prius solebant: cf.* also § 5). A reaction, however, took place under Honorius, who forbade the wearing of *bracae* in Rome (397 A.D. *Cod. Th.* xiv. 10, 2). In Greek the word usually, as here, appears in the form *βρακία* (*Schol. Arist. Vesp.* 1082; *Suid.* 302c, 2954b, 3256c, 3812c; *Etym. Magn.* 98 *s.v.* *ἀναξυρίδας*; *Photius, Lex.* p. 21. 15; *etc.*), but it also occurs as *βράκες* (*Hesych. s.v.*) and *βράκαι* (*Diodor. loc. cit., etc.*).

47. +**Οὐδώνια* are a kind of shoes made of felt. *Cf.* *Martial* xiv. 140, *lemin., Udones Cilicii*. The word does not occur elsewhere in Greek, though *Pollux* (x. 50) uses the form *οὐδών* and *Charisius* 552, 33 *οὐδωνάριον*. It is to be noticed that the translator has a strong tendency to turn into Greek neuters words which in Latin are masculine or feminine—*σεκούριον, βιπίνιον, περγαμηνόν, λίβελλον, καράκαλλον, βρακία, οὐδώνιον*.

48. It is not possible to restore this item with certainty. The *-αφης* seems certain both from my copy and from the squeeze, and if so, it is most probable that we have some compound of *ῥαφή*. *Ἀναρραφή* suggests itself, and both it and the cognate *ἀναρράπτειν, ἀναρραφικός* are frequently found in medical writers (*Galen, Aetius, etc.*) in the sense of 'sewing up.' It must be admitted that this is not the meaning required here. In *Corp. Gloss.* ii 172, 43 *ἀναδίπλωσις* is given as the Greek equivalent of *replicatura*, but that this need not necessarily be the word here employed is proved by the use of *διφθεράριος* in 38 (*Corp. Gloss.* iii 371, 28 gives *διφθεροποιός* as the Greek for *membranarius*) and of *οὐδώνια* in 47 (*Corp. Gloss.* iii 296, 26 *ἐμπίλιον ὡδῶ*).

MARCUS NIEBUHR TOD.

TWO HEADS RELATED TO THE CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER TYPE.

I. In spite of much discussion, the question of Apollo versus Athlete in this famous group of monuments remains undecided. Though there is considerable difference in detail, the rendering of the hair as a purely athletic



FIG. 1.—HEAD OF APOLLO IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

coiffure is common to all the replicas,¹ but an additional feature in an unpublished head in the British Museum² seems to have escaped notice, and the

¹ The argument for the Apollo attribution, based on the curls round the face, falls to the ground in view of the coiffure of the accumulating ephebe heads of this and a slightly earlier period.

² I have to thank the late Mr. A. S. Murray for permission to publish this interesting head, and to reproduce on a larger scale than heretofore that which follows.

light it throws on the subject is such as perhaps to justify a fresh consideration of the evidence.

This head (Fig. 1), whose provenance is uncertain, answers closely to the other replicas save in one point, the hair. The position and character of the locks about the face are very similar, and it agrees with the majority of examples in the arrangement of the plaits behind, which are carefully worked out, the Choiseul-Gouffier head being quite exceptional in its rendering. Just behind the ear, however, and attached in a thoroughly inorganic fashion, are two large corkscrew curls,³ side by side, so entirely unsuitable to the type of head as instantly to suggest an addition, even were the existence of numerous replicas in which they are absent not a proof of this. What has happened is clear. The sculptor adopted a well-known athletic type, and tried to turn it into an Apollo by the use of the ordinary external attributes of the god, hair loose round the face, long curls behind the ear.⁴

The only other instance of an Apolline attribute in replicas of the statue is the quiver on the support in the much modified example in the Palazzo Torlonia. But (a) the statue is a copy of a bronze original, in which a support would be absent, (b) the quiver does not appear elsewhere, and would seem to be another instance of the change of athlete into god visible in the Museum head,⁵ (c) the presence of the quiver does not always indicate a god, as *e.g.* in the Delos replica of the Diadumenos.

An instance of a similar use of this type of head appears in a statue of Apollo from Olympia, of interest in this connection. The coiffure is precisely the same, and the presence of remains of a lyre render the attribution certain, but it is instructive to find that the excavators do not assign it to the fifth century,⁶ but to a much later period. When long hair was no longer the fashion for athletes, it is easy to see how a free creation of later date might come to receive the plaits as genuinely Apolline, though in reality a commonplace of earlier athletic art. This confirms the theory suggested by the Museum head and the Torlonia statue, which illustrate the ways of copyists in dealing with a famous original, and throw fresh light on a much-disputed question.

Finally, I should like to bring forward three arguments not yet, I believe, brought to bear on the controversy as to the attribution of the original to Calamis. First, as Prof. E. A. Gardner has pointed out^{7a}, in the exceptionally long list of statues ascribed to Calamis,⁷ one class, the athlete, is conspicuously absent. This fact, in connection with the use of the words *χάρις* and *λεπτότης*⁸ to characterize his style, should make us hesitate to

³ Those on the right side are missing, but their position is clearly shown by the lines of breakage.

⁴ The head has suffered considerably, the nose being completely gone (an old restoration is replaced by a cast of that of the Choiseul-Gouffier athlete) and the chin broken away.

⁵ Overbeck, *Apollon*, p. 109, points out the untrustworthy character of this replica.

⁶ *Olympia, Bilder*, p. 224. Taf. lvii. 3-5.

^{7a} *Handbook*, i. p. 235.

⁷ Overbeck, *S.Q.* 508-526.

⁸ *id.* 531.

assign to him a work of so markedly athletic a character. Secondly, if the attribution to him of the Delphi Charioteer be correct—and it tallies with the literary evidence in every particular—the Choiseul-Gouffier type cannot



FIG. 2.—BRONZE COIN OF ATHENS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (2 : 1).

be the work of the same man, or even of the same school. Thirdly, the type is not identical with the Alexikakos of Calamis reproduced on Attic coins as Furtwängler⁹ suggests. Careful examination of these coins had convinced me of the presence of locks of hair on the shoulders in the true archaic fashion of a cultus statue, and a specimen of the bronze coin in question, recently acquired by the British Museum, decides the matter (Fig. 2). Two long curls hang down behind the ear, while the hair is knotted on the neck and rolled back from the forehead under a fillet in a fashion entirely different from that of the Choiseul-Gouffier type.^{9a} If then the coins, as is most probable, represent the Alexikakos of Calamis, that statue differed widely from the group of works under discussion, and was of the delicate late archaic character, peculiar to Attic Art of the transitional period, and to Calamis as the representative of that period, a position clearly assigned to him in our literary evidence.¹⁰

II. In connection with this head I propose to take another (Fig. 3), also in the British Museum,¹¹ ably analysed by Mrs. Strong,¹² who points out its Apolline character. A unique electrum stater of Mytilene¹³ confirms the attribution in a striking manner (Fig. 4). Though somewhat more youthful, and bound by a laurel wreath instead of a fillet in accordance with the usual practice on coins, the resemblance of the squarely built skull with its waving locks to the Museum head is very great. The features too are alike,^{13a} as are the proportions of the face, both differing widely from the other Apolline heads on coins of Mytilene. It is difficult to believe that the die-cutter had not some such original in his mind when executing this remarkable type, which was issued c. 400 B.C.¹⁴ That the Museum head is closely related to the Choiseul-Gouffier is certain, and as is the relation between them, so is

⁹ *Apud* Roscher, *Lexikon*, p. 456.

^{9a} Cf. the famous ephebe head from the Akropolis for the arrangement over the fillet and the knot behind.

¹⁰ A round hole just above the plaits would seem to shew that the Museum head was supported from behind. The statue therefore may have been placed in a niche.

¹¹ An inferior replica in Munich. *Meisterwerke*, p. 115.

¹² *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 293.

¹³ B. M. Cat. *Troas*, etc. Pl. XXXII. 1.

^{13a} In the B.M. head the nose is a restoration.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* Introd. p. lxx. : text, p. 158.

that between our coin and a well-known class of Syracusan tetradrachms probably, as Furtwangler suggests,¹⁵ reflecting the style of Pythagoras, certainly connected with the Choiseul-Gouffier type. Our Apollo and the coin of Mytilene are later in style¹⁶ but clearly belong to the same school as the Choiseul-Gouffier figure and the tetradrachms, which a plausible conjecture assigns to Pythagoras of Rhegium. Pythagoras was a Samian by birth, and it seems no far-fetched hypothesis that an artist belonging by race to Samos, by adoption to Sicily, by his athletic works to Greece proper,¹⁷

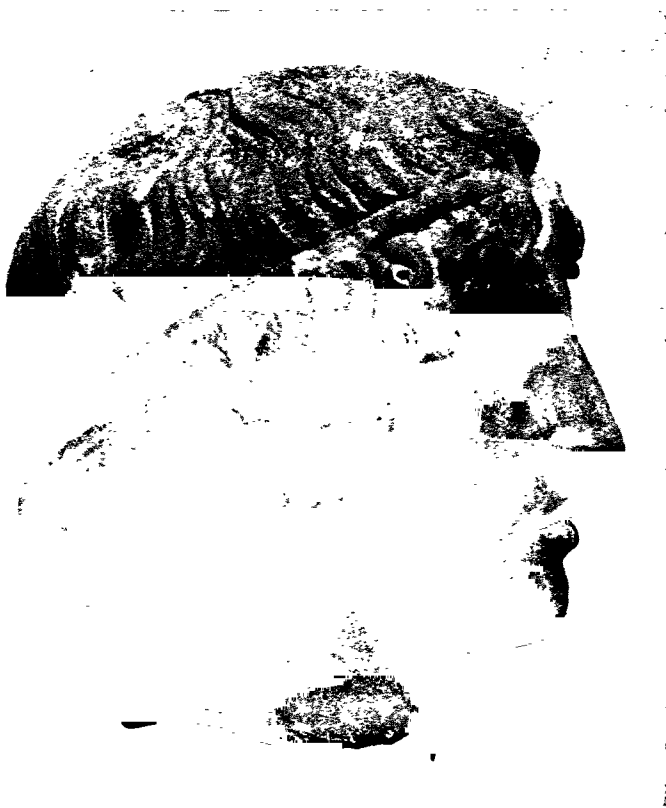


FIG. 3.—HEAD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

might be known in the Eastern Mediterranean as in Sicily and the mainland.¹⁸ It is true that we have no literary evidence for such works, but statues by his purely Attic contemporary Calamis stood in Sicily¹⁹ and on the borders of the Black Sea,²⁰ so that even without the witness of the coin we might conclude that works of the school of Pythagoras were to be seen in

¹⁵ *Masterpieces*, p. 103 and Pl. VI. 14.

¹⁶ Notably in the plastic treatment of the hair.

¹⁷ Works of his stood in Delphi, Olympia, and Thebes.

¹⁸ Replicas of the Choiseul-Gouffier type have been found in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

¹⁹ Paus. v. 25.

²⁰ Strabo, vii. 319.

the islands. The Mytilene type thus confirms the attribution of the head to Apollo instead of Iacchos, the interpretation proposed by Furtwangler, and both are derived from a later work of the school that produced the Choiseul-Gouffier figure and kindred works. The differences between them are as



FIG. 4.—STATERE OF MYTILENE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM 2:1.

important as the points of likeness, proving with what care and delicacy the sculptors of this school distinguished between Apollo and Athlete, and giving us examples, confirmed by numismatic evidence, of either type.²¹

KATHARINE A. McDOWALL.

²¹ Mrs. Strong's position (*Strong, loc. cit.*) that both are Apollos seems hardly tenable. The difference in date is, as she allows, not

great, and the distinction of type is, to my mind, fundamental.

NITOKRIS-RHODOPIS.

ONE of the most curious of the Greek stories about Egypt is that which ascribed the building of the Third Pyramid of Gizeh to a woman, according to the usual tale, the famous courtesan Rhodopis. We find this story given in various forms by Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo. Herodotus would not credit it (ii. 134), but it was evidently generally accepted among the Greeks in Egypt, so much so that the native historian, Manetho, when called upon by the Greek rulers of Egypt to write the history of his country, himself attributed the building of the pyramid to a woman, an Egyptian queen. Nitokris, the heroine of another Herodotean story (ii. 100). This Nitokris Manetho places at the end of the VIth Dynasty. Thus Nitokris and Rhodopis were connected, and Professor Petrie in his 'History' (i. p. 105) considers that the Herodotean Rhodopis is 'evidently another version of Nitokris, whom Manetho describes as fair and ruddy.' In reality however it would seem that Manetho's Nitokris was a version of Rhodopis rather than Rhodopis a version of Nitokris.

The historical existence of a queen Nitokris at the end of the VIth Dynasty has hitherto been generally taken for granted, because on a fragment of the Turin Papyrus of Kings which might possibly be referred to this period, occurs the name of a monarch, probably a queen named Neit-akerti. Now Neit-akerti or Nitakrit, 'Neith is pre-excellent' is without doubt the correct Egyptian original of the Herodotean name *Νίτωκρις*¹: so that the Turin papyrus name Nitakerti has very naturally been generally identified with the queen Nitokris whom Manetho places at the end of the VIth Dynasty. Hence we find the queen Nitakerti or Nitokris regularly placed at the end of the VIth Dynasty in modern histories of Egypt, as in Prof. Petrie's.

Former historians have not hesitated partly to accept Manetho's further story about his Nitokris having built the third pyramid. We know, as Herodotus did, that this pyramid was in reality built by Menkaura (Mykerinos), of Manetho's IVth Dynasty. Perring however, the first explorer of the pyramid, thought that he could discern traces of later additions to it, and these supposed later additions have been regarded (*e.g.* by Bunsen² and Wiedemann)³ as the work of 'Nitokris,' and the origin of Manetho's statement.

¹ Correctly interpreted or paraphrased in Eutosthenes as *Ἀθηναίκα φάρος*.

² *Aegypten* ii. 236 ff.

³ *Ägyptische Geschichte* i. 216.

Prof. Petrie however does not accept this: while equating *T.P.* Nitakerti = *Man.* Nitokris, ∴ Nitokris-Nitakerti is a VIth Dynasty queen regnant, he does not admit that she can have added to the pyramid of Mykerinos: 'though the third pyramid has been enlarged, it is certain, from the excellent masonry of the core, from the granite casing of the outside, and from the absence of all inscription inside, that it belongs entirely to the IVth Dynasty, and has no connection with the rubble pyramids of the VIth Dynasty at Sakkara.' With this opinion all archaeologists would agree, as far as a VIth Dynasty addition is concerned:⁴ the Manethonian story of Nitokris and the pyramid is an impossibility.

But how did the story originate? In the royal list of Abydos occurs the name of a monarch **Menkara** following **Neterkara** at the end of the VIth Dynasty. This Menkara bore the same name, to all intents and purposes, as the king who really built the pyramid, Menkaura (Mykerinos). Prof. Petrie thinks that this VIth Dynasty Menkara must be the throne-name of the queen Nitakerti-Nitokris: 'the real builder of the pyramid being Men-kau-ra, he has been confounded with the 'queen' Men-ka-ra of the end of the VIth Dynasty,' who was *ce hypothesi* Manetho's Nitokris.

Prof. Petrie's explanation of the attribution of the building of the Third Pyramid to a monarch of the end of the VIth Dynasty as being due to a confusion of Menkaura with Menkara is undoubtedly correct, but his criticism does not seem to me to go far enough. He does not doubt the historical reality of the Manethonian queen: he accepts the identification of her with the Nitakerti of the Turin papyrus without demur, and identifies her with the VIth Dynasty Menkara, a queen *pro hac vice*; and regards her as being, because Manetho describes her as *γεννικωτάτη καὶ εὐμορφοτάτη τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν γενομένη, ξανθὴ τὴν χροιάν*, the original of Rhodopis. Lepsius, on the other hand, thought that she was thus described by Manetho not on any independent authority but merely because he identified her with the Rhodopis of the tale:—he made her beautiful because Rhodopis was beautiful—and this seems the more correct view: Rhodopis was the original of Manetho's Nitokris, not *vice versa*, as Prof. Petrie has it. But Lepsius again fully accepted Nitokris as a historical queen of the VIth Dynasty.⁵

⁴ Dr. Borchardt is of opinion that the additional work of the Third Pyramid is to be attributed to an 'Umbau' of the XXVIth Dynasty, under which special care and attention was given to the work of the Old Kingdom ('Zur Geschichte der Pyramiden,' *Äg. Zeits.* xxv. (1892), p. 98). See Note 11 below.

⁵ Prof. Lepsius' theory (*Chronologie der Ägypter*, 307 ff.) was, shortly, as follows: Manetho must have known who the real builder of the pyramid was. Therefore he cannot have written the words *ἡ τὴν τρίτην ἔγειρε πυραμίδα*. They are the addition of later copyists, who

identified 'Rhodopis' with Nitokris (and so in all probability also added the words *ξανθὴ τὴν χροιάν*, certainly added the 'rubris genis' of Eusebius), because there lived under the XXVIth Dynasty a King Psametik-Menkarā who married a *παλλακὶς Διός* named Nitokris, and, since the Third Pyramid had certainly been built by a Menkarā, the 'leichtsinnige Interpreten zu Sais' naturally took him to be the XXVIth Dynasty Menkarā and his wife the *παλλακὶς* Nitokris to be the same as the hetaera Rhodopis of the tale. This was a very ingenious theory, but since it was propounded in 1849 we have learnt

We may perhaps go further than this in a critical examination of the matter.

The third pyramid of Gizeh was built by Menkaura (Herodotus's Mykerinos), of the IVth Dynasty. Herodotus knew this as well as we do. There was however current in his day among the Greeks in Egypt a tale that it had been built by the courtesan Doricha the 'rosy-cheeked' (Rhodopis). This tale survived for many centuries. The Arab historian al-Murtadi mentions a story current in his day to the effect that the pyramids were haunted, and that the spirit of the Third Pyramid was a beautiful naked woman, who appeared to men with a wonderful smile upon her face, which so infatuated all who saw her that they immediately followed her and wandered in the desert bereft of their reason. The story of the Woman of the Pyramid was then equally current in Manetho's time. The best theory of the origin of the tale seems to be that of Prof. Piehl,⁶ who believes it to be due to the presence by the pyramids of the great Sphinx, which the Greeks assumed, as they naturally would, to have the face of a woman, and, because it was painted red, regarded it as a portrait of Rhodopis. If we modify this explanation somewhat, and suppose that the Greeks called the red-faced Sphinx, which they erroneously assumed to be female, *ῥοδῶπις*, and that afterwards by a natural transition they took it to be a portrait of the greatest *ῥοδῶπις* they knew, the rosy-cheeked Doricha, the famous Greek courtesan who had lived so long by the banks of the Nile, this theory gains considerably in probability.⁷ Prof. Wiedemann's objections that in Herodotus's time the Sphinx was invisible (being covered up with sand) and plays no part in the legend⁸ is, as he himself says of Piehl's theory, 'nicht zutreffend.' Prof. Wiedemann merely assumes that the Sphinx was buried in Herodotus's time because the historian does not mention it: but we have absolutely no right to use such an argument. We have not even the slightest right to doubt that Herodotus passed Thebes and went to Elephantine merely because he does not describe the former place. It is odd that he does not mention the Sphinx or Thebes, but we have no right to suppose from his silence that he never saw them. But suppose it was buried: then Piehl's theory becomes more probable than ever, instead of being disproved. For then we should have a popular legend about the rosy-cheeked woman of the pyramids, founded on a reminiscence of the long buried and hidden rosy-cheeked Sphinx: this woman the Greeks

that there was no such king as Menkarā in the XXVIth Dynasty—the name is that of a private person of the Roman period who usurped the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferabā (Brit. Mus. Egyptian Saloon, No. 32, published by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferabā*, London, 1885) queen of Psametik II., and placed his name next to that kings in the royal cartouches—and that the title *four-mother*, borne by the XXVIth Dynasty queen Nitokris in question does not necessarily betoken

a *παλλακίς* (see note 11 below).

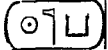
⁶ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xi. p. 221 f.

⁷ The Arab historian Abd ul-Latif thus describes the appearance of the face of the Sphinx in his day (transl. de Sacy, p. 179): 'On voit sur la figure une teinte rougeâtre et un vernis rouge, qui a tout l'éclat de la fraîcheur. Cette figure est très-belle, et sa bouche porte l'empreinte des grâces et de la beauté. On dirait qu'elle sourit gracieusement.'

⁸ *Herodotus' Zeit. des Inst.*, p. 485.

called Rhodopis and imagined to be their Doricha, who must have built one of the pyramids.

At any rate the legend must have been well known in Manetho's day, and the educated had their *locus classicus* for it in Herodotus. Now for the compiling of his history Manetho⁹ had before him copies of the official Egyptian lists of the kings, no doubt also other Egyptian sources unknown to us, and Herodotus, whose work was so well known to the Greek king and court for whom he was writing. Now the stories of Nitokris and Rhodopis were very likely to be regarded as gospel by many of his readers, who in the case of Rhodopis would, as is so easily done, forget the *οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες*, and claim Herodotus's authority for its authenticity. Manetho had therefore to 'hedge.' He absolutely rejected the Greek idea of the courtesan Rhodopis having built the pyramid: he knew the story to be absurd, and he had Herodotus's authority for rejecting it. But the story of the connection of a woman with the pyramids—a story which may have been of prae-Greek and native Egyptian origin—he had no strong reason for rejecting. He knew that the Third Pyramid, the pyramid specifically connected with Rhodopis in the Greek story, had really been built by a ruler named Menkaurā or Menkarā. But there were two Menkarās in the official lists. The first of these was a well-known king, the successor of Khufu (Cheops) and Khafra (Chephren), and belonged to Manetho's IVth Dynasty: the second came at the end of his VIth Dynasty, and was placed in the lists from which he worked

next to the name Neterkarā, . This name was probably pronounced in Manetho's time as *Netekrī* or very much in Coptic fashion, as **Nūte-k-ri*, **ΝΟΥΤΕΚΡΗ**. Is it not probable that Manetho thought he could find a place for Herodotus's queen and at the same time an explanation of the story of Rhodopis and the Third Pyramid by supposing that the names Neterkarā and Menkarā were the personal and throne-names of one and the same person, queen Netekrī=Nitokris? In this case the Third Pyramid would indeed have been built by a Menkarā or Mykerinos, as Herodotus said and as Manetho knew to be the fact, but this Menkarā would be, not the king of the IVth Dynasty, but a queen, probably Herodotus's Nitokris, who would then be none other than the famous Woman of the Pyramid, whom the Greeks of Herodotus's day had in their insouciance identified with Rhodopis the courtesan. Manetho then naturally attributes the fair and ruddy complexion of Rhodopis to Nitokris, as Lepsius said his copyists had. Thus Stein's note *ad* Hdt. ii. 134, 'Diese Angabe war nicht eine hellenische Fiktion, sondern beruhte auf einheimischer Sage, die sich bei Manethos erhalten,' will then be the exact converse of the fact: Manetho's *Sage* really rests on the fiction, whether it be Hellenic or prae-Hellenic.

I think that this new explanation of the Manethonian passage about Nitokris is probably correct. Hitherto, while Manetho's placing of his 'Nitokris' in the VIth Dynasty has been generally accepted, 'she' has not been

⁹ We may assume for the nonce the actual existence of an Egyptian historiographer

Manetho, the author of the chronology of which fragments have come down to us under his name.

identified with Neterkarā, but with the casual name Nitākerti in the Turin Papyrus, as has been said above. But the name Nitākerti or Nitākrit is of a type more usual in the Middle Empire (cf. such names as Antef-aḳer, etc.) than in the VIth Dynasty and occurs in the XXVIth. The Manethonian name Nitokris seems to me to be sufficiently explained by the occurrence of the name Neterkarā in the lists after the Pepis. Manetho's queen Nitokris, ἡ τὴν τρίτην ἤγειρε πυραμίδα, is a compound of Neterkarā and Menkarā, who no doubt were, in reality, neither of them women, but two successive kings. There is then no need to identify Menkarā with Nitākerti, as Prof. Petrie does, and queen Nitokris must be struck out of the list of the monarchs of the VIth Dynasty.

We have no reason to accuse Manetho of manipulating his sources with perverse intent in order to produce his VIth Dynasty queen: he no doubt considered that there must be some historical ground for the tale of the connection of a woman with the Third Pyramid, and did his best to find a reason for the story.

It may be objected that *Nitōkris* still remains a more probable Greek form of the name *Nitākerti* or *Nitākrit* than of the name *Neterkarā*, and that this being so we are not justified in identifying *Nitōkris* with *Neterkarā* rather than with the Turin Papyrus *Nitākerti*. That is so, but my argument is that it was Manetho who identified *Nitōkris* with *Neterkarā*, and his identification is intelligible enough when we remember that the final *r* of the word *ḡ* *neter*, god, was certainly dropped, and that Manetho probably pronounced it *nete* or, as in Coptic, *nūte*. The name Nitōkris first occurs in Herodotus, and is certainly a Greek form of Nitākerti or Nitākrit. This name was one familiar in Herodotus' day: it had been borne by queens and princesses of the Saïte Dynasty, since Neith or Nit was the goddess of Saïs. It is then natural to find it given to the legendary queen of Hdt. ii. 100: she bears a familiar name of the Saïte period, just as the personages of the Joseph story, which deals with events of the eighteenth century B.C. possibly, —Zaphnath-paaneakh, Potiphar, Asenath, and the rest—bear Egyptian names, not of the eighteenth century B.C. by any means, but of the eighth and seventh,¹⁰ conferred upon them by scribes familiar with the Egyptian names of their own day. The Nitākerti of the Turin Papyrus, whom, from the character of her name, and since the Turin Papyrus was written long before the time of the XXVIth Dynasty Nitākrits, we must place among the ephemeral monarchs of the XIIIth-XVIIth Dynasties, may of course be the original of Herodotus's Nitokris (who, it should be remembered, has in Herodotus nothing whatever to do with Rhodopis or the Third Pyramid), but

¹⁰ *Zaphnath-paaneakh* is



Zet-pa-ne-ut-ankh, 'the God spake and he lives,' a name of a type which never occurs before 1000 B.C., and was used down to the Ptolemaic

period. Potipherah or Potiphar is



Petipra, 'He whom the Sun has given,' a typically Saïte and Ptolemaic name.

it would seem more probable that his informants gave her a name familiar to them in their own time. Manetho took the name in all probability simply from Herodotus: the name Nitākerti or Nitākrit was not of a type usual in his time, three hundred years after the Saïtes: and it seems highly probable that he identified it with the Neterkarā (**Netkri* or **Nutekri* as he would pronounce it) of his VIth Dynasty. Then, because in the lists the name Neterkarā stood next to the name *Menkarā*, and he knew that a Menkarā had built the Third Pyramid, on my hypothesis he jumped to the conclusion that here was the explanation of the story of the Woman of the Pyramid: Neterkarā (**Netkri*) and Menkarā must be really the personal and throne-names of a woman, a queen Neterkri-Menkeri, who really built the Third Pyramid, and she must have been very beautiful and fair of skin, to account for the Rhodopis story. Further she must be Herodotus's Nitokris.¹¹

This, at any rate, seems to me very probable. Whether we identify Herodotus's Nitokris with the Nitākerti of the Turin Papyrus, and place her in the XIIIth-XVIIth Dynasty, or not, it seems to me that we must abolish the Nitokris of the VIth Dynasty, who is a mere theory of Manetho's. Neterkarā and Menkarā II. were two separate kings: and the twelve years' reign which Manetho ascribes to his Nitokris are no doubt the total of their two reigns: the kings of the end of the VIth Dynasty seem to have been very ephemeral monarchs.

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¹¹ If Dr. Borchardt's theory (Note 4 above) of a XXVIth Dynasty rebuilding of the Third Pyramid be accepted (it rests solely on his authority as an architect), the fact of this alteration under the Saïtes may also have influenced Manetho in attributing its building to a queen Nitokris, since this was a Saite royal name (see above): he may have heard that a Saite Nitokris had rebuilt it and have thought that this must be a mistake for his VIth Dynasty Nitokris. But this would be a far-fetched theory, and would entail the supposi-

tion that there existed in Manetho's day a tradition that the alteration had been carried out by a XXVIth Dynasty queen Nitokris, and of this we have no manner of proof. Lepsius's theory identifying Psammetichus II's queen Nitokris with Rhodopis (Note 5 above) has, as we have seen, nothing to back it up now that we know that the name Menkarā in the cartouches of Psammetichus II. on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneterabā does not belong to that king.

THE CHASM AT DELPHI.

THOSE who have written upon the Greek Oracles in this country have been content, for the most part, to accept without criticism the traditional accounts of the procedure at these institutions. Where the meaning of a custom appears entirely strange and unsympathetic, there seems to be little to choose between one account of its details and another. Truth is hard enough to discover when the subject is intelligible: when the whole sphere of enquiry is dark its claims yield to those of the picturesque. This has been the fate of the oracles; their place in the life of the Greeks cannot be explained to the satisfaction of our reason and therefore they demand that they should be represented to our imagination with all possible violence. But the very reason which makes us prone to accept any account of the oracles and their procedure if it be sufficiently lurid and effective, should make us exercise the greatest caution before we endorse any traditional account as a fact. We are not the first to refuse our approbation to the oracles, and to demand in the place of intellectual conviction a striking appeal to the imagination. Even among the Greeks themselves, romance and legend found no centre so accommodating as the oracles. Not only is the faculty of prophecy one which attracts supremely the poetic fancy; but, since the oracles themselves declined in importance as they figured more largely in literature, the poet was left free to embroider or to invent with no fear that his hearers would check him through knowledge of their own. In the matter of the actual prophecies delivered this has long been recognised, but it is no less true of the procedure which led up to the delivery of the prophetic word.

Moreover the period during which the oracles were active was a double one. After a long interval during which the oracles decayed and were all but ignored they burst forth again in a general renewal of superstition. It is from this second period that most of our first-hand evidence dates. At this time even if the oracles had themselves preserved a pure tradition of their ceremonies it would not have satisfied the renaissance. The later oracles not only were required to revive the features of the old days; they were forced also to live up to the romances woven around them in the time when they were dumb and powerless to restrain the imagination of their literary devotees.

It is the object of this paper to examine the popular and traditional account of certain features connected with the oracle at Delphi. It will be

shewn that much which is readily accepted by modern writers is based only on the evidence of late authors and is inconsistent with the statements of earlier authorities and with the existing remains of Delphi. But while the Delphic legend was powerful in producing imitations of its fancied customs at other oracles, we shall see that the theory of its procedure which is based upon earlier evidence finds a welcome corroboration in the correct interpretation of the one late author who knew Delphi well. Pending the publication of the monumental work on Delphi which will crown the industry and care of M. Homolle and his able staff, no pronouncement on the antiquities of the oracle can be complete. But the little that can be done may serve perhaps to shew the poverty of the evidence upon which rests the greater part of the statements generally found in text books; and the conclusions which seem necessarily to follow upon a revision of the evidence are to some extent independent of archaeological discoveries.¹

I.

The traditional account of the oracle at Delphi reads somewhat as follows. In the inmost part of the temple of Apollo there was an underground cellar or adytum. Into this vault the priestess descended when the time came for her to deliver oracles. There she chewed laurel, drank the water of a sacred spring, and took her seat upon a large tripod which was placed directly over a natural orifice in the ground. From this orifice or chasm arose vapours whose special quality lay in their inspiring powers. These the priestess inhaled, and thrown into a frenzy she uttered wild words which were heard and edited by temple priests and thus given to the world.

The central notion of this account is obviously the mephitic chasm. The fumes afford an easy explanation of the frenzy of the priestess, and, thanks to them, there seems to be no more ground for misgivings as to the possible supernatural origin of her frenzy than there would be were it produced by alcohol.² The underground adytum in which the vent-hole was supposed to exist is no less a welcome detail. The opportunities it offered for secrecy and mystery appeal to all three classes of those who have theorised about the oracle. It is picturesque for the poets and the writers of prize essays; it is adapted for the practice of fraud and so favourable to the historians who think the oracles

¹ The main conclusion of this paper—that the mephitic chasm under the temple never existed, and that the real chasm is the Castalian gorge—has been definitely asserted by Prof. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Cf. *Hermes* xxxviii. 1904, p. 579. *Arist. und Athen* ii. p. 44, n. 17. He has, however, published no arguments, as far as I am aware, supporting his contention.

² There is no ancient authority for the description of the vapours as mephitic, but that is the invariable epithet applied to them

in modern books. It does not seem to possess a very clear meaning. Servius *ad Aen.* vii. 84 says 'Mephitis proprie est terrae putor qui de aquis nascitur sulfuratis et est in nemoribus gravior ex densitate silvarum.' Modern writers seem mostly to connect it with volcanic fumes. The notion that any natural gas can create a prophetic excitement is totally erroneous and therefore it does not matter much what is understood by mephitic; cf. *infra* § viii. For the analogy with alcohol cf. Myers, *Greek Oracles*, p. 34 n.

were a mere pretence, and since it separates the priestess from the consultant it gives full freedom to the intermediation of the priests whose wise direction of international politics is the main feature in a third theory. But these two are of all the traditional details the most suspicious and the most deserving of examination. In subjecting them to criticism three points must be clearly remembered. The first is that according to this story the chasm was actually under the temple and was of such a nature as to give off vapours of an inspiring influence. The second is that the priestess descended into an underground chamber to experience the effects of the vapours; and the third that she did so alone. All three details will be shewn to be false. The evidence for one has been taken to corroborate the others and it would perhaps be sufficient to shew that so far from doing this the stories are independent, even inconsistent. But since it is possible to prove the evidence altogether worthless, that way is more drastic and better.

II.

It has been generally recognised by those who have devoted special attention to the oracles that the evidence for the mephitic chasm is very late. It is ignored entirely by the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, our oldest document relating to Delphi, and throughout the whole range of literature down to the first century B.C.—when, by the admission of the very writers who tell the tale, the oracle was dead or dying,—there occurs no mention which taken by itself would lead us to infer its existence.

For such a chasm there existed words enough in the Greek language. Later writers speak of it as a *χάσμα*, *στόμα γῆς*, or *στόμιον*. None of these words is ever connected with Delphi by classical authors, for the reference to a *στόμιον* at Delphi in some editions of Aeschylus (*Choephores* 806) is due only to a recent emendation which robs Hades of his due and credits Apollo with something which he did not possess.³ The other words *μυχός* and *γύαλον* which occur in periphrastic descriptions of Delphi in Pindar and the tragic poets, if they possess some vague association with the idea of a cave, are not used with this intention in the passages which are concerned with Delphi—much less with a reference to a mephitic hole. *Μυχός*, which is used frequently by Aeschylus and once by Pindar, in most cases is a mere synonym for *adytum* and means the temple itself.⁴ In others it possesses a reference to the notion that Delphi was in the centre of the earth

³ *Choephores* 806 τὸ δὲ καλῶς κτάμενον. ᾧ μετὰ ναίων στόμιον. The scholiast notes 'Ἐ Αἰδῶν.' Dr. Verrall is clearly right in refusing to accept *κτίμενον*, the emendation of Bamberger, and depart from the ancient tradition. A reference to his article in this *Journal* xiv. 8 will shew that his decision has not been influenced by any prejudice against the existence of a chasm at Delphi. The word *στόμιον* is far

more applicable to Hades than to Apollo, who would scarcely have been recognised by this appellation. The context moreover, in which the gods invoked are Zeus, the gods of the house and finally Hermes, who was especially connected with the dead, inevitably suggests that Hades and not Apollo is the god intended here.

⁴ See note at end of paper.

and no more suggests a subterranean centre than the navel—from which through the omphalos-stone the notion was derived—demands a situation in the entrails of the body. Its use is vague, and still vaguer is that of the word γύαλον which, rendered conventional by the Homeric Hymn and Hesiod, is employed with special fondness by Euripides.⁴ But though both he and Sophocles use it, as μυχός is used, in the sense of a cave, that meaning is never possible in the places where it is employed in speaking of Delphi. In these passages it means either the temple itself or the temple enclosure and is merely a misapplication of the epic phrase used as a poetical synonym for ἄδυτον, μυχός, or μαντεῖον.

Both these words, however, may have owed their appropriateness partly to the general situation of Delphi as it lies in a hollow of Parnassus and partly perhaps to some loose notion of the existence of a cave or chasm. In themselves they do not require this interpretation, but that there was such a tradition appears from Euripides and a scholar of Aristotle, Clearchus. The tragic poet speaks of the cave of the dragon at Delphi,⁵ a cave which by comparison with a parallel passage we may understand him to have connected with the oracle. Similarly Clearchus speaks of the cave of the dragon Pytho,⁶ though he does not identify it in any way with the oracle.⁷ This story is inconsistent with the tale found in the Homeric Hymn but as it agrees with the best authenticated of all Delphic legends, that of its connection with the goddess Earth, it may well possess antiquity. But it does not in any way point to the existence of a subterranean abyss which opened in a secret chamber of the temple and gave forth the inspiring vapour. What truth the legend does contain will be considered below; at present we must pass on to the authors who give the common version of the story and subject their accounts to a strict examination.

III.

That there was a chasm at Delphi and that vapours arose therefrom which inspired the Pythia upon her tripod is stated most clearly by Strabo (ix. 419). After having described accurately enough the position of the town he introduces with the words 'They say' his account of the oracle itself. To quote his words: 'They say that the oracle is a hollow perpendicular cavern (ἄντρον κοῖλον κατὰ βάθους) with a not very large mouth. Out of this rises an air which causes frenzy (πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικόν) and

⁵ Eur. *Phoen.* 232 ζάθεά τ' ἄντρα δράκοντος. *I. T.* 1245 ὅθι ποικιλόνητος οἰωνοῦς δράκων σκιερῇ κατάχαλκος εὐφύλλῃ δάφνῃ, γὰρ πελώριον τέρας, ἔμπεπε μαντεῖον χθόνιον.

⁶ Clearchus *ap.* Athen. 701 c (*F. H. G.* ii. 318). The story is told in explanation of the phrase ἰε παιών. J. H. Middleton was quite unjustified in identifying this σπήλαιον with the

adytum; the story of the dragon-slaying as told in the Hom. Hymn is quite independent of the oracular chasm.

⁷ The full identification of the oracle with the chasm in this myth appears in Apollod. *Bibl.* i. 4. 1. 3. The dragon guarded the oracle and prevented Apollo from approaching the chasm.

above the mouth there is placed a large tripod upon which the Pythia mounts and, inhaling the air, prophesies.'

This account is followed by Longinus (*de Sublim.* xiii. 2) who tells in a simile how the Pythia approached the tripod and was filled with a divine exhalation which arose from the chasm, and by Iamblichus who professes ignorance as to the truth of the versions which he is reporting (*de Myst.* p. 73) and, though he is doubtful whether the Pythia sat upon a tripod or upon an ordinary chair, yet describes the air which inspired her to prophesy as thin and fiery. The story gave opportunities of obscene parody which were not missed by the Christian Fathers who borrowed from each other their comic account of the entrance into the Pythia of a *πονηρὸν πνεῦμα*. From them the story found its way into a late scholium on Aristophanes⁸ and there have actually been scholars who quote it thence in corroboration of Strabo's account without, presumably, noticing the source from which it is derived.

These passages are of no importance, but of about the same date as Strabo, and perhaps from the same source, is the story told by Diodorus Siculus (xvi. 26) and described by him as the ancient and traditional account of the discovery of the oracle. 'Where the adytum of the temple now stands,' he says, 'there is (or was) a chasm. Here in the days before Delphi was inhabited a shepherd brought his goats. Each of these as it approached and looked into the chasm began to leap about and to bleat in an unusual way. The shepherd was astonished and going himself to the chasm looked down⁹ and was affected in the same way as his goats. They behaved like people in a divine frenzy, he foretold the future. The fame of the marvel spread abroad and all the neighbours came to see it and they, testing it for themselves, all became frenzied. Hence the oracle became famous and was held to be an oracle of Earth. For some time those who wished to consult the oracle went to the chasm themselves and foretold the future for each other, but afterwards, owing to the number of those who fell down the pit in their frenzy and were never seen again, the neighbouring inhabitants decided to avoid this peril by appointing one woman the prophet and getting their oracles from her. They therefore constructed an apparatus which would enable her to become frenzied and to prophesy without danger. The instrument had three legs whence it was called a tripod and it was the prototype of almost all the bronze tripods now made.' This tale is referred to by

⁸ *ad Plut.* 39. Cf. Origen *v. Cels.* iii. c. 25, vii. c. 3 (ed. Koetschau, Berlin, 1899). Joh. Chrysostom, *Hom.* xxix. *ad i. Cor.* c. 12, v. 1, Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxi. 242. The origin of the scholium was noted by eighteenth century scholars (cf. Dindorf *ad loc.*) yet it is repeatedly quoted as an authority, notably by Middleton, *J.H.S.* ix. 305, who gives a false reference. For a different explanation of the story cf. Norden, *Vergil Aen.* vi. l. 77.

⁹ The words used by Diodorus *προσβλέψασαν* (of the goats) and *κατιδόντα* (of the shepherd) and the absence of any reference to a *πνεῦμα*

ἐνθουσιαστικόν seem to imply that he looked upon the inspiration as visual in origin. Clearly antiquity was very doubtful about the mephitic vapours; but these minor inconsistencies in such poor evidence are not of much account. The matters which are explained by the aetiological legend quoted by Diodorus are: *α.* The 'oracle from goats' practised at Delphi, *i.e.* the preliminary rite known to us from Plutarch (*de Def. Or.* 46, 49, 51). *β.* The attribution of the oracle to Γῆ. *γ.* The invention of the Tripod. *δ.* The virginal dress of the Pythia.

Plutarch (*de Def. Or.* cc. 42, 46) and by Pausanias (x. 5. 7) and is to be found, taken straight from Diodorus, in a scholium to Euripides (*ad Or.* 165).

In these two accounts the Pythia is represented as seated upon the tripod above the mephitic chasm. Another batch of passages presents a conflicting account in which the tripod is omitted or reduced to no importance, and the Pythia is conceived not as sitting above but as descending herself into the mephitic chasm or cavern. The more scientific descriptions do not inform us to which of the two traditions they refer. The pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, the *de Mundo* (p. 395), in enumerating the various qualities which belong to different natural exhalations, couples Delphi with Lebadeia as a place where airs arise from the earth and produce prophetic inspiration. So too Cicero refers to the theory in his *de Divinatione* (§§ 79, 38, 115) and he may safely be presumed to have found it in the writings of Chrysippus or another Stoic.

The discrepancy between the two accounts is most noticeable in a passage of Justin (xxiv. 6. 6) who, while he does not actually say that the priestess enters a chasm, omits all mention of the tripod. This is remarkable since he is presumably following Strabo or a common source, as appears from the fact that, among other coincidences, both go out of their way to philosophise upon the existence of a city devoted to the cult of a god. The chasm he describes as a 'profundum terrae foramen, quod in oracula patet' and he defines the nature of the prophetic air as a 'frigidus spiritus.'

The reason of his forsaking his authority and omitting the tripod lay perhaps in his preference for Roman writers. Livy (i. 56) speaks of the oracle as a chasm from the bottom of which arose the oracular voice, and Valerius Maximus (i. 8. 10) is more detailed if more confused. According to him, during the Civil War Appius compelled 'the priestess of the Delphic Tripod' to descend into the lowest part of the sacred cave where the noxious but divine vapours were strongest and most fatal. This account is embellished by Lucan in a passage (*Phars.* v. 79) too fantastic to be quoted as evidence even in this company. It, with all the other passages from Roman authors, is evidently based upon Vergil's description of the consultation of the Cumaean Sibyl by Aeneas.

The chasm is also referred to by Dio Cassius (lxiii. 14) and by the pseudo-Lucian (*Nero* 10) when they narrate that Nero destroyed the oracle by throwing corpses of murdered men into its mouth. To Dio the chasm is the source of the holy air, while to the pseudo-Lucian as to Livy it is the orifice from which the divine voice (*δμφαί*) proceeded. Other references to the chasm are vague. Pausanias though he refers to the story told by Diodorus only mentions the chasm when he says (x. 5. 12) that the bronze temple at Delphi had, according to one account, fallen into its depths, and Varro, if he does refer to the chasm at all in his remarks about the Omphalos, does so without suggesting that it was connected with the oracle.¹⁰

¹⁰ Varro *de Ling. Lat.* vii. 17, cf. *J.H.S.* ix. p. 294 n. I am unable to agree that the 'quod
vocat Delphis in aede ad latus est quiddam ut
thesauri specie quod Graeci vocant *δμφαλον*

IV.

Among the authorities for the chasm and its mephitic vapour it is customary to place Plutarch and, as is only just, the greatest importance is ascribed to his evidence. Of the authors quoted, none speaks at first hand, and Strabo, the most important, deliberately dissociates himself from the account he gives. But Plutarch was a resident at Delphi and, as a priest of the temple,¹¹ he must have been well acquainted with the oracle and its proceedings. If his word could be quoted as corroborating the account of the Pythia's inspiration from the mephitic vapour, his evidence would be decisive for his own time at least. But as a matter of fact Plutarch not only ignores the chasm but uses words which are totally incompatible with its existence.

He refers, it is true, to the legend preserved in Diodorus and adds a new detail to the story, the name of the shepherd Koretas. It would be strange if he had not known a tale which was evidently the stock legend of the Delphic guides, and it is the manner and not the fact of his reference that is important. But neither in his allusions to the story nor, as we shall see, in the context which evoked the reference does he mention the chasm. The words he uses are purposely vague and in both the passages wherein Koretas is spoken of he chooses with care the same formula. To give his own words: 'They say that the virtues of the spot (*i.e.* Delphi) were first discovered through a shepherd who chanced to come upon it, and then uttered ecstatic cries which the bystanders at first laughed at, but afterwards held in awe, when the things which he foretold came true.' In the other passage he says 'The man Koretas who, the Delphians say, first proved the virtue of the spot by chancing upon it.'¹²

In both passages, although the peculiar property of the Delphic air is the subject under discussion, there is no mention of a chasm such as Diodorus and Strabo identify with it. On the contrary the most general word *τόπος* is used and the participle *ἐμπεσόντα* can receive no other object. In this word there might be a memory of the tradition, but it is a word which was very generally used in the sense which it has been given in the translation above. Taken by itself the passage could never suggest that either *τόπος* must be taken to mean a chasm, or that a chasm must be supplied as an object to the participle. Had he meant to insist upon the

quem Pythonis aiunt esse tumulos' of Varro means 'what in the temple at Delphi is called the χάσμα (the oracular 'cleft in the rock).' His words suggest rather that there was an omphalos tomb as Rohde, *Psych.* i. 132, and Miss Harrison, *J.H.S.* xix, 225, conclude to have been the case. To this question I hope to return on another occasion.

¹¹ Plutarch took part as priest in the dedication of a statue to Hadrian, cf. *C.I.G.* i. 1713

Pomtow, *Jahrb.* 1889, 551 sqq.

¹² c. 42 καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὴν περὶ τὸν τόπον δυνάμιν ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν, νομέως τινὸς ἐμπεσόντος κατὰ τινα τύχην, εἴτα φωνὰς ἀναφέροντος ἐνθουσιώδεις κ.τ.λ. . . οἱ δὲ λογιώτατοι Δελφῶν καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διαμνημονεύοντες Κορήταν λέγουσιν.

c. 46 ὁ γὰρ Κορήτας ἐκεῖνος, ὃν Δελφοὶ λέγουσιν πρῶτον ἐμπεσόντα τῆς περὶ τὸν τόπον δυνάμεως αἰσθήσιν παρασχεῖν.

legend nothing could have been simpler for Plutarch than to supply the word. But his language appears to be deliberately chosen. He is correcting a legend which he qualifies as an empty fiction.¹³

Had Plutarch spoken elsewhere of a chasm it might just have been possible to translate *ἐμπεσόντα* as if it meant 'to fall in' and to interpret the whole phrase as elliptical. But as a matter of fact in the whole context Plutarch says nothing which can be taken as pointing to the existence of a chasm. The dialogue it is true is concerned very largely with the theory that the Pythia's prophetic powers are due to some mysterious quality in the Delphic air. But this atmospheric quality is spoken of in the most general way and is never connected with any feature peculiar to Delphi. It is said to be the result of a combination of Sun and Earth and therefore rightly regarded as due to both *Ge* and *Apollo* (cc. 43, 48). It is subject to the decay which affects all terrestrial things and the prophetic inspiration (*ῥεῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα*) is divine and holy *par excellence* whether it is manifested alone and through the air or in combination with a liquid spring. These are words which would apply equally to any oracle in any situation, and there is no mention of any cavern¹⁴ or chasm from which the air arose, though had Plutarch wished to refer to it he might have done so as easily as did the writer of the *de Mundo*.

It might indeed be said that the chasm was so well known that Plutarch had no need to mention it. But he is not merely silent. He speaks of the air in such a way that there can be no doubt that he conceived it as pervading the whole sanctuary (*de Def. Or.* 46). It is impossible that, when the goats were sprinkled with water to test the presence of the oracular god, the ceremony took place within the secret chamber in which the Pythia bestrode the chasm. Yet the manifestation of the divine presence which was the result of a successful trial—the shivering of the animal—is assigned to the same cause as the prophetic frenzy: if a god be the inspirer, he causes the goat to shiver as he causes the Pythia to prophesy; if a natural quality of the air, then goat as well as Pythia receives it. Nor are goats the only creatures which have their share in breathing the exhalations. Ammonius, the speaker in the dialogue who is combating the theory of an inspiring air, asks, if this is the cause of prophecy, why the Pythia is alone to feel it. Surely, he says, it would affect all alike. His argument would have been quite pointless if the Pythia had been conceived as being alone in experiencing the 'mephitic vapours' as is generally supposed to be the case. Yet Ammonius' objection is never met, and since it is probable that Plutarch puts into the mouth of the speaker, his old master, the ideas which he himself

¹³ Ammonius the speaker who makes the second reference to Koretas dismisses the story in the words *εἰ γε δὴ τοῖτο μὴ μῦθος ἐστὶ μὴδὲ πλάσμα κενόν, ὥς ἔγωγ' ἡγοῦμαι*. The importance of the choice of speaker will be noted below.

¹⁴ Middleton *J.H.S.* ix. 304 asserts that 'Plutarch in many passages speaks of the

Pythia *descending* to the vault or *ἄντρον*.' This is presumably a misprint for *ἄδονον* since in the two references given there is no mention of an *ἄντρον*, nor is there as far as I am aware in any writing of Plutarch's. There certainly is not in the treatises on the oracles. But if a misprint it is a very misleading one.

held, it is clear that he had no belief that the vapours arose from a chasm in a secret place and that the Pythia alone retired mysteriously to inhale them.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of this testimony. Plutarch knew the oracle as no other of our authorities knew it; he knew the legend and he knew and he made use of the theory of the prophetic air. If he is correcting the legend, as he is evidently doing here, there can be little doubt that he does so through his knowledge of the place. Since he means by the prophetic air nothing more than the air of Delphi, he is clearly in direct contradiction with the theory that it was a vaporous exhalation from a subterranean abyss.

V.

But if there is no passage from an author earlier or more trustworthy than Strabo which directly asserts the existence of a chasm and its vapours, there might be preserved some incidental remark, some reference to a detail of ritual which would corroborate his account. Such a piece of indirect proof is generally adduced from Plutarch who, as we saw, refuses to recognise the existence of the chasm. He speaks several times of the priestess as 'descending' (*καταβαίνει*) for the purpose of delivering oracles. His words are taken to imply that the oracular chamber was underground, and by the aid of a picturesque imagination the whole scene has been conjured up. The Pythia descended into some secret and subterranean chamber in the floor of which there was an orifice. There she mounted a tripod and alone experienced the frenzying effect of mephitic gas. The wild words were heard by the priests who stood above the adytum and they either edited her utterances or concocted them according as the historian is a sceptic or a believer.

Of course this is a combination of two distinct traditions. Even if the priestess did descend into a subterranean vault, this does not in the least suggest that the vault contained a chasm or that any vapours inspired her as she sat upon the tripod. But as the two details have been taken to corroborate each other, it is necessary to enquire into the truth of the second as of the first.

As to the existence of something known as an adytum at Delphi there need be no doubt. It is mentioned once, if not twice, in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.¹⁵ The oracle itself uses the word and Herodotus (vii. 140, 141) makes the Athenians, in a reply to whom the word is used, employ it in a second question. To it Aeschylus refers in the commencement of the

¹⁵ *Hg.* *Hōm.* *ad* *Apoll.* 443. In l. 523 Allen and Sykes read *δείξε δ' ἄγων ἄδυτον ζάθεον καὶ πόσια νηόν* from an inferior group of MSS. for *αὐτοῦ δάπεδον*. Here, if there is any distinction between *ἄδυτον* and *νηός*, it would seem that the former is the wider term.

The identification of the adytum, as opposed to the temple, with the building of Trophonius and Agamedes spoken of by Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Δελφοί* is not very convincing and the second interpretation put forward by Allen and Sykes (p. 103, *ad* l. 296) is preferable.

Eumenides where he describes it by the name *μυχός*. Towards this place the Pythia is making her way when she enters upon the scene, and her intention, as she herself says, is to go there for the purpose of prophecy. She describes it as covered with garlands and doubtless she refers to the laurel to which Euripides frequently alludes.¹⁶ It contained the omphalos to which Orestes clung as to a sanctuary and is generally spoken of as a holy of holies.

Euripides as is his manner is more vague. In the *Ion* he uses the word, as he uses *γύαλον*, in a double sense. Xuthus says of himself (*Ion* 662) that *Ion* is the first person to meet him as he passes out of the adyta—meaning the temple. Later on in the play (l. 1309) Creusa, threatened by *Ion*, takes refuge at the altar of the god and prays *Ion* to slay her ‘within the adyta of the god.’ No doubt stage conventions were sufficiently loose to allow the audience to imagine that the altar to which Creusa was clinging was within the temple. But the whole machinery of the play would lead one to believe that the altar stood somewhere outside the temple, as it stood in fact at Delphi and at all other sanctuaries. In that case Euripides is using the word vaguely, and his reference is not to the topographical position of the altar, but to its general sanctity. Its untouchable character is extended to cover the whole of its surroundings.

In another passage (*Andr.* 1147) Euripides speaks of a voice which pretended to be divine as issuing from the inmost adyta¹⁷ and Aristophanes (*Eg.* 1016) says that Phoebus shouted from the adytum through the precious tripods. He is here parodying the line in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.

But in all these passages adytum means no more than the interior of the temple. Euripides himself speaks of the meeting of Xuthus and *Ion* three times and on each occasion uses a different word. For *ἀδύτων* *ἐξιόντί μοι* in l. 662, he says *δόμων τῶνδ’ ἐξιόντι* in l. 535, and *ἐκ ναοῦ συθείς* in l. 787.¹⁸ Moreover, he explains the use of the word when he makes *Ion* say (l. 226) to the Athenian women of the chorus that they may not enter the temple (and see the omphalos) unless they have sacrificed.¹⁹ That restriction is quite enough to justify the whole temple being called an adytum.

¹⁶ Cf. Eur. *Andr.* 1105. *Ion* 79, 102, 422, etc.

¹⁷ Cf. Pind. *Ol.* vii. 32 *ὁ χρυσοκόμας εὐώδεις ἐξ ἀδύτου . . . εἶπε* on which the schol. remarks *ἀδύτου ἥγουν τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς εὐωδίας πεπληρωμένου*. So Aristonous *hymn* l. 14 *φρικῶντος ἐξ ἀδύτου* of Apollo. These are of course mere phrases. How they are to be understood appears from the story of Aristodiceus at Branchidae (Hdt. i. 159) who went round the outside of the temple destroying the birds and their nests when *λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι κ.τ.λ.* Similarly Euripides, *I.T.* 973 says that when Orestes—on the occasion of his second appeal to Apollo—*λαγ πρόσθεν ἀδύτων ἐκταθείς, ἐντεῦθεν αὐδὴν τρίποδος ἐκ χρυσοῦ λακῶν φοῖβός μ’*

ἔπεμψε. In none of these passages is there any notion of an inner chamber. Euripides also uses the word *ἄδυτα* very vaguely in *I.T.* 1257 (text corrupt) and *Andr.* 1035. A similar vague use of the word *μαντεῖα* appears in *Ion* 739, where it = the whole *τέμενος*.

¹⁸ The first person met with on leaving the temple is described in various ways. Hdt. vi. 34 *ὅς ἂν σφέας ἀπιδίτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (πρώτος ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέσῃ)*. Magnesian Inscr. Keim. 17. l. 28 *ἡμμι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἔστηκε πάρος νηοῖο θυράων* and l. 35 *ἐν τεμένει . . . νηὸν ἐμὲμ προλιποῦσι*.

¹⁹ Plutarch (*de Delph.* 2) says that no woman may approach the oracle. Euripides seems to have known of no such restriction.

Herodotus is still more definite. The oracle which he cites is the one commanding the Athenians who were consulting about the Persians to quit the temple.²⁰ The god says 'ἀλλ' ἔτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο' and on the occasion of their second consultation they refuse to leave the temple in the words οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου. He himself does not use the word adytum when speaking of the temple but the more usual prose word megaron. That the two are identical is obvious since they are both used in the same passage without any hint of a difference in meaning. 'Having performed the customary rites,' says Herodotus, 'they entered the megaron and sat down. Thereupon the Pythia prophesied thus: 'Hapless men, why sit ye? . . . Nay, leave the adytum.' Clearly the place in which they sat was called indifferently megaron or adytum—indeed the identity is never questioned—and since in other passages the words μέγαρον, ἱερόν, and ἄδυτον are used as synonymous, there can be no doubt whatever as to the meaning of any one of the words. The whole temple was adytum as a hallowed place, a place tabu, just as a whole enclosure might be adytum, or a grove, or a cave.

The procedure at the temple as far as it concerns the adytum is definitely stated by Herodotus. In two passages besides the one just quoted he describes the consultation of the oracle and in all he uses the same words. Of the messengers of Croesus (i. 47) he says 'As soon as they entered the megaron and put their question, the Pythia spoke in hexameter verse: ' of Lyeurgus: (i. 65) 'Immediately after he entered the megaron the Pythia spoke as follows.' The phrase is something of a formula but there is no reason to think that it is in any way misleading. Both the tales, of Croesus and Lyeurgus, are evidently derived from Delphic sources, and the hand of the advertising agent is visible in the emphasis laid upon the miracle of an immediate answer. If this is the account of a consultation given by the Delphians themselves we may not believe it unless we like, but our scepticism would scarcely justify itself if we preferred any other. In any case the meaning of the phrase is perfectly clear. The enquirer entered the adytum and sat down, and thereupon the Pythia answered the questions put to her, or in more miraculous cases answered the question before it was uttered. The temple of Delphi is thus exactly parallel to that of Athena on the Acropolis. Just as the Pythia prophesied to the enquirer as soon as he entered the megaron, so, when Cleomenes was forcing his way into the adytum (Herodotus uses the word)²¹ of Athena, the priestess stood up from

²⁰ Similar commands to leave the temple occur in other oracles, cf. Ael. var. hist. iii. 43. Βαῖν' ὅπ' ἐαῶν τρ. πόδων. Galen, Protr. c. 9, ἐξίθι νηοῦ. For the περικαλλέος ἐξίθι νηοῦ of Ael. v. h. iii. 44 Simplicius, ad Epictet. enchir. xxxii. has ἐξίθι σηκοῦ. An oracle quoted by Zosimus i. 57 as delivered by Apollo Sarpedonios to the people of Palmyra has Ἐξίτέ μοι μεγάρον.

²¹ Hist. v. 72. He also speaks of a μέγαρον on the Acropolis viii. 53 into which Athenians

fled when the Persians had made their way thither by the secret ascent. It is the same as the adytum in this passage; cf. Dorpfeld, *Ath. Mitth.* xii. p. 27. In ix. 116 there is mention of the ἄδυτον = οἶκος of Protesilaos at Elaieus, which may or may not have been underground. If it was, Aitayktes had a queer idea of comfort, but his sacrifice would have been as great if the adytum merely means the temple, cf. Plut. v. *Demetr.* 24. For ἄδυτον as applied to Branchidae cf. *συγγρ.* n. 17. There were certainly

her seat and before he had passed the doors ordered him not to enter the temple (*μηδ' ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν*). Neither in one case nor in the other is the priestess imagined as seated in a separate chamber, much less in one below the ground.

It would be idle to accumulate proofs since this theory of the adytum fits every reference to it in classical times. But two corroborative details may be mentioned. In all the vases which represent the scene at the beginning of the Eumenides the Pythia is portrayed with the temple key. This is in itself of no great importance since the vase painters might naturally represent the Pythia as they were accustomed to represent Iphigeneia or any other priestess. But it probably reflects the tradition of the Attic stage, and it corroborates the view that Aeschylus and Euripides meant the temple when they spoke of the adytum. The other testimony bears out the description of the procedure found in Herodotus. Xenophon in the Apology says (*Ap. Socr.* § 14) that the oracle declaring to Chaerephon that Socrates was the wisest man was delivered in the presence of many people. So Herodotus in his account of a consultation at Ptoium (viii. 135) says that Mys was accompanied by three chosen men of the place when he put his question to the prophet and was answered at once.

We may, if we please, discount from the miraculous in these descriptions. It may have been the case that the questions were delivered in writing or that they were given beforehand as they were later at the oracle of Apollo Koropaeus in Thessaly. But that question does not affect us here. The one thing certain is that no amount of ingenuity can twist the adytum known to Herodotus and the tragic poets into anything akin to a secret and subterranean vault.

VI.

In the face of all this evidence we have only the one phrase of Plutarch, namely *καταβαίνειν*, upon which to base a theory of a subterranean vault and of a secret place in which the Pythia was inspired and uttered raving words to the priests. Inconclusive as this poor shred of evidence must be, it is proved to be utterly worthless when strictly examined.

It is true that Plutarch regularly uses words compounded with *κατά* to describe the progress of the Pythia into the place of oracles.²² But even if

adyta underground, cf. Frazer, *Paus.* vol. iii. p. 15 (from whose instances v. 1. 5 and x. 33. 11 should be deducted as uncertain), but the theory that they owed their name *μέγαρον* to their origin from caves (cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*² p. 200) receives no confirmation from the use of that word in Herodotus. He uses it ii. 141, 143, 169, 176 of the main chamber of Egyptian temples, vi. 134 of the adytum of Demeter at Paros, v. 77 of a Western Hall on the Acropolis at Athens. Of

these only the one at Paros seems to have been a secret chamber, but nothing suggests that it was subterranean.

²² *de Pyth. Or.* c. 6 ὅτι...οὐδὲ χριόμενη μύροις οὐδ' ἀλουργίδας ἀμπεχομένη *κάτεισιν εἰς τὸ* <μαντεῖον>. c. 22 οὐτ' ἀπὸ τέχνης οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἀπ' ἄλλης τινὸς ἐμπειρίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιφερομένη κάτεισιν εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον. c. 28 ὅταν δ' ἐκεῖ κατέλθῃ καὶ γένηται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. *de Del. Or.* 8 δυσὶν ἐχρῶντο προφῆτισιν ἐν μέρει καθιεμέναις. c. 51 κατέβη εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον, ὥς φασιν, ἀκουσα

she did thus 'descend' into the adytum she was not alone in doing so. The word is indifferently applied by him to the priestess and to the consultant. It has been often noticed that in the life of Timoleon (c. 8) Plutarch says of him that he 'descended' . . . into the oracular chamber.²³ But a passage in a different work may conflict with a common usage through many reasons. Plutarch may be following some authority who is describing a different temple or he may be speaking with a knowledge of the Delphic procedure less accurate than it afterwards became. But this passage is not alone. Even in the dialogue on the Pythian oracle²⁴—the dialogue from which nearly all the references to the priestess' descent are culled—Plutarch refers to the consultant as 'descending' and uses the word which should, *ex hypothesi*, be reserved for the priestess. The passage is never quoted, apparently it has escaped the eyes of the curious.

These passages prove that the adytum was open to the consultant—not a secret chamber of the Pythia. We must now ask whether being open, as it was in the days of Herodotus, it was yet underground. In the passage describing the consultation of Timoleon which has been quoted above Plutarch says that as he was 'descending' into the place of prophecy a fillet slipped from some offering and all embroidered as it was with crowns and victories fluttered and fell upon his head. It would surely be impossible to hang offerings in an underground and secret cellar; but we know that in the megaron or adytum at Delphi offerings were hung as in all other temples. Herodotus (viii. 37) speaks of arms placed there and kept sacred from human hands, and though the temple which he knew had been destroyed before the days of Timoleon the new one was not very different—at any rate it was similar enough to allow all later writers to be totally ignorant that there had been any change.²⁵ In the new temple as in the old—according to the picture given us by Aeschylus and Euripides—the omphalos stood in the cella or megaron. This is proved by a reference to the omphalos in one of the engraved 'Naope' accounts which details the money spent in the fourth century on the rebuilding of the temple and by the corresponding mason-marks on the walls of the cella.²⁶ The place in which the omphalos stood was probably the adytum in later days as in earlier, and thus the chamber

καὶ ἀπρόθυμος. As far as I know no word such as ἀναβαίνειν is ever used for her departure from the adytum as Rayet asserts *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, part 2, c. 2, p. 60. *Études*, p. 156.

²³ *Vit. Tim.* c. 8. εἰς Δελφοὺς πορευθεὶς ἔθυσσε τῷ θεῷ (cf. Hdt. vii. 140 etc.) καὶ καταβαίνοντος εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον αὐτοῦ γίγνεται σημεῖον. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν κρεμαμένων ἀναθημάτων ταινία τις ἀπορρύνεισα καὶ φερομένη στεφάνους ἔχουσα καὶ Νίκας ἐμπεποικιλμένης περιέπεσε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Τιμ. Cf. Hermann. *Gr. Ill.* ii. p. 259, n. 16. Frazer. *Paus.* vol. v. p. 353.

²⁴ *Di. Pyth. Or.* c. 26. οὐ γὰρ ὁ δεῖνα μὰ Δία κατέβαινε περὶ ὧν ἄνδρα πόδον χρησόμενος οὐδ' ὁ δεῖνα περὶ ἐργασίας. The use of the word

without an object would suggest that the technical meaning of the term is connected with the consultant rather than with the Pythia, and this is borne out by the passages from earlier authors quoted below.

²⁵ M. Homolle concludes that the present temple was exactly similar to that built by the Alemeonids and destroyed in the fourth century. Cf. *B.C.H.* xx. 1896, p. 654.

²⁶ Cf. Frazer, *Paus.* v. 316, passages there quoted. For the inscription and the mason-marks. Homolle, *C.R. Acad. Inscr.* xxiii. p. 335 n. Even those who hold that the omphalos was originally a tomb do not dispute its ultimate removal to the temple.

into which Timoleon and others 'descended' would appear to be still the same one as that wherein the Athenians, Croesus' messengers, and Lycurgus sat.

Of the two passages which seem to conflict with this view, and to suggest that there was a separate chamber for the consultants, neither is conclusive nor definite. Plutarch speaks of the chamber in which the consultants sat as an *οἶκος* and seems to distinguish it from the adytum. In the *de Def. Or.* c. 50 he says 'The chamber (*οἶκος*) in which the priests seat the consultants is . . . occasionally . . . filled with a sweet scent and an air which wafts . . . perfumes from the adytum as from a spring (*ἀποφορὰς ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τοῦ ἀδύτου προσβάλλοντος*).' There is nothing in these words to suggest that the adytum was underground, for it would be a most superficial mistake to invest the word *πηγή* with ideas which belong to our word 'well.' Certainly *οἶκος* is a very strange expression for the main cella of a temple;²⁷ but it cannot equal *οἶκημα* as Bötticher makes it when he speaks of a vestibule leading to the underground adytum,²⁸ and if it was the final point reached by the consultant, then, as the two passages quoted above make clear, the 'descent' whatever it was must have been into it. The only way out of the difficulties presented by this duplication is to suppose that the *οἶκος* is nothing but the cella and the explanation of the use of the word can be found in the very fact with which it seems to conflict. If the consultant and the Pythia were both in the same chamber—the adytum or megaron of Herodotus—then in order to distinguish one portion from the other, Plutarch was forced to employ an unusual and incorrect term. By limiting the extent of the 'adytum' in a way which was unknown to earlier authors, he was forced to find a new word for the remaining portion of the cella in which the consultants sat.²⁹ The other passage is notoriously obscure. Pausanias (x. 24. 5) speaks of an inmost part of the temple into which few penetrate and which contains a second, a golden statue of Apollo. He distinguishes this from the main cella in which he saw, *inter alia*, the hearth but not the omphalos. But he is strangely silent as to this chamber and though he speaks later (x. 24. 7) of the adytum into which the water of a spring Cassotis penetrates by an underground channel and makes the Pythia prophetic, he does nothing to connect the two. The general confusion of his account suggests that he was not privileged to see the oracle at work; but the words he uses for the inmost chamber merely lead us to believe that either the presence or the absence of the golden statue and not the mystery

²⁷ For the meaning of the word *οἶκος* cf. Fraenkel and Furtwaengler in *Rh. Mus.* lvii. 1902, 152, 252, 543. Delamare, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xvi. 1903, p. 160. The use of the word here agrees with none of the meanings suggested.

²⁸ *Tektonik*: ii. § 62. 4. Rayet's theory that it was a vestibule similar to that discovered at Branchidae receives no support from the name of the latter, cf. Pontremoli and Haussoullier, *Didymes*, p. 92. But for this theory, cf. *infra*,

nn. 36, 39.

²⁹ The whole notion is an extension of a phrase of Pindar, *Ol.* vii. 32, *supra* n. 17, and therefore the word adytum is used while it is elsewhere avoided by Plutarch, cf. *supra* n. 23. Incidentally we may notice that the sweet-smelling adytum is very far from the mephitic chasm or the cave whose lower depths were fatal. Of course in Pindar the epithet is quite commonplace.

of the oracle caused it to be kept sealed from inquisitive eyes. Nor is the second passage conclusive as to the underground nature of the adytum. The only thing that Pausanias notes is that the water of Cassotis passed underground; he does not in the least imply that the place in which it reappeared was underground also. We are thus thrown back upon the use of the word *καταβαίνειν* for evidence of any descent into the adytum. But before we decide that it implies this notion we must subject it to a stricter examination.

The word is used, it is true, regularly when, as in the case of Trophonius at Lebadeia, there does really seem to have been something of the nature of a subterranean adytum. But it is also employed occasionally where there does not seem to be any reference to an underground chamber and almost appears to be a technical term for the entrance into any adytum. Thus Isyllus speaks of the consultant 'descending' into the adytum of Asclepius at Trikka.³⁰ There is no reason to believe that the chambers in which consultants slept at temples of Asclepius were underground, but that they could be called adyta appears from the inscription giving a list of Epidaurian miracles. Similarly Pausanias employs the word alternately with *εἰσβαίνειν* when he is speaking of the great temple of Isis at Tithorea (x. 32), though this temple, as far as one can judge, was in its entirety of the nature of an adytum. On the other hand, compounds of *εἰς* are regularly used by Herodotus when he speaks of the Delphic or any other adyta, and even Plutarch uses the word *εἰσάγουσι* (*de Del. Or.* 49) of the priests leading the Pythia to her place of prophecy.

But Plutarch's use of the word is too definite and constant to be explained by these occasional parallels. With him the phrase amounts to a regular formula, and there must be some reason why the word should be regularly connected with the oracle at Delphi. If it were the case that the reason lay—as is generally supposed—in the peculiar construction of the Delphic temple with its underground adytum, then, since we have seen that in earlier times the whole temple was spoken of as an adytum, we should expect that Plutarch's use of the word, if it corresponds to his own experience, should be unique. But as a matter of fact the word is not employed with reference to Delphi first or only by Plutarch. It is found in older authors and found in such combinations that it refuses absolutely to bear the meaning which is commonly attributed to it.

The word in an allied form occurs first in the poem which for antiquity as for us was the chief document of the oracle's history. In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo the god is described as entering the temple in the words:

³⁰ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Isyllus* p. 11, *I.G.* iv. 950. 29 οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπίου κ.τ.λ. We do not know enough about Trikka to say with certainty that it possessed no underground adytum, but it is very unlikely. For Epidauros cf. Dittenb. *Suppl.* 893 Kavvadias, *Fouilles*, 12, *I.G.* iv. 952. 112. There certainly the sleeping place was not sub-

terranean. The use of *καταβίς* in connexion with incubation may be due to analogy with the regular words *κατακοιμῶν*, *κατακείμεναι* of the consultants. (Professor Ernest Gardner suggests to me that the inscription should read *ἄδατον* and not *ἄδυτον*. I have no means of checking Kavvadias' reading.)

ἐς δ' ἄδυτον κατέδυσε διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων.³¹

An echo of the epic phrase was caught up by Pindar. Describing in detail the consultation of Tlepolemus at Delphi he speaks of that hero as Πύθιον ναὸν καταβάντα (*Pyth.* iv. 55). There is nothing here to suggest a descent into an underground chamber nor even a reference to an adytum or a *μυχός*; it is merely a poetical employment of a classical phrase. And, votary of Delphi as he was, Pindar must yield before the Pythia as an authority upon the rites and language of her own oracle. Clear and unambiguous for once she answers the question that we put to her in the line quoted by Herodotus as delivered to Cypselus (v. 92. d.):

ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον εἰσκαταβαίνει.³²

This line seems finally to clinch the question. The word is applied to the oracle at Delphi simply through the force of epic usage. It owes its employment not to the actual experience of Plutarch but to its usefulness in filling out a hexameter and to its existence on the classic page of the Homeric Hymn. Traced back to the epic it must be interpreted, not according to the fancied picture of Delphic ritual, but according to Homeric usage. In Homer, as Mr. J. L. Myres has pointed out in this *Journal* (vol. xx. p. 140), the prepositions *ἀνά* and *κατά* and their compounds are employed regularly with a special significance. In speaking of a house the epic poet uses *κατά* to denote direction from outside inwards, as he uses *ἀνά* for the direction from inside outwards. The use of the word *καταβαίνειν* in connexion with a temple merely puts that building in the same category as a house and, in one case as in the other, it does not afford the slightest indication that there was any descent into any part of it beyond, perhaps, the step down from the threshold into the main chamber. If any more reason be required for the association of the word with the temple at Delphi than the exigencies of the hexameter and the influence of the epic it may perhaps be found in this notion that the descent implied in the word was the descent from the threshold. For the *λαῖνος οὐδός* at Delphi was itself one of the marks connected with the oracle in the Golden Book,³³ and it may perhaps have helped to stereotype the phrase.

The use of the word by Plutarch loses all value as evidence when it is

³¹ *Hymn. Hom. ad Apoll.* 443. The commentators do not seem to have remarked the irregular use of the aorist active in place of the middle.

³² In quoting this oracle Dio Chrys. xxxvii. p. 103 reads *εἰσαφικάνει* and when the same line recurs in an oracle *ap. Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, p. 17 *ἀμφιπολεύει* is introduced from Hymn xxiv. 1, 'Ιστίη ἥ τε ἄνακτος Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύει, where *ἀμφιπολεύει* is thoroughly applicable to Hestia who dwelt within, but scarcely suitable to Hesiod. The two last feet had to be filled

up. Another oracle, *Anth. Pal.* xiv. 77, varies the phrase ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς νῦν κατὰ λαῖνον οὐδὸν φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος χρηστήριον εἰσαναβαίνει. So *ibid.* xiv. 100, Menelaos and Paris are said ἐμὸν δόμον εἰσανέβητε (*schol. A. Il.* v. 64). The fact that the form which occurs in Hdt. is the nearest to Epic usage seems to prove it genuine.

³³ *Il.* ix. 704, *Od.* viii. 80, *Hym. Hom.* 296. It occurs with the tripods in *or. ap. Aelian* *V. H.* iii. 43, *Anth. Pal.* xiv. 77. For a possible meaning cf. *infra*, note 39.

seen to be a mere stock phrase, a sacred tag from the epic.³⁴ That it was not originally employed at Delphi with any notion of descent into an underground chamber appears quite clearly from the words *ναόν* and *δόμον* which Pindar and the oracle couple with it. Even in Plutarch it is not once used with the word *ἄδυτον*; he joins it with *μαντεύων* and *χρηστήριον*, words which are commonly employed by older authors as equivalent to *ναός* and *δόμος*. Plutarch also agrees as we have seen with the older authors in employing the word to describe the consultation by the visitor. His use of the phrase, therefore, so far from bearing out the usual account of a subterranean adytum, actually seems to corroborate our contention that the adytum for Plutarch, as for Herodotus and the tragic poets, was merely the interior of the temple. No doubt the Pythia was seated in an inner portion of the cella; but to say this is merely to make an inference from our notion of probability. It is a very different thing from believing her to have been placed in a subterranean and mephitic hole.

VII.

Even if the adytum could be proved to be subterranean its underground position would be no proof of the existence of a vent with noxious vapours. The inference from one to the other seems generally to have been made by the link of the Pythia. She descended into the adytum where she was thrown into a wild frenzy. Some cause for the excitement must be found and none is so handy as the inflaming gas. Therefore the subterranean adytum is assumed to corroborate the account of a mephitic chasm.

But the Pythia's frenzy is a flimsy basis for an argument. Most writers who speak of it are agreed in rejecting the wild accounts of Latin authors, but with one accord they point to an anecdote told by Plutarch which proves that on one occasion the Pythia's frenzy was of the nature which they commonly associate with mephitic vapours.

On this occasion as Plutarch says (*de Def. Or.* 51) the Pythia went unwillingly into the adytum and there became mad. Some days after she died. The event is dated and as it was all but contemporary with Plutarch we may accept its truth. But it would be hard to say what it proves. Plutarch himself adduces the incident as a sign that sometimes the prophetic power possessed by the priestess is out of tune with the properties of the air. But he might equally well have said that it proved 'there were spirits about,' and most Greeks would have approved this inference. We prefer natural causes, but an attack of hysteria may be brought on by many things besides vapours arising from clefts in the ground.

The whole question of the character of the Pythia's frenzy demands fuller treatment than it can receive at this point. But here it may be said that her

³⁴ It is not impossible that Plutarch's choice of the word was partly influenced by its technical sense—in certainem descendere, cf. L. and S. s.v. 1. 4. So too *καθίημι* is used and,

in late Greek, *κατέρχομαι*. For various senses of the word and of *ἀναβαίνειν*, cf. Dörpfeld u. Reisch *Theater*, p. 159.

reluctance to prophesy is generally attributed by classical authors to ritual or political reasons and not to her fear of the natural effects of the gas.⁴⁵ Moreover since the appeal is made to Plutarch we may allow Plutarch to answer it out of his own mouth. Divorced from its context the anecdote which is introduced as an exception is quoted by scholars as if it embodied the rule. Had the writers who use it as a basis for their theories troubled to pursue their researches a few pages back in the same dialogue they would have found that Plutarch distinctly states (*de Del.* *Or.* c. 48) that the air was not too frenzied or exciting and caused neither harm nor pain to those who inhaled it. Indeed had such a frenzy been the necessary condition of inspiration, as the writers seem to imagine, it is difficult to see why the priest and the enquirers and the Hosioi were so alarmed when the Pythia's voice shewed signs of disturbance and why they all fled helter-skelter out of the temple when she rushed shrieking to the entrance.

Plutarch himself as we have seen does not connect the air with any cleft or chasm. We see now that the kind of prophetic inspiration which he credited to the Pythia does not in any way suggest that she experienced any effects from her supposed descent into the adytum which would justify us in supposing the mephitic chasm to be seen there. Nor, as we shall see, had there been a mephitic chasm would it have produced the effects with which it is generally credited.

VIII.

Literary evidence is thus proved unsatisfactory. On the one hand we have a circumstantial and definite account preserved in late authors and generally accepted by modern writers. On the other we find that this account is in no way corroborated by the words of authors who knew the oracle in its prime and that the evidence of Plutarch who knew the oracle well in later days does not bear out the usual statement. In the case of such a conflict of evidence the natural appeal is to the authority of archaeology and to that of another science even more certain in its results. There may be some indeed to whom in the face of the positive remains of the temple of Apollo a more consistent tale than the one we have examined might appear worthless. Since, however, the literary evidence is so unsatisfactory there must be even more general confidence in the results afforded by an examination of the site. Nor if it be objected that in the course of time much may have been destroyed and more thrown into confusion is the case altered. We have seen that the evidence for the existence of the chasm all dates from

⁴⁵ The two classical instances are variants of the same story, applied to different personages—Philomelos (Diod. Sic. xvi. 27) and Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 14). In both the excuse given for a refusal is that the day was not the regular one—at least in Diod. that seems to be the case, though the text is corrupt. Her reluctance

in the case cited above is due to the unfavourable omens. Only Roman authors—Valerius, Lucan—make it personal. Cf. Gardner and Jevons *Manual* p. 265 for the traditional view of the Pythia's frenzy, and Middleton *J.H.S.* ix. 304 for the argument thence to the intoxicating air.

a period when the temple must have been substantially the same as the one the remains of which are now visible. Moreover even if there had been any change from the earlier temple even the best informed of the authors were ignorant of it. But even if the evidence of archaeology might leave us undecided, the question of the chasm and its vapours falls so definitely into the sphere of geology that it can only be a matter of surprise that that science has not been appealed to before.

Concerning the existing remains of the temple of Delphi it is impossible to speak at length. The lips of those who have visited the site are sealed as firmly in courtesy to M. Homolle as were those of visitors in earlier days through the power of religious mystery. But we hope that we shall incur no divine resentment if we repeat only what has been published and is well known. There are no signs of a subterranean adytum,³⁶ though there are subterranean passages which here, as elsewhere in Greek temples, are due to no more mysterious a cause than economy in architectural construction. Nor are there signs of such a vaulted grave as certain theories would take the adytum to have been. Delphi was certainly a Mycenaean centre, but nowhere, says M. Homolle, are Mycenaean remains so rare as under the temple itself and between it and the supporting wall.³⁷ Nor is it likely that a vaulted tomb should occur here in the centre of a Mycenaean habitation. A shaft-grave might well have stood there, but a domed tomb would be found more naturally outside the circle of the town cut into the rock. Of these there are not a few in the immediate vicinity.

M. Homolle, moreover, has concluded from the evidence of a certain stone that the tripod stood with the omphalos.³⁸ That stone was placed in the cella and, though we cannot lay any weight upon an argument which has not as yet been publicly developed, it seems to afford a strong corroboration of the view that there was no adytum besides the cella. The temple also seems to have conformed to the ordinary rules of Greek temple-architecture,³⁹ but in the light of what has been published it is impossible to assert that the

³⁶ Cf. Frazer, *Paus.* v. 336, 353. In 1894 M. Homolle thought he had found traces of the 'sombre et souterrain adyton' *C.R.* xxii. 587 presumably where 'le dallage est coupé vers le milieu du monument par une dépression large et profonde' (*B.C.H.* xviii. 177. *C.R.* xxii. 302, *Arch. Anz.* 1895, p. 4). But in 1897 he writes *B.C.H.* xxi. 273 that he has not found 'l'autel de la Pythie.' The reconstruction of the temple at Branchidae to which the remains at Delphi were at first compared itself owes too much to a fancied theory of the temple of Delphi to be quoted as evidence. If it does represent the tradition it would appear that the descent into the cella or adytum was a real one, but, as the arguments above would shew, that descent was made by prophet and consultant alike; and the adytum, if lower in level than the prodomos, was not subterranean

or secret, but was hypaethral and the chief hall of the temple. Cf. Rayet *Études*, p. 153.

³⁷ *B.C.H.* xx. 643, cf. Frazer *Paus.* v. 399, for Mycenaean remains and tombs generally.

³⁸ Homolle quoted by Studniczka *Hermes*, xxxvii. 263.

³⁹ Cf. Frazer *Paus.* vol. v. p. 333. This account is later in date than the provisional report of M. Homolle, *B.C.H.* xviii. 1894, 177, *C.R.* xxii. p. 302, which is contradicted in one important detail (the existence of an interior colonnade) by the report of the next year, *C.R.* xxiii. 329, and conflicts with the suggested restoration recently published (*Fouilles de Delphes* ii. Pl. 6). The existence of an opisthodomos is attested by inscriptions; *C.R.* xxiii. 335, and seems to disprove the suggestions of Rayet, cf. *supra*, n. 36.

opisthodomos was not entered from the cella and thus converted into a secret chamber.

So much for the subterranean adytum. With regard to the mephitic chasm one can only say that with the best will in the world the French excavators have failed to find a trace of it. Of course it may be said that such an orifice may have been filled up; and such as we have seen was the legend of late Imperial times. But with the cave of Corycia, higher up on Parnassus, still remaining as it was in the days of Pausanias and with every inch of the sacred enclosure accounted for, the probability of such a disappearance is but a weak one. There have been countless earthquakes which have done their worst for the buildings of Delphi. But those which have occurred since the present temple was built cannot have been the ones which filled the chasm. In that case the subsidence would have left signs in the partial submergence of the existing foundations. Nor can it well have occurred earlier unless the chasm was destroyed before it had found a place in literary tradition.

But the whole question of the chasm and its vapours becomes an idle one, when its possibility is considered according to the laws of geology. The manner in which this feature is conceived appears most clearly in a note by the late Mr. F. W. H. Myers to the words *ἐπιβρόμου χθονός* which Pindar (*Pyth.* vi. 3) applies to Delphi. He translates the phrase 'deep murmuring earth' and in a note explains it as 'an epithet applicable to volcanic soils.' He and many other writers—modern as well as ancient—have been too strongly influenced by the description of Aeneas consulting the Sibyl at the temple of Apollo at Cumae. It may suit Vergil to weave into his story details applicable to the neighbouring volcanic locality. But such details are strangely misplaced at Delphi. In that place it would be impossible to find any 'volcanic soils.' The whole neighbourhood of Delphi is composed of the hard limestone rock which is usual throughout Greece. Such a rock, as everyone knows, is commonly pierced with caverns and pot-holes and it would seem at first that this might easily give an opportunity for a chasm such as Strabo describes. But Delphi itself does not lie upon the limestone which forms the precipice above it and the slopes below; it rests on and it owes its whole existence to a terrace of schist which has resisted the action of water. If in the limestone there might have been a pot-hole, no such feature is possible in the schist. That rock is not hollowed by water into a cave, nor worn into a hole giving access to a cave underneath. It cannot even allow of a spring such as Pausanias says welled up in the adytum, though the water might have been carried in a conduit from a spring issuing out of the limestone above the terrace.

There might, however, have been a fault where the two strata—schist and limestone—joined, and from this fault vapours might have arisen. But in the first place it is extremely unlikely that such a fault stood immediately under the temple, or that it could have presented such a character as the account would give it. In the second place—and this is more important—the vapours arising from it could never have produced the effect which in the

traditional account it was invented to explain. Such vapours, like all others which issue from the earth, do nothing more to those who inhale them than suffocate and choke.⁴⁰ They might account for the dreams of those who entered the cave of Trophonius or the stupor of consultants at Asiatic Plutonia or Avernus, but they could never have inspired the Pythia to her flights of impassioned verse.⁴¹

We can see now why Plutarch rejects the story of the chasm. It did not exist. At the same time we can understand why the older authorities give no indication of a belief in any tale such as is told by Strabo and Diodorus. But these stories do not grow out of nothing and, as we have seen, even the older authors are vaguely conscious of some cavern or chasm, of some formation of the Earth which gave Delphi its peculiar sanctity. That natural formation was not an orifice with mephitic vapours, but it was sufficiently wonderful to mark Delphi as a sacred spot. We shall now enquire into its nature and at the same time we shall see in what way the story of Strabo grew up.

IX.

Outside the sacred enclosure at Delphi but in the very centre of the rocky precipices which enclose the platform upon which it stands there is the chasm or gorge of Castalia. The two rock-faces which rise up behind the town are divided at the eastern corner by a huge cleft at the extremity of which a plentiful spring wells forth. This spring is the famous spring of Castalia,⁴² the waters of which were invariably connected by antiquity with the sanctity of the Pythian shrine; and the chasm at the mouth of which the spring rises must inevitably remind every visitor to Delphi of the legends which surround the place. Here must be the fancied scene of the dragon-slaying, for if the account followed by Euripides only speaks of a chasm, the best tradition points to the identification of the Python with some spring.⁴³

⁴⁰ The belief that oracular chasms were volcanic is very hard to kill. The compiler of the Guide Joanne has discovered a mephitic chasm in a fancied cave of Apollo Pythios at Thera. Certainly volcanic soils and mephitic vapours abound in that region, but the limestone mountain of Meso Vouno, where the cave is situated, is perhaps the only place in the island where they are impossible. The association of Apollo Pythios with caves is largely a fallacy produced by this belief in 'mephitic vapours.'

⁴¹ For the geology of Delphi see Dr. Alfred Philippson in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-En cycl.* s.v. *Delphoi*. The statements made above I owe to the kindness of Dr. Philippson himself who with the greatest courtesy has sent me privately answers to all my questions. He himself considers the story of a mephitic

chasm 'im Ganzen Priester-Betrug gewesen zu sein.'

⁴² Castalia is the one spring which is invariably mentioned by ancient authors as the prominent Delphic feature, e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 163 *μεμάντευμαι δ' ἐπὶ Κασταλία*. It was certainly used for ceremonial washings, Eur. *Ion* 94, 146. *Phoen.* 222, Aristonous *Hymn.* v. vi, Horace *Od.* iii. 4. 61, but the unanimity of the evidence to its supreme importance as the spring *par excellence* of Delphi is the only good ground we possess for connecting it with the water drunk by the priestess. Paus. x. 24. 7 states that she drank the water of Cassotis.

⁴³ Cf. *Hymn. Hom. ad Apoll.* 300 and Sykes and Allen *ad loc.* Euripides and others as we have seen speak only of the cave, but in late authors, e.g. Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 14, Origen vii.

and here at the same time is the original feature which invested Delphi with a peculiarly sacred and oracular power.

This is not the place to elaborate an account of the manner in which such a feature as the chasm with its spring became prophetic. The slightest acquaintance with the customs of primitive people will explain how a chasm in the rock proves to be the locality supremely fitted for the home of some mysterious and awful power; and the gorge of Castalia placed where it is in the majestic scenery of the rocky hollow above the steep valley of the Pleistus gives a final touch to a locality which is already awe-inspiring enough in itself. There is no need to quote parallel customs from other nations to prove the sanctity of the Castalian gorge: but since its sacred qualities have been obscured by the romantic tradition of the mephitic vapours it is necessary to cite from Greece itself evidence which will prove that such a chasm, open though it be to the sky and as free from noxious gases as the mountain top itself, could be connected with the presence of an oracular god.

Nor must we travel far from Delphi to find a complete parallel to the Castalian gorge. Some twenty miles eastward, where the Sacred Road from Delphi to Thebes strikes the plain and the lake of Copais, there stood the city of Lebadeia with its oracle of Trophonius. Here, too, the prominent natural feature is an enormous and winding gorge which splits into two the spur of Helicon, Mount Laphystius, upon the slopes of which the oracle and the town were situated. High up on the hill-side but at the end of the chasm two abundant springs well forth and their waters united send a strong torrent to the plain below. In the lower part of the gorge, below the springs, there was placed, apparently, the sacred grove of the god, and somewhere near the springs there stood a temple. Here divination was practised by means of incubation, and there is nothing improbable in the traditional account that the consultants slept in a cave. But in the time of Pausanias, at any rate, there can have been no natural cavern, since the one which he describes was artificial. Nor for the same reason can there have been mephitic vapours; here as at Delphi the gorge with its two springs sufficed to suggest the presence of a god who declared himself in prophecy.

Proceeding further eastward at the other end of Copais we reach the oracle of Apollo Ptoius. Here too a mountain explains the original choice of the sanctuary and a high precipice and a spring connect the situation with those of the other oracular shrines. But here there is no chasm and we must pass on to the oracle of Amphiaraus at Oropus ⁴⁴ for the third example

c. 3, the cave is called Castalium antrum, τὸ τῆς Κασταλίας στόμιον. Their testimony is of little importance but the Homeric Hymn is explicit, and seems to prove that the Python is no grave-snake as Miss Harrison would make it, *J.H.S.* xix. 205 *sqq.*, but the ordinary guardian of the spring, cf. Frazer, *Paus.* v. 44. This spring can hardly have been Cassotis if as Dr. Frazer says that source is fed by a conduit, p. 355, nor could it have been in the sanctuary of Earth

since springs do not gush out of the schist. The water there is also brought by a conduit (Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 286).

⁴⁴ Whether the oracle at Oropus was the original Amphiareum or not does not seem to matter here. If it was transferred here from elsewhere the place can only have been chosen because of some pre-existing and similar rites. But cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hermes* xxi, p. 104 n. 2.

of an oracular cleft. In this place the temple of the god stood in the very gorge to which it owed its sanctity. Among the still thickly wooded hills which rise abruptly from the Euboean Straits and form a high wall between the sea and the broken valleys of North Attica there is a glen closed in by the high hill-sides. There would be nothing remarkable in this alone, for the mountains which seem so solid to one sailing on the sea are broken at many points by the force of winter torrents. But in this glen some greater landslip has torn away the side of the hill to the south-west and the rock stands bare and gaunt amid and beneath the dark forest. Nor has the effect of the abrasion been merely to expose a single face of the rock. The rock is laid bare upon two faces which stand nearly at right angles to each other and here the mountain torrent which flows at the foot of the rock is forced to turn. The precipice stands exposed to the height of perhaps a hundred feet and its appearance is made yet more remarkable by the colour of the rock. This, for some reason impossible to discover from below, is partly grey and partly red.

Here also the chasm is combined with a spring, and both together go to form a sacred place which, though in the fifth century it was almost entirely confined to the cure of the sick, seems in earlier times to have possessed oracular virtues similar to those of Delphi and Lebadeia. The spring was one of the customary type in which offerings were deposited by the consultants, but the actual divination seems always to have taken place by means of incubation. But these details are unimportant; the matter of significance is the existence of chasm and spring in combination at an oracular shrine. If these two oracles shew these features we can safely conclude that Delphi was not different. The gorge of Castalia is the true chasm, and vapours arising from the ground, a subterranean adytum with an orifice into the earth, are mere figments of the priests or the historians.

X.

It is in no way surprising that the story of the vapours and chasm should have arisen. The gorge of Castalia, striking as it is, is not sufficiently mysterious to satisfy the superstition of a civilised people. The ideas which invest such a chasm with sanctity belong to a very primitive culture, and though it is to them that the place owes its original distinction, something more violent must be found to justify that distinction to later and more sophisticated minds. The gorge is open to the air and men may walk safely along its bottom when they cease to believe in the power of infesting spirits, and even the spring which always retained sufficient sanctity to be named as a prominent feature of Delphi became too familiar and intelligible to be credited with special powers. Thus we find that Pausanias is forced to assign the prophetic inspiration to a spring called Cassotis, although that name is unknown to any other author and the tradition is unanimous in crediting all virtues to Castalia.

But the legend of the chasm still remained and was identified with the oracle. We find it in the association of the oracle with the goddess of the Earth, in the localisation of the dragon in a cave and at a spring and, perhaps, in a vague memory which asserted itself in the choice of words descriptive of the oracle. But it would have been contrary to the spirit of the classical period to insist upon this feature as marking the chosen abode of the god, and therefore we find the Delphic Rock, the Omphalos, the Laurel, the Tripod, or the Hearth preferred as symbols of the oracular deity. The chasm was relegated to a second place because the ideas to which it belonged were dead, and the legends which may have originally centred around it were discredited if they were not forgotten.

But the time came when the importance of the chasm and its legend was felt again. The Pythia's inspiration was a phenomenon which needed explanation and to explain it something more plausible was required than the mere entrance of the deity. Everyone knew that the qualities of the air at different places produced pathologic effects; the importance of climate and temperature was noticed at a comparatively early date by the scientific among the Greeks. But the Pythia's inspiration was an unique and abnormal phenomenon and it required some more striking explanation than a mere reference to climate. Therefore since it was known that strange effects were produced by the vapours which arise from vents in the ground, nothing could be more suitable as a rational cause for her inspiration than just that chasm which legend had already marked out as the original feature of the oracle. And if in this development the real chasm of Castalia was forgotten and a new one invented such as never had existed and never could exist, there is nothing strange in this, since the oracle itself was already in a period of decay.

The explanation of supernatural phenomena by natural causes is a side of Euhemerism which we notice less than the other only because it is so familiar in our everyday thought. But in Greece such explanations belong to a certain period. What might have appeared the sheerest atheism in the time of Anaxagoras had become a century later the dominant mode of thought. The successors of Aristotle, if not the master himself, were busy with the task of resolving the supernatural into the natural. To that period we might assign the rebirth of the legend of the chasm in its new form, and we might even connect it with the name of Ephorus. Not only would that author have gladly accepted the physical theory of the inspiration but he would certainly have decked it with all the adornments of a legend. He was a romancer as well as a theorist and he belonged to the time when the old legends were revived not through any belief in their truth, but merely because of their picturesqueness and literary attractiveness. He is even taken to task by Strabo for his absurd accounts of the origin of Delphic institutions which he prefaced by just such a serio-comic invocation to Truth as we might expect from him when he was launching upon the road of the picturesque. To him, then, perhaps belongs the whole account of the mephitic vapour, and since he was prince among those who sought out

mythic origins, we may credit him with adopting, if not with inventing, the legend of the shepherd, and the invention of the Tripod.

How far the story emanated from Delphi, or was seized upon by the professional guides who told credulous visitors stories about what they saw, we do not know. But there were other people besides the visitors to the temple who gladly accepted the story of the chasm. The largest share in the perpetuation of the legend undoubtedly belongs to the Stoics. They were delighted with an explanation of a divine manifestation which was compatible with their general notion of a deity acting by natural means. Moreover, the theory helped them out of an exceedingly awkward dilemma. They held that prophecy—the communication of the gods with mortals—was a fundamental fact in theology, and yet they were faced with the unpleasant truth that in their day the oracles were dead or dying. To hold that the gods no longer were able or willing to speak with the human voice would have been an uncomfortable doctrine, and they could not but rejoice in a theory which left the gods without direct responsibility. Illogical as it may seem, the Stoics were quite content with a theory which slurred over the difficulty by saying that the powers of natural things were subject to change, and that therefore the oracles which derived their virtues from some qualities of earth and air suffered the lot of all terrestrial things. Meanwhile the gods remained as they were, willing to communicate with mortals, but bound down by the natural laws which they had themselves created.

At the same time with the completer decay of the oracles, the transference of the literary centres farther away from the seats of prophecy, and the growing delight in the romantic, the more lurid accounts of the procedure at Delphi naturally gained greater currency. Just as the theory of the vapour owed its acceptance to the fact that it explained the decay of the prophetic inspiration, so the picturesque descriptions of the oracles blossomed when there was no living oracle to prove them false. The legend gained force through the very destruction of the things it was intended to explain. When the oracles again flourished, with a pitiful revival of their ancient glories, we need not be surprised if they were decked with the ornaments which had been showered upon them during their period of sleep. They were forced to live up to their reputation and to assert themselves against all incredulity. But at Delphi, as we have seen, the new order does not seem to have been very different from the old. It was left to the other oracles, such as those of Asia Minor, to masquerade in the features which the legend of Delphi had made conventional.⁴⁵

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⁴⁵ We hear of a cave at Klaros, Tac. *Ann.* ii. 54. It has perhaps been found situated in a chasm similar to those mentioned above, cf. Schuchart, *A.M.* xi. 432. It must have been entirely distinct from the temple and not unlike

such a Sibyl's grotto as was artificially constructed and adorned in the 2nd century A.D. at Erythrae, cf. Buresch, *A.M.* xvii. 16. On the other hand the supposed oracular cave at Ptoion for which there is no literary evidence

NOTE ON *Μυχός* AND *Γάλον*.

Though these words are not quoted as evidence for the existence of the 'chasm' by writers who have studied the oracles, they are so often explained by a reference to the traditional story in editions of the classics that an examination of them at some length seems necessary. They will be seen to be far from possessing a definite topographical reference. On the contrary their associations are very vague and they serve as examples of the domination over the Greek mind of conventional phrases. This is of importance with reference to the use of the word *καταβαίνειν* which has been argued above to be a mere epic phrase and not a term descriptive of actual experience. In religious matters such as we are dealing with here this constant repetition of phrases for their own sake is intelligible and common to all times. It was, no doubt, far more noticeable in the innumerable hymns sung to the divinities than in the occasional echoes which occur in the extant literature.

The primary meaning of the word *μυχός* is 'that which is within.' Its commonest use is to describe the interior of a house, and in that sense it is employed for the interior of the temple at Delphi, Pindar, *Pyth.* v. 68 *μυχόν τ' ἀμφέπει μαντήϊον* which the scholiast explains as the adytum. In Aesch. *Eum.* 38, the Pythia speaks of herself as about to enter the *πολυστεφῇ μυχόν*, i.e. the adytum containing the omphalos and adorned with laurels. So *ibid.* 170 the Eumenides say to Apollo *μυχόν ἔχραναι* by allowing Orestes to take refuge there. The plural is used for the singular in the same sense *ibid.* 180, when Apollo replies to the Furies '*ἀπαλλάσσεσθε μαντικῶν μυχῶν*.' Here the sense is made quite clear through the use in the same sentence of the synonym *ἔξω δωμάτων* (179). In Eur. *Ion* 229 *μὴ πάριτ' εἰς μυχόν* the word no less certainly means the interior of the temple, the adytum.

The same notion reappears complicated with a different one in the other passages where *μυχός* is used. This second sense is emphasised by the epithet *μέσος* or by the implication of that idea contained in a reference to the omphalos. Euripides just as he could say of Apollo *I.T.* 1258 *μέσον γᾶς ἔχων μέλαθρον* could describe Delphi in the words *Or.* 331 *ἵνα λέγονται μεσόμφαλοι μυχοί*. But in this phrase, as *Phoen.* 244 shews, with its substitution of *γάλα* for *μυχοί*, the sense is extended. *Μυχός* is no longer applied in the sense of the interior of a house, but means the interior of something wider. Nor does it imply in the least that the 'interior,' the 'place within' should be covered up: we speak of the 'interior' of a continent and places are spoken of in Greek as lying in *μυχοί*. The word is commonly used for inlets of the sea and is equivalent to *κῆλα*—which has the same ambiguity. As the omphalos marked the centre of the earth, so the place where it stood could be described as the place within the earth, as we say 'the heart.' How easily the ideas of omphalos and *μυχός* suggested each other appears from the use of *μεσόμφαλος ἐστία* for a palace hearth in Aesch. *Ig.* 1056, and its application to Delphi by Eur. *Ion* 462. Delphi possessed both omphalos and hearth, and naturally their existence made the third word applicable.

In Aesch. *Choeph.* 953, *ὁ Δοξίας ὁ Παρνασῖος μέγαν ἔχων μυχόν χθονός* the customary mention of the omphalos is not unnaturally replaced by the genitive of the thing to which the omphalos belonged (as in *I.T.* 1258 quoted above). Here Delphi is frankly described as the 'heart' of the earth, but the metaphor is drawn not from an inner organ as with us but from the navel. Varro has criticised the idea, *Ling. Lat.* vii. 17. Certainly the phrase recalls the usual description of the realm of Hades as *μυχοὶ γᾶς* but Aeschylus has carefully

is a humble construction of stone very near the foundations of the temple (cf. Frazer, *Paus.* v. 100). All these caves contain water either from a spring or brought by a conduit. The temple

at Branchidae (cf. *supra*, n. 36) dates from the third century, and further excavations must be awaited before the account of Rayet and Thomas is accepted.

guarded against the misinterpretation by using the word Παρνάσιος which at once proclaims the sense in which *μυχός* is used. Both senses of the word *a* underground *b* central were sufficiently familiar in Greek to allow Euripides to play upon the confusion *Cycl.* 290 *sqq.*, and it is more than probable that the peculiar identification of the word with Delphi was largely helped by the position of the town and perhaps by a vague memory of the Castalian gorge. No doubt like γύαλον and other phrases it goes back to a time long anterior to Pindar.

Like *μυχός* the word γύαλον may be used for the interior of a cave. Soph. *Phil.* 1081, Eur. *Hel.* 189; but its original meaning appears to be 'a hollow,' (as of the two concave parts of the θώρηξ cf. Ebeling: *Lex. Hom.* s.v.). In this sense it is applied to Delphi, Hesiod. *Theog.* 499, Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ γύαλοις ὑπὸ Παρνησσοῖο. *Hymn. Hom. ad Apoll.* 396, χρείων ἐκ δάφνης γύαλων ὑπὸ Παρνησσοῖο which is apparently copied from Hesiod. Pindar uses this with other epic words in connexion with Delphi *Pyth.* viii. 63 γαόν . . . Πεθῶνος ἐν γύαλοις, and much later Aristonous employs it in the epic sense in his *Hymn.* c. 6.

So far the word is quite simple; it describes the position of Delphi as accurately as does the phrase employed by Strabo *θεατροειδές*. But the word having become conventionally associated with Delphi is used carelessly and vaguely by Euripides, and his misuse of the term is instructive. Of the nine times that he employs it six are in descriptions of Delphi. This proves the influence of the epic line, and it would seem that he chooses it with no clear idea of its meaning, but merely because it was a hallowed word in this connexion. In *Phoen.* 237 μεσόμφαλα γύαλα Φοῖβου the word is a mere synonym for *μυχοί* in *Or.* 331, and the identification reappears in *Hel.* 189. πέτρῳα μέγατα γύαλα (not of Delphi). In *Ion* 220 the Athenian women ask if it be allowed γύαλων ὑπερβῆναι λευκῷ ποδὶ βαλόν: where the context shews that the word must mean the temple itself, and again *μυχός* is used as an equivalent (cf. l. 228 cited above). But in other passages *ibid.* 76 δαφνώδῃ γύαλα, 234 γύαλα τὰδ' εἰσιδεῖν, 245 γύαλα λείσسونτες θεοῦ, *Andr.* 1093 θεοῦ χρυσοῦ γέμοντα γύαλα the meaning seems to vary between the temple and the whole enclosure. The latter sense would seem to be nearer to the original meaning and is definite in *I.T.* 1236 καρποφόροις γύαλοις of Delos and perhaps in Soph. *O.C.* 1491 of Colonus. But in applying the word to the temple itself Euripides prefers literary association to accuracy of description. In Soph. *Fgm.* 422 (Nauck) the word if correctly restored is used as vaguely as possible, and therefore appears a convincing emendation.

A. P. O.

MYSTICA VANNUS IACCHI.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII. p. 324.)

I MUST ask the readers of the *Hellenic Journal* to take the somewhat disjointed notes that follow strictly for what they are, namely, *addenda* to my paper in last year's *Journal* (vol. xxiii. 1903) on the 'Mystica Vannus Iacchi.'

My object in writing that paper was to elucidate the mysticism of the 'fan' and thereby, I hoped, to throw some light on an obscure chapter in the history of Greek religion, namely the shift from the worship of Demeter to that of Dionysos. Incidentally it became necessary to examine the various forms of winnowing 'fans.' My personal interest in this necessary step in my argument was slight and my statement of evidence, I fear, inadequate and superficial. Since the appearance of the article many friendly critics have supplied me with material to fill the gaps left by my ignorance, and the examination of this material has not been without its use to me in clearing up some obscurities as to the mysticism of the fan.

The new material here presented is chiefly from Ancient Egypt and Modern Greece. But for the kindness of Prof. Flinders Petrie I should never have known of the Egyptian wall-painting in the Bologna Museum. To Mr. R. C. Bosanquet I owe a special debt: he collected the series of modern Greek winnowing tools now in the Cambridge University Museum of General and Local Archaeology and Ethnology; and throughout the past two years he has with unwearied patience instituted on my behalf enquiries into modern methods of winnowing.

Supplementary as the remarks that follow must of necessity be, it would be worse than useless to attempt any formal ordering of the subject, but the new material may best be considered in relation to two monuments which both, I believe, depict Harvest Festivals: they are

1. An Egyptian sculptured slab now in the Museo Civico at Bologna.
2. The steatite vase found at Phaestos now in the Museum at Candia.

1.—An Egyptian Sculptured Slab (Fig. 1).

In my previous article (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 305) I drew attention to the passage at the close of *Idyll vii.*, in which Theocritus speaks of the planting, at a harvest festival, of the *ptyon*, the winnow-shovel. For the reason of this

practice the Scholiast refers us to the Triptolemos of Sophocles, but unhappily none of the extant fragments offer any explanation. Mr. Holford Bosanquet, it will be remembered, noted the custom in Teneriffe and explained the planting of the *ptyon* as a 'sign that the winnowers' work was done.' Mr. G. F. Abbott in an account of winnowing processes in Macedonia which he kindly sent me writes 'I do not know whether the planting of the *φτυάρι*, *i.e.* the

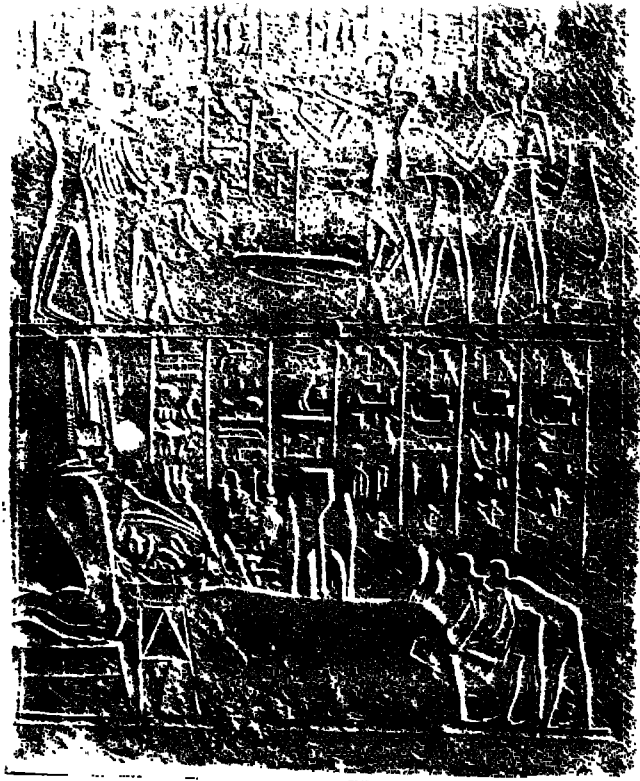


FIG. 1.—EGYPTIAN SCULPTURED SLAB OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY NOW IN THE BOLOGNA MUSEUM.

winnowing-shovel, in the heap of grain is an essential feature of the process, but it is an extremely common habit. I have often seen shovels planted in heaps of grain in shops and granaries.' Here it would seem most probable that the shovel was planted to keep it from getting lost. Mr. R. C. Bosanquet makes the interesting suggestion that the setting up of the *ptyon* may be a signal to the tax-gatherer that the heap of corn is ready for his inspection.

Till the landlord or tax-gatherer has made his inspection the grain in modern Greece as in ancient Egypt must remain on the threshing floor.

Many strands may go to the weaving of a custom, but these practical utilities do not, I think, exhaust the significance of planting the *ptyon*. In the Idyll there is about the ceremony an air of ritual and it takes place in the very presence of Demeter herself. We have however for Greece no actual evidence that the ceremony is religious. For Egypt we are better furnished. This brings us to the Egyptian scenes¹ in Fig. 1. I owe the description and the interpretation that follows to the kindness of Mr. F. Ll. Griffith.

The slab of limestone in the photograph may have formed part of a tomb-wall, rock-cut or built, of the XVIIIth dynasty preserving the terminal scenes of two lower-most rows of sculpture. Agricultural scenes abound in the tombs.

In the upper compartment the subject depicted is winnowing, done with pairs of wooden scoops.² In the middle is a heap of corn: on the left is a group of three labourers, one of them with his scoops uplifted, the other two holding theirs lowered, while a smaller figure, separate, is in the act of scooping from the heap. On the right side is a man winnowing, another with branches sweeps up the loose corn,³ and a third carries a globular pot and offers refreshment in a bowl to the winnower: behind him is the big water-jar on a wooden stand.

The inscription names the smaller scooping figure 'the attendant Amen-nekhu.' Above on the left there are four names—Apy, Paser, . . . ba (?), and Rennefer. On the right likewise were four names to only three figures, viz., Sety, Meryy (?), Ra-aay, and Ra.

In the lower compartment is the measuring of the grain, in this case with very interesting religious accompaniments, which seem to be quite new. The corn-measures are circular buckets, tapering to the top: the bands are clear enough, but not the staves.⁴ Only two officers are figured here, but four are named, each with the title 'measurer.'⁵ The names are Prahmes, Huy, Meryy (?), and Hat: a mutilated group, . . . -hat, is crowded in between the instruments upon the corn. These names throughout are characteristic of the second half of the XVIIIth dynasty.

On the left, upon a wooden stool, is a figure of Thermuthis, the serpent-goddess of the

¹ Mr. T. Ashby was good enough to obtain for me the excellent photograph reproduced in Fig. 1, and for permission to publish it I am indebted to the courtesy of Professor E. Brizio, director of the Museo Civico at Bologna. In the catalogue of the Museum (Museo Civico di Bologna, Catalogo di Antichità Egizia descritte dal Prof. Cav. Giovanni Kminek-Szedlo) the slab is described on p. 187. No. 1912, and the hieroglyphs are printed but no figure given. The monument formed part of the original collection at Bologna given by Pelagio Palagi, but nothing further appears to be known of its provenance. In the catalogue it is described as 'frammento di stele in calcare, alto 0.67, largo 0.50.' Mr. Petrie considers it to be a votive harvest tablet, complete.

² Originals of both XIIth and XVIIIth dynasty were found by Petrie at Kahun (*Kahun Gurob and Hawara*, p. 29, Pl. IX, Fig. 11).

³ A sweeper is usually figured here.

⁴ The hieroglyph of the corn-measure however seems generally to have a rectangular outline, but good examples are rare. See also the scene of measuring incense in Naville *Dir el Bahari* iii, Pl. LXXIX. Mr. Petrie notes that the modern Egyptian form agrees with that on the slab.

⁵ The title 'measurers' denotes a vocation or profession, not merely their action in the scene. The measurers must have been officials of the government or local administration or else representatives of some great landlord such as the temple of Ammon of Thebes. The threshing was presumably done by the farmers whenever the measuring was for the administration. It is not easy to determine whether the offering to Thermuthis was part of the rejoicings of the farmers or made on behalf of the administration for a good revenue and large 'measurement.'

granary, whose name is spelt in hieroglyphs, RNWT. Her form is that of a cobra (uraeus), with headdress of two straight plumes and the solar disk. The inscription in front reads: 'Renut [Th]ermuthis,⁶ possessing victuals, abounding in wealth in the house of writing (of harvest-records, etc.): she giveth corn (?) by hundreds of thousands of measures.' Before the goddess is a strutted wooden stand piled with offerings lying in or about a bowl or basket: all the offerings appear to be vegetable, but the precise nature of the heaps and bunches and individual fruits can only be guessed at, except the lotus-flower and a cucumber.

The implements used in the winnowing, etc., neatly and formally arranged on or in the heap of winnowed corn, are a handled corn-shovel, perhaps not figured elsewhere, flanked by a pair of hand-scoops and a pair of sweepers, with another pair of scoops on either side: on the left is also a three-pronged fork, apparently that used to keep the corn straight on the threshing-floor.⁷ I do not know of any parallel to this appearance of the implements in the scene of measuring the corn, and it is no doubt to be connected with the presence of Thermuthis.⁸

It is abundantly clear that whatever practical utilities may have originally caused the planting of the *ptyon* in Egypt, assuredly the ceremony became a religious one. The shovel, the winnow-boards, the sweepers, are votive offerings dedicated to the goddess; their intent is the same as the bowl of fruits. The presence of the goddess reminds us of Demeter in the Idyll; her snake body even recalls Demeter's snake. Demeter herself as an earth divinity may have once had snake-form; in any case the snake remains her vehicle.

The best commentary and illustration of the Bologna sculptured slab are, as Mr. Griffith has indicated, the harvest-scenes on the tomb of Paheri^{8a} (Fig. 2) at El Kab, which is dated within a few decades of 1500 B.C. Paheri was a 'scribe of the accounts of corn' and a portion of his tomb is decorated with agricultural scenes. These scenes speak for themselves. In the lowest row of the portion here reproduced we have scenes of ploughing and sowing, in the mid-most grain is reaped with sickles to the right, to the left flax is pulled up by men and women, the earth cleaned from its roots, the stems tied in sheaves, and later the seed-heads torn off with a comb; in the topmost row is a corn-heap, high at the circumference, depressed in the middle where the oxen tread, a boy with a branch or broom sweeps in the strayed stalks.

⁶ For the name Thermuthis see Spiegelberg, *Äg. u. Or. Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten* p. 12ⁿ.

⁷ For this and other details compare the scenes in the tomb of Paheri at El Kab (see Fig. 2), published by Tylor and Griffith in the Xith memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894, Pl. III; also scenes in Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians* (Birch's edition) Vol. II, p. 423, Prisse, *Monuments*, Pl. XLI (=Prisse, *Art Égyptien*, Tome II, Pl. 20).

⁸ The great tombs of the Middle Kingdom contain no winnowing scene of any interest. The Old Kingdom scenes are described by Eiman in his *Ägypten* pp. 574-5, with references: hand-scoops, sweepers, three-pronged

forks (for winnowing?) and sieves are used, and in some cases a bowl on the corn-heap or on a stand near by probably contains an offering of first-fruits to Thermuthis. Unfortunately the reproduction of archaeological detail in the plates of Lepsius' *Denkmäler* is not quite trustworthy.

^{8a} Eleventh Memoir, Egypt Exploration Fund, Tylor and Griffith, 1894. The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab, Pl. III, pp. 12-14. To this memoir I must refer for the full account of the paintings, and in it are given the text and translation of the delightful little songs to the labourers and even the oxen which alternate with the scenes depicted.

Next, to the left is the winnowing scene. The winnowing is done by tossing the threshed grain into the air with pairs of shovels precisely like those depicted in Fig. 3. Excavation in Egypt has brought to light pairs of shovels of exactly this character:⁹ they are made of slightly different shape for the right and left hand respectively. They find perhaps their last surviving descendant, as Mr. Bosanquet pointed out to me, in the boards with which

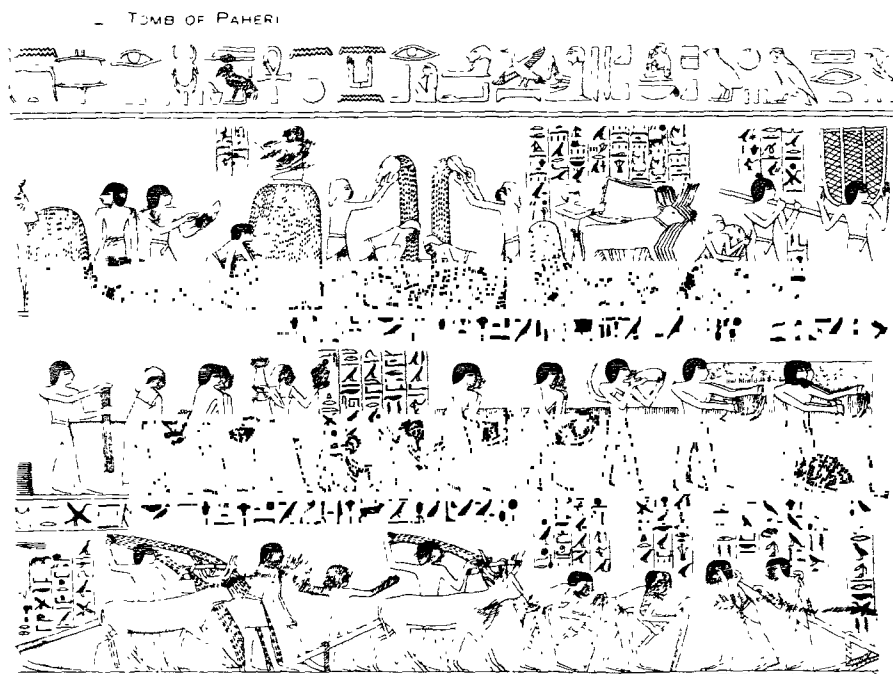


FIG. 2.—HARVEST SCENES FROM THE TOMB OF PAHERI.

the gardener of to-day picks up his new-mown hay. They are little more than an enlarged form of hand. One of the labourers is sweeping the grain together with a broom which also closely resembles the broom erected on the corn-heap (Fig. 1). Finally, planted on the great heap of corn to the left is not a shovel but a scribe taking account of the measurement of the corn.

It is somewhat disappointing that, as the *ptyon* is shown so clearly erected on the Bologna slab, we find no instance on the tomb of Paheri or, so far as I am aware, on any Egyptian wall-painting of its actual use. In all the agricultural scenes known to me it is the sole-shaped shovels which are employed. The sieve and the three-pronged fork are well shown in a scene from a tomb at Sakkarah (Cairo).^{9a}

In the matter of the *ptyon* the gap left by ancient Egypt is filled by

⁹ Dr. Flinders Petrie, *Kahun Gurob and Hawara*, 1890: *Kahun*, p. 129, Pl. IX, 11; such shovels are found in tombs of the XIIth.

and again of the XVIIIth dynasty.

^{9a} Perrot and Chipiez. *Ancient Egypt*, Fig. 28.

modern Arcadia. The spade-shaped shovel¹⁰ reproduced in Fig. 3 was bought by Mr. R. C. Bosanquet at Tripolis in Arcadia; it is rudely hewn out of the native fir and is called by the natives *φτυάρι*. It has a double use: with a very long handle¹¹ it is employed for lifting bread out of an oven; with a slightly shorter handle it serves for winnowing. It is the counterpart of the fan erected in the corn-heap. It is at once obvious that an implement such as that in Fig. 3 might easily be confused with an oar of the 'paddle' shape. On p. 305 of my former article I noted that Hesychius defined *thrinax* as 'the *ptyon* of grain' and that Eustathius believed the *ptyon* of Homer to be an instrument with three or five prongs, an instrument substantially the same as the Cretan *θρινάκι*.¹² I was unable then to decide whether the implement confused by the landsman in the *Odyssey* with an oar, had teeth like the Cretan *θρινάκι*, or was a simpler form of shovel with a long handle. I now unhesitatingly decide in favour of the shovel and am convinced that the prescribed planting of the oar in honour of Poseidon was a ritual replica of the planting of Demeter's shovel-fan.

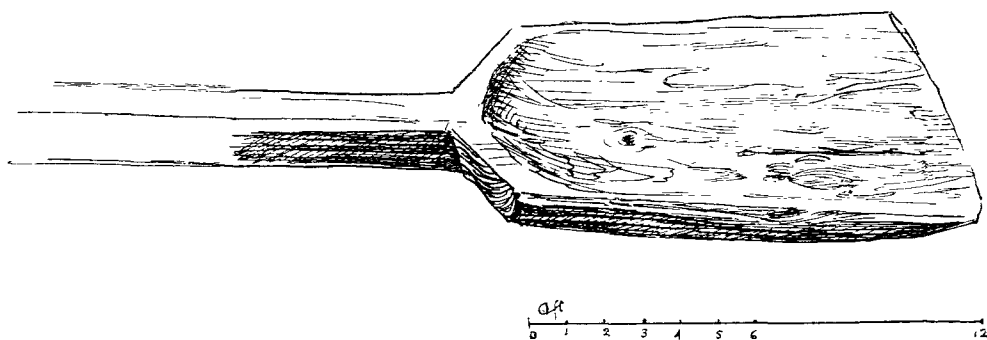


FIG. 3.—SHOVEL FROM TRIPOLIS IN ALCADIA.

How is it then that the ancients themselves, as I previously pointed out, constantly confused the pronged *thrinax* with the plain spade-shovel? I am again indebted to Mr. Bosanquet for solving the difficulty. He writes to me 'the Cretan *θρινάκι* is now made from a wooden spade imported from a Black

¹⁰ Cambridge University Museum of general and local Arch. and Ethn. No. 1904, 61. The implements reproduced in Figs. 3-6, 8, and 10 are published by the kind permission of the Director of the Museum, Baron Anatole von Hugel, and the beautiful drawings from which they are reproduced I owe to the kindness of Mrs. Hugh Stewart and Miss Edith Crum.

¹¹ The long-handled oven-shovel is known in English and Scotch dialect as a *peel*. In Old French *pelie* is from Latin *pala*. On a sarcophagus of Imperial date in the Medici garden at Rome a baker is represented putting a loaf into

an oven with such a *peel* (Jahn, *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellschaft*, 1861, Pl. XII. 1). Mr. Paton tells me that he heard a Folk-tale recounted by a woman from Constantinople with the *Odysseus* incident included, and in it the *winnowing-fan* became a *baker's peel*! (*φτυάρι του φούρνου*.) The shift from the country to the town implement is very natural.

¹² As regards the spelling of the modern Greek form Mr. Bosanquet writes 'I made out that *θρινάκι* is the accepted Cretan form: *θρινάκι* is dialect, probably confined to East Crete, *θυρινάκι* simply a misspelling.

Sea port and *trimmed into the tooth-shape* at home. The Arcadian makes a similar spade but leaves it toothless. In a word the *θρινάκι* is a modified *φτυάρι*, hence the confusion of commentators and lexicographers.'

At Tripolis in Arcadia they use not only the spade-winnower (*φτυάρι*), but also a *two-pronged fork* known locally as *δικριάνι* (from *δίκρανον*). The two-pronged fork is also in use at Sikyon and called *δικράνι*. The word is according to Mr. Bosanquet a genuine survival, not a classical form revived;

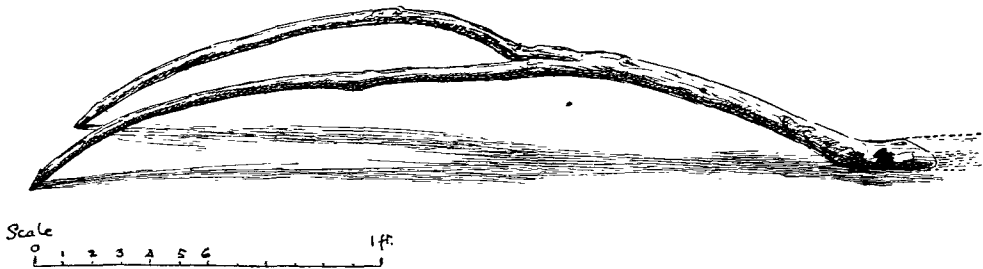


FIG. 4.—FORK FROM CANDIA.

the Sikyon peasants are illiterate Albanians and such Greek as they had was thoroughly *καθομιλουμένον*. On enquiry at Sikyon the name *θρινάκι* was not recognized, elsewhere on the mainland the word *λικνιστήρι* is said to be in use. The *δικράνι* is made from a natural forked bough: just such an instrument (Fig. 4) Mr. Bosanquet found in use for turning over straw in a threshing-floor near Candia: the surface of the wood is polished with long use.¹³

In Teneriffe Crete Sikyon Arcadia, it would seem then, two winnowing implements are in use, (1) some form of spade toothed or untoothed, (2) some form of fork, the number of prongs varying. Mr. Hasluck kindly draws my attention to the fact that in Bithynia a toothed spade with five prongs is used for winnowing. It closely resembles the *θρινάκι* of Crete.¹⁴ As to Macedonia Mr. Abbott kindly tells me that during the threshing of the gram which is done by ponies 'the stalks of corn which lie scattered several inches thick are turned over with a two-pronged fork formed of a young tree with leaves, or with a shop-made fork armed with several prongs.' The latter instrument differs from the Cretan *θρινάκι* inasmuch as it is a real wooden fork not a half spade. The actual winnowing is done with a wooden

¹³ Inv. 1904, 62. In this respect it is a contrast with the rough newly-hewn surface of the winnow-spade in Fig. 3, the brand-new condition of which has been skilfully shown in the drawing. The *δικράνι* of Crete had to be sawn across for convenience of transport and unhappily the handle portion was temporarily lost: this is indicated in the drawing by dotted lines.

¹⁴ Dauzat, *Le Tour du Monde*, iii. pp. 155, 158. Dr. Martin Nilsson kindly tells me that in S. W. Sweden a three-pronged fork was in use of a shape I have not seen elsewhere: the handle continued formed the central prong and two short side-prongs parallel to the centre are attached by transverse bars forming a kind of lattice work.

shovel (*φτυρι* pronounced as *φκνάρι*). A woman generally helps the winnowers. She stands on the threshing-floor holding a rough hand-broom made of a bunch of dried twigs with which she sweeps the straggling 'chaff'

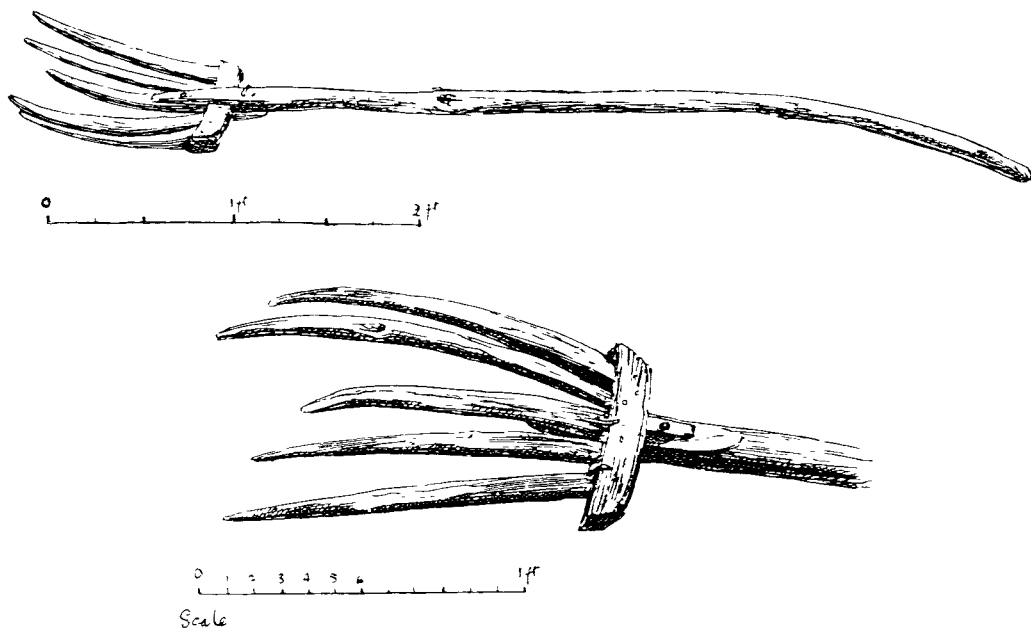


FIG. 5.—FORK FROM ABÚSHASHEH IN S. PALESTINE.

and grain.' In this respect she is paralleled by the Egyptian sweeper in Fig. 2.

Palestine can also show the two forms of winnowing implement, the spade or shovel and the fork. In Fig. 5 we have an implement¹⁵ much

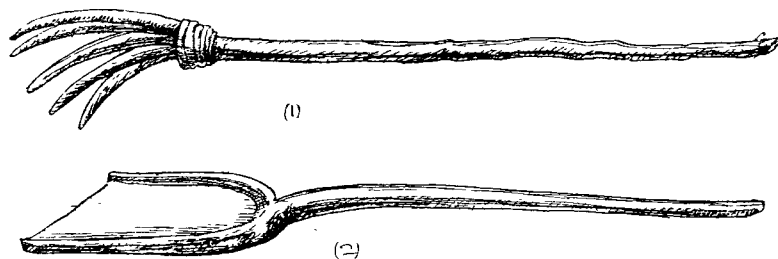


FIG. 6.—FORK AND SHOVEL FROM PALESTINE

less rude than those already mentioned (p. 247): it is a five-pronged fork of somewhat spade-like shape. The fork shown side by side with the shovel¹⁶

¹⁵ Cambridge Museum of Arch. and Ethn. Inv. 1903. 63, brought from Abushasbeh in S. Palestine by Mr. MacAlister.

¹⁶ Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, s v. Agriculture. Dr. Hastings kindly sent me the original drawing reproduced in Fig. 6.

in Fig. 6 is differently made, the prongs being tied on to the stem instead of being nailed to a cross-board. According to Dr. Paterson, these two implements represent the 'shovel and the fan' of Isaiah.¹⁷ 'The mixture left by the threshing and consisting of corn, chaff, and broken straw was turned about and shaken with a wooden fork, and advantage was taken of the wind to separate the grain from the lighter material. . . . At the later stage the fork was less needed than the fan, a kind of shovel; finally the grain was cleaned by sieves; the prophet Isaiah inverts the order of the proceeding placing the shovel (*rahath*) before the fork (*mizreh*).' The translation in the authorized version of *mizreh* by 'fan' is somewhat misleading, as few persons connect a 'fan' with a fork.

We are now in a position to discuss our second important ancient monument.

2.—The Steatite Vase found near Phaestos (Fig. 7).

The frieze with which this remarkable vase is decorated is explained by Sig. Savignoni who was the first to publish it¹⁸ as a warlike procession. The suggestion had been made to Sig. Savignoni that the scene represented a harvest procession, but this suggestion was rejected. The trident-shaped



FIG. 7.—FRIEZE FROM STEATITE VASE FOUND AT PHAESTOS. (From *Rev. Archéol.*)

implements he explained as spears, the hooked implements set transversely as battle-axes. Mr. Bosanquet was the first to publish his opinion, independently arrived at, that the scene was a harvest procession and that the trident-shaped implements were *θρινάρια*. Since then Dr. Raymond Weill¹⁹ has discussed the date and affinities of the vase and he writes 'Il paraît tout à fait impossible qu'un pareil objet puisse être une arme. C'est un instrument

¹⁷ Isaiah 30 ²⁴, in Delitzsch's commentary on Isaiah 2nd edit. pp. 707-709 the word rendered fan is explained as a six-pronged fork; and cf. Vogelstein *Landwirtschaft in Palästina*, p. 68.

¹⁸ Savignoni *Monumenti del Lincei*, 1903, Tav. I and II.

¹⁹ Weill, *Rev. Arch.* 1904, p. 52. Dr. Weill is chiefly concerned with the date and ethnical

affinities of the vase. He concludes, 'le vase de Phaestos appartient à cette période de l'apogée de la civilisation crétoise, dite période de Knossos. Les personnages représentés sur le vase sont des cousins des Cariens des Asiatiques dont la figure nous est connue par les bas-reliefs égyptiens de la XX^e dynastie.'

agricole et nous avons devant nous des moissonneurs allant aux champs.' Dr. R. Zahn²⁰ at the February meeting of the Berlin Archaeological Society discussed the vase and pronounced that the procession 'wohl bei Gelegenheit eines Erntefestes stattfand.' Dr. Flinders Petrie writes to me 'I have always supposed the Phaistos vase to represent a harvest-home. The pronged winnowers were used in ancient Egypt, Dynasty V, as in modern Egypt.'

The consensus of archaeological opinion in favour of a harvest-festival is strong, but so long as the trident-implements were compared²¹ with the forked spade (*θρινάκι*) used in Crete and published in my last article, some misgiving might remain. I return to the question now because I hope that the Palestine fork in Fig. 6 will bring instant conviction. Side by side with the trident-implements the analogy is, I think, irresistible.

I had hoped to solve the riddle of the transverse instrument: is it axe, sickle or pick? ²² The axe may I think be rejected. As to the sickle, Dr. Flinders Petrie points out to me that the blade is too short and the tip would prevent its making a cut. This curious and well defined tip points to some sort of pick or hoe. But if the three-pronged implements are winnowers we need some instrument used at harvest. Dr. Petrie asks 'Is it possible that they rooted up the corn-stalk whole? Then the pick could be used to crack up the earth and loosen the roots?' This would account for there being no sickles. Rooting up in place of threshing is not an uncommon practice on a light soil or where long straw is wanted. Flax was so rooted up in Egypt (Fig. 2) and Mr. Bosanquet tells me 'corn is often rooted up to this day in Crete, but, so far as I yet know, without the aid of a hoe.' The difficulty still remains that a metal²³ instrument attached²⁴ to the *θρινάκι* would spoil its balance and increase the labour of using it. Dr. Petrie's conjecture is the only one known to me that explains the curved tip.²⁵ I therefore by his kind permission note it here, but must leave the final solution of the question to others less ignorant of primitive implements than myself.

So far the various forms of forks and spade-shovels have led us far away from the *liknon*. The small scoop-shovel in Fig. 8 may serve as a link to lead us back. On p. 307 of my former article I noted that Hesychius in

²⁰ *Jahrb., Ant.* 1904, p. 75. Dr. Zahn's theory of a 'phallische Prozession' seems to me improbable, but the full statement of his view is not yet published.

²¹ *J.H.S.* 1903, xxiii, p. 305, note 32, where Mr. Bosanquet's view (*J.H.S.* xx, 1902, p. 389) is quoted.

²² Though Sig. Savignoni decides in favour of the axe the other alternatives occurred to him (see p. 88 of his monograph); speaking of the transverse instrument he says 'il che può lasciare incertie trattasi di ascia o di falcie, od anche di piccone'.

²³ From the supposed date of the vase we should expect a metal instrument, but the blade

is hafted into the wooden handle after the manner of a celt (see e.g. *Ancient Stone Implements*, Evans, Fig. 92).

²⁴ The manner of this attachment is fully and exactly stated by Dr. Weill in his paper, p. 54, note 1. Dr. Weill assumes that the metal object is a sickle and compares 'l'ensemble de cet objet bizarre' to a complex sickle, with osier cage to collect the ears, in use among the French peasantry. This instrument is unknown to me.

²⁵ A curious celt with a hooked tip is figured by Sir John Evans, *op. cit.* Fig. 82, and there are hooked tips to some of the 'cutting out knives' published by Dr. Petrie (*Methods and Arms of Archaeology*, Fig. 11).

explaining the word *diptygon* says 'the Cyprians give this name to a measure.'²⁰ In Coptic Mr. Walter Crum tells me the word for winnowing-fan is very rare.

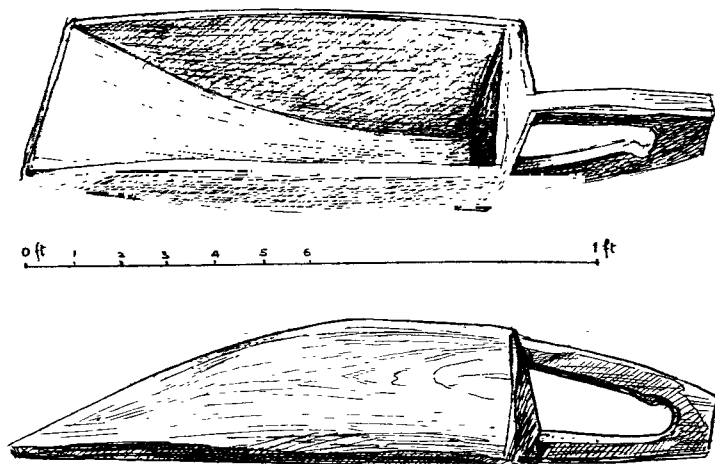


FIG. 8.—SCOOP FROM CANDIA.

It appears to be also the name of a measure. The object in Fig. 8 is not used in 'winnowing,' but in measuring grain: it is called not *πτύάριον* but

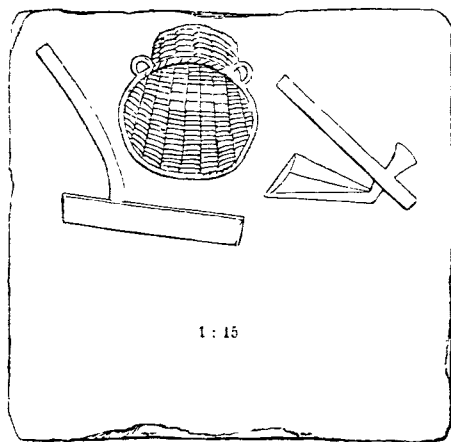


FIG. 9.—ROMAN ASH-URN AT TRÈVES.

σέσουλα and was bought by Mr. Bosanquet at Candia. Drawn in profile it is

²⁰ Mr. W. Crooke kindly tells me that in Northern India the fan or winnowing sieve 'is called *sūp*, a word which comes from the Sanskrit *shūrpa* which again is derived from the root *shūrpa* to measure.' The Indian fan is figured by Mr. Crooke, *s.v.* *sūp* in his 'Glossary

of the N.W. Provinces.' The shape is different from that of the French fans but the process of final winnowing is as described by Mr. Crooke, identical. The rough winnowing is done by men, the final cleans up with the *sūp* by women.

singularly like the Egyptian winnowing boards in Fig. 2, but it is a genuine scoop. It is also, barring its handle, very similar in outline to the regular *liknon* figured in my former paper (Fig. 7). It was there noted that these winnowing-baskets from France, once actually used for winnowing, are now imported to Cambridge for use merely as baskets.

It is curious that the *liknon* proper, in use at the present day in France, seems to have died out in Greece, leaving its place to be supplied, as will be seen later, by the sieve. The latest representation of a *liknon* proper that can lay any claim to be called classical is that represented in Fig. 9, from a Roman ash-urn from Igel, and now in the Provincial Museum at Trèves.²⁷ The *liknon* appears as the cradle of the Holy Child on a sarcophagus in the local museum at Arles, and again in the sculptured decoration of the tower above the choir of the Cathedral at Chartres.²⁸ A careful search among mediaeval and renaissance representations of the Nativity would doubtless reveal many more instances.

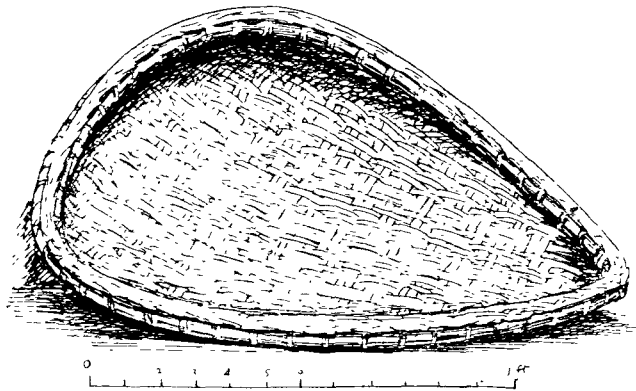


FIG. 10.—FAN FROM MALACCA.

In my former paper (p. 313) I noted that it was about the *liknon* only that mystic associations gathered; though the shovel as we have seen was planted as a religious rite, no one attempted to mysticize the fork or shovel.

The reason is now abundantly clear: with fork and shovel were performed the first rough processes of winnowing and they were in the main wielded by men on the open threshing-floor—the *liknon* and the sieve were for the final sifting, they were home implements and used mainly by women. So it is to this day in Greece: the sieve has wholly supplanted the *liknon*, and so Mr. W. Crooke kindly tells me it is in modern India. Every element of mysticism that gathered round the Greek *liknon* can be paralleled in India in the mysticism of the *sūp*, the local fan. In India the *sūp* or sieve is

²⁷ Hettner *Die Römischen Steininschriften des*
Papier- und Leinwandhandels in Trier (1893), p. 99,
No. 193. My attention was drawn to this monu-

ment by the kindness of Dr. Hans Graeven.

²⁸ Observed by Mrs. Hugh Stewart.

the first cradle of the baby and in Bombay the winnowing-fan in which a newly born child is laid is used on the fifth day for the worship of Satuâi. All through upper India at low-caste marriages the bride's brother accompanies the pair as they revolve in the marriage shed and sprinkles parched grain over them out of a sieve as a charm for good luck and a means of scaring the demon who causes barrenness. So Irish brides in old times used to be followed by an attendant bearing high over the heads of the couple a sieve filled with meal, a sign of the plenty to be in the home and an omen of good luck and the blessing of children. For such a purpose the French *liknon* would have been far too heavy, but the small fan reproduced in Fig. 10, made of bamboo basket-work and used for winnowing rice, would have been very suitable. The specimen in Fig. 10 was obtained in Malacca;²⁹ it could easily be carried in one hand.

Suidas, it will be remembered (*J.H.S.* 1903, p. 309), defined the *liknon* as a *koskinon* or sieve. He is not so inaccurate as he at first appears though probably his notions on winnowing implements were not very precise. A *koskinon* or sieve is not necessarily a pierced sieve; its name connotes separation, but not the particular method by which separation is effected. Moreover, I learn through the kindness of Mr. Dawkins that even a pierced sieve is to this day in Greece used as a *liknon*. Mr. Xanthoudhides, Ephor of antiquities at Candia, thus described the final purification of corn for the mill (the expression for the operation is *κάνω ἄλεσμα*): 'The woman takes a sieve, but when the sieve is shaken the grain remains in the sieve and is not passed through it, the small impurities, *e.g.* sand and dust, are sieved away through the holes, the lighter impurities such as chaff and husks (*φλούδια*) come to the top and are thrown out by the hand.' The ancient name of the process was, Mr. Xanthoudhides added, *ἀναβρασμός*.³⁰ The actual *liknon* with its one open side does not survive, but the *process* goes on though supplemented by the holes.

The perforated sieve in fact, as an instrument easier to handle, seems everywhere in the modern basin of the Mediterranean to have supplanted the *liknon* proper. On the West coast of Asia Minor Mr. Paton tells me corn (*i.e.* wheat and barley), after being winnowed with the *φτυάρι* and the *θρινάκι*, is pressed through a large sieve (*βολίστης*) made of gut. This is set on a stick of the giant fennel (*ἀνάρτηχα* = *νάρθηξ*), placed upright on the threshing-floor. Wheat is afterwards *by the women at home* passed through another sieve (*σπαρικόν*) made of wire. Other and finer sieves for meal are made of bolting cloth and pierced kid-hide.

Finally as regards the sieve made of pierced hide Mr. Paton makes a suggestion of great interest. He asks 'Is not the tympanon derived from the leather sieve and consequently used in the rites of Kybele and Bacchus?' This it seems to me may be the solution of a difficulty that has long puzzled me. Among the 'tokens' of the mysteries of the Great Mother in her Asiatic form as

²⁹ Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Skeat Coll. 510.

³⁰ For Aristotle on *ἀναβρασμός* see my previous article, *J.H.S.* xxiii, p. 309.

Cybele occur the following words;³¹ 'I have eaten from the timbrel, I have drunk from the cymbal.' A musical instrument does not commend itself to the modern mind as either cup or platter, but if timbrel or tympanon be of skin and be in effect an unpierced leather sieve, the difficulty as to eating disappears.

Very briefly to resume, there are, it appears, three main processes by which winnowing can be effected: (1) the throwing of the grain into the air, (2) the shaking of it so that impurities fall out and the grain remains in the basket, (3) the passing of it through a perforated sieve. Operation (1) is performed by *πτύα*, shovels or forks, operation (2) in a basket of special form, (3) in a sieve proper, *i.e.* perforated. Operation (1) is performed in the open air mainly though not wholly by men, and it was never mysticized. Operations (2) and (3) tend to pass over into each other, were often performed in the house and mainly though again not wholly by women. The implements used in these two last operations, *liknon* and sieve, became symbols of fertility and of that purification which to the ancient mind was essential to the promotion of fertility; hence their mysticism.

JANE ELLEN HARRISON.

³¹ Clem. Al. *Protr.* II. 15. τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μνήσεως ταύτης . . . ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον. For details as to these tokens and those of Eleusis I may refer to my *Prolegomena*, pp. 155 and 536.

ADDENDUM.

Since the above was written Mr. Alan Wace has kindly noted for me a number of monuments in Rome on which *likna* are represented. Two of these are of special interest, and I much regret that I did not receive them in time for publication. They are two Herms, one male, the other female, in the Lateran Museum (Helbig, *Cat.* 663, 664. Benndorf and Schöne 187, 188. Reinach, *Idép.* ii. p. 525). Each Herm carries a *liknon* full of fruits and also, an interesting point, each supports on the shoulder a child. Here we have the double symbolism of child and fruit. The Herm with the *liknon* may have a very ancient lineage. Dr. Arthur Evans (*Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 115, Fig. 9) notes that the baetyl beneath the altar-table from Cyrenaica supports a *liknon*-shaped 'offertory basket.'

THE SO-CALLED 'SARDANAPALUS'

[PLATE X.]

THIS interesting type, of which six replicas are known,¹ has received comparatively little attention at the hands of archaeologists. One authority (see Roscher, *Lexikon*, pp. 1117-8) treats it as an example of a Hellenistic statue of the bearded Dionysos, adducing numismatic evidence for purposes of comparison. There is, however, no evidence of the erection of cultus statues of the Bearded Dionysos either during the later fourth century or the Hellenistic age, and this work alone is quoted as at once the justification and the example of the assertion. Nor can the coins be considered copies of contemporary statues: they are mere types, possibly reminiscences of existing works, certainly nothing more. No better instance of the use made by fourth century die-cutters of a cultus statue could be given than the Olympian Zeus as he appears on the coinage of Alexander compared with the representation on the famous Elean coin of the time of Hadrian.

A view which has met with wide acceptance refers the statue to Praxiteles. Klein follows Treu² in considering it the *Liber Pater* mentioned by Pliny,³ a view also held by Arndt⁴ and S. Reinach.⁵

Yet, even if the archaic character of hair and beard and the richly draped figure could be brought into harmony with his work as we know it, the present statue cannot be a copy of the *Liber pater*, which is named among the earliest instances of Praxiteles' masterly work in bronze (*Praxiteles . . . fecit tamen et ex aere pulcherrima opera . . . et Liberum patrem*). Again, this *Liber pater* would almost certainly be a youthful Dionysos, a subject thoroughly Praxitelean.⁶ Klein indeed says 'Der "Liber Pater" der Plinius-stelle lenkt unsere Blicke vom jugendlichen auf den bärtigen Gott,' but

¹ (a) Naples. Figured Reinach *Têtes antiques*, Pl. 197; Wolters, *Jahrb.* 1893, p. 177.

(b) Athens. *Einzelverkauf*, No. 714.

(c) Palermo. *id.* 557.

(d) Uffizi. Alinari. 9410 (unpublished).

(e) Vatican. *Denkm.* No. 381. It is from the inscription incised on this example by a seventeenth century hand that the type has acquired the name of Sardanapalus.

(f) British Museum. Roscher. *Lexikon*, l.c. Sybel, *Weltgesch. d. Kunst*, p. 255.

² *Praxiteles*, p. 419.

³ *N.H.* xxxiv. 69.

⁴ *Einzelv.* Text to No. 557.

⁵ *Têtes antiques*, p. 158.

⁶ Cf. the description of a Praxitelean Dionysos *ap.* Callistratus, *Ephrasis* 8, where he is described as like the Dionysos of the *Bacchae*, ivy-crowned and clad in a *nebris*: this was also a bronze work and possibly that to which Pliny refers. See also *Dioid.* iv 5. 2. *Δίμορφον δ' αὐτὸν δοκεῖν ἐπάρχειν διὰ τὸ δύο Διονύσους γεγεῖναι, τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν καταπλέγων διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πάντας πωγωνοτροφεῖν, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον ἑραῖον καὶ τρυφερὸν καὶ νέον.*

Pliny systematically uses the phrase as equivalent to Dionysos, with no reference to the bearded god, as the following passage conclusively proves: *Prioris [Cephisodoti] est Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens*. Finally,



FIG. 1.—HEAD OF THE 'SARDANAPALUS' OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

with regard to the Praxitelean attribution it may be said that of the features mentioned by Reinach as Praxitelean, the hair finds its nearest analogies in fifth century works, not, as he asserts, in the Aphrodite of Cnidus, while we have

no example of a Praxitelean beard, and his comparison between that of the Dionysos and 'the drapery of the Hermes' (?) is hard to justify. Further, the Naples head of which Reinach speaks is the most modified of existing replicas; if there is in it, as he maintains, 'no trace of archaism,' archaism there certainly is in the Vatican example and in the remains of hair and beard on the Athenian torso.

With regard to the choice of the British Museum statue here, by kind permission of Mr. Cecil Smith, first adequately published (Pl. X. and Fig. 1),⁷ a word must be said. Dr. Arndt⁸ goes so far as to say that it can scarcely be considered a replica; 'nicht allein ist die Gewandung aus dem noch strengen und einfachen Stil des vaticanischen Exemplares^{8a} durch reichere Fältelung ins Unruhige und Bewegte umgesetzt, sondern vor allem ist der Kopf unter Beibehaltung der Hauptzüge des älteren Typus im Détail wesentlich umgestaltet.' This modified character of the head especially must be borne in mind when considering the position and date of the work. The Athenian torso, though of commonplace workmanship, is yet extremely valuable from its discovery in the Theatre of Dionysos and its severe character, especially in the hair and beard, which contrast strongly with the softness and fulness conspicuous in the British Museum and other modified replicas, which are less trustworthy from their softness of feature and emphasis of detail in the drapery. The ivy wreath in our example is probably also a modification, as it appears in no other replica. In spite of these objections, the British Museum statue is here reproduced as far less known than the 'Sardanapalus' of the Vatican, as being entirely unrestored, and as probably more accurate in its treatment of the chiton, especially in its fall over the left foot, a point to be dealt with later.

The god stands with one leg advanced, clad in a linen chiton and heavy himation, his hair bound with a taenia and gathered in a knot on the neck, while locks on either side fall loose on the shoulders. The right hand held a thyrsos, the left is wrapped in the drapery. There is an absence of restlessness in the quiet pose of the arms and the stately lines of the drapery that suggests the fifth century rather than the fourth, an impression strengthened by the archaic treatment of the hair and the severity of the features in the Vatican and Uffizi examples. The brow is smooth, the line of division clearly marked, the eyebrows gently arched, the eyes set far apart with clear-cut lids, the nose (in the B.M. example alone unrestored) broad and straight, the lips rather full, serene, and passionless, the cheeks simply modelled.⁹ The hair, parted over the forehead, waves back in separate strands, and the shoulder-locks and beard are treated with similar simplicity. The drapery varies considerably in details, but the scheme is simple and dignified, while

⁷ The statue has never been reproduced save in the poor woodcut in Roscher, *Lexikon*, l.c., and on a small scale in Sybel, *Weltgesch. d. Kunst*, l.c.

⁸ *Einzelur.* text to No. 557.

^{8a} Adjectives less applicable to the work of Praxiteles than 'streng und einfach,' it would

be hard to find.

⁹ The more dramatic character of the B.M. head, its deep set eyes and greater depth of modelling in brow and cheeks, are misleading, and due to the copyist, as even the advocates of a Praxitelean original admit.

our example is especially valuable for its careful working-out of textures. This wavy treatment of the chiton is found in many works of the later fifth century, *e.g.* the Hera Jacobsen and the Chiaramonti 'Flora,'¹⁰ while the motive of the advanced leg, its shape defined through the drapery, occurs in the same class of works.¹¹ In the British Museum example the left foot appears under the chiton, and the detail of the linen folds falling over the foot is so much in keeping with the statue, and its absence so much felt in the Vatican replica, that it probably belongs to the original. It is interesting to note that this feature occurs in all the works enumerated here as akin to the Dionysos.

With regard to the head, the nearest parallels may again be found in Phidian and post-Phidian works. The Zeus of Olympia, as shown on the



FIG. 2.—BRONZE COIN OF ATHENS IN THE LOEBECKE COLLECTION (2:1).

well known coin of Elis, is extraordinarily similar; there is the same turning-back of the hair from the forehead, the same parallel locks waving over the crown,¹² the same arrangement of tresses on the shoulders, though the hair behind flows loose instead of being confined on the nape of the neck. A further comparison is of great interest. A late coin of Athens (Fig. 2) reproduces on a large scale the head of the seated chryselephantine Dionysos of Alcamenes, here reproduced from Imhoof and Gardner's illustration of the unique specimen in Herr Lobbecke's possession.¹³ This second great cultus statue of the Phidian circle resembles our Dionysos in the

treatment of hair and beard (though the latter is shorter) and in the general type of countenance, and a comparison of the profiles is highly instructive.¹⁴ The roughness of the coin prevents close analysis of details, but the likeness of the 'Sardanapalus' is undeniable. On the other hand, a comparison between the head of our statue and the Asclepios of Melos in the British Museum emphasizes the contrast between the Dionysos and a cultus work of the early fourth century, and makes the suggestion that the former is a work of later date quite untenable.^{14a}

The Praxitelean view having been discussed, the theory of Wolters, attributing the work to Cephisodotus, calls for comment. What we know of his style is based on the Eirene and Plutus at Munich, but it can for several

¹⁰ Arnolt, *Glypt. Ny-Carlsberg*, Pl. 56. *Ame-lung. Mus. Chiaramonti*, Pl. 61.

¹¹ Other instances are the Aphrodite *ἐν κήποις* published in *Rom. Myth.* 1901, p. 21; the Hope, Albani, and Farnese Athenas; and the 'Schutzlehende Borghese.' The hanging-sleeve is also characteristic.

¹² The same treatment occurs in the Maidens of the Erechtheum.

¹³ Imhoof and Gardner, *Num. Comm.* Pl. CC 5. For the full-length figure reproduced

on Athenian coins, see Imhoof and Gardner, *ibid.* Pl. CC, 1-4.

¹⁴ None of the replicas have hitherto been reproduced in profile: for permission to have this statue so photographed I am again indebted to Mr. Cecil Smith. The lighting of the statue in its present position, makes a satisfactory photograph of the profile impossible.

^{14a} Deliberate archaism was, of course, unknown to the age of Praxiteles.

reasons hardly form a basis for further identifications: (*a*), it is a poor copy of a second-rate original, and can hardly be made the ground for attributing to Cephisodotus a work so different in character; (*b*) Cephisodotus does not seem to have been a sculptor of great religious force, nor do we know that he was influenced by Pheidian tradition; (*c*) he was chiefly a worker in bronze; (*d*) his date is against the attribution.

All things considered, it seems a fair inference that the Dionysos was a work of the later fifth century, probably, from the fact that a copy was there discovered, set up in the great Theatre of Dionysos towards the close of the fifth century.¹⁵ We may further conclude that the original was carried off to Rome—five out of our six copies were found in Italy—and replaced by the statue whose torso still survives. Its analogies with Pheidian and post-Pheidian works have been pointed out, and from its likeness to his seated Dionysos we may perhaps suggest as the sculptor Alcamenes, whose works were so dear to the Roman amateur, *cuius sunt opera Athenis complura in aedibus sacris*.¹⁶

Since this paper was first written a copy of the Hermes Propylaeus of Alcamenes, found at Pergamon, has been published by Dr. Conze. Its importance is very great, especially as confirming the archaic treatment known by numismatic evidence to have been used by Alcamenes for his Dionysos,¹⁷ and by Pheidias for the Zeus. With its aid and that of the coins the style of Alcamenes in dealing with cultus statues can be clearly understood, and its discovery does, I venture to think, confirm the tentative attribution to that sculptor, based mainly on numismatic grounds, of the 'Sardanapalus' and its replicas.

One further point needs mention. Not only are six copies known to exist, but several archaistic works appear to be derived from the same original, a further proof of its celebrity. Of these works two may be instanced here, the priest of Dionysos, clad in chiton and himation, his left arm swathed in the drapery, of the Dresden base,¹⁸ and the Dionysos of the so-called Icarus relief. If, as above suggested, the original stood in the theatre of Dionysos, it may well have been widely copied in Hellenistic times, while a subsequent migration to Rome would account for the number of copies found in Italy.

We may then claim that copies exist of a cultus statue from the hand of a member of the Pheidian circle, possibly that of Alcamenes. If so, not only is this the only instance of an existing copy of a cultus figure of the period on so large a scale, but its dignity and nobility of type may reflect, however faintly, the spirit of that crowning work of Greek art, with which it has much in common, the Zeus of Pheidias.

KATHARINE A. McDOWALL.

¹⁵ The Theatre, though completed by Lycurgus c. 330, belongs in its general design to an earlier age (Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 434). Statues of Dionysos stood in the sanctuary at the back of the stage buildings, as well as in the temples hard by (Paus. i. 20, 3, and Frazer, *Commentary*, pp. 212-216).

¹⁶ Plin. *N.H.* xxxvi. 16.

¹⁷ Reich's rejection of the coins (*Erman's Vindobonensis*, p. 10) as too archaic for the Alcamenes statue is now shewn to be baseless.

¹⁸ Darenberg and Saglio, Fig. 2902; *Arch. Zeitung*, 1858, Pl. cxi.; *Denkm.* 150.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ART OF ISAURA NOVA.

THE following paper is due entirely to the suggestion, advice, and guidance of my father. But he wishes me to say that he has given me simply the same help that he has already given to many and is anxious to give to others still.

The aim of this paper is to show by examples that there is a native and indigenous art peculiar to a certain part of Asia Minor, the only part I have yet seen, namely, the district around the city of Nova Isaura. It has already been observed both by Prof. Ramsay and by others, that certain artistic forms are characteristic of certain districts of Asia Minor. In many places these forms have persisted from ancient times down almost to the present day. Thus all the carpets and embroideries woven at the village of Ladik (the ancient Laodicea Katakekaumene), nine hours north of Iconium, until the middle of last century, when the old manufacture ceased, show a vase of particular shape, while another vase of a different form is peculiar to the carpets made at Mudjur in Cappadocia. In another village of Lycaonia, every carpet and embroidery is marked by a row of little houses. The same is the case with the patterns used in several other places: I am told by friends that the carpets still woven at Kara-Bunar are recognisable at a glance by those who know the pattern characteristic of the place. Similarly we found and purchased at Dorla a piece of old embroidery, handed down for generations in a family of the village, which shows the same scheme of ornament and several of the same decorative details as the sepulchral monuments published in this paper.

Prof. Strzygowski's writings in support of his theory that the art of Asia Minor exercised a strong influence on the development of late Roman and Byzantine Christian art are likely to concentrate attention on this subject at the present time. To prove this theory it is necessary in the first place to show that there was a native indigenous art in Asia Minor, existing independently of Greek or Roman influence. This proof I attempt to give for the small district of Nova Isaura. The best way to do so is to set before the reader a sufficient number of examples of the Isauran style. I shall endeavour also to point out the salient characteristics of each monument.

In 1890 Prof Ramsay, in company with Messrs. Hogarth and Headlam, came by accident to Dorla, mistaking it for another village where they intended to stay the night. The sun set as they reached Dorla, but they noticed a number of inscriptions, and copied a few of them in the fading light before hurrying on to their camp at the village of Almasun, two and a half hours distant. To this fortunate accident is due the discovery of this site. Though Prof. Ramsay has been collecting information for three years in the Konia district with regard to ancient remains, no one of the hundreds who have given him reports about ancient sites has ever mentioned Dorla. It seems to have remained entirely unnoticed. But in 1901, remembering the uncopied

inscriptions of 1890, he went back to Dorla and found about fifty inscribed stones, with remains of other kinds sufficient to prove the site and reveal something of the history of Nova Isaura.

On looking at these monuments, one is struck over and over again by the love of decoration for its own sake which they indicate. They are variously and profusely ornamented, as far as one can see, merely because the engraver objected to leaving any part of the stone plain and unadorned. This love of ornament for ornament's sake is and always has been characteristic of Anatolian, and indeed of all Asiatic art. It is seen even at the present time, when the coarsest sacks bear ornamental patterns, and the very paper in which shopkeepers wrap their parcels is often adorned with coloured pictures.

There is no clue to the form of the monuments at Dorla. All the inscriptions and reliefs or patterns which are here published are on single blocks of stone, and though several of these blocks seem to be incomplete in themselves, and merely parts of large built tombs (as for example the tomb of Bishop Theophilus, where several other fragments of sculptured stone were found near the block which bears the inscription), it is not clear whether this was the case with all. It is possible and even probable that in many instances, particularly when the relatives of the deceased person were poor (cp. Figs. 26, 29, 35, etc.), the monument was simply a single block of stone.

1.—Dorla. In two parts: the right-hand piece is built into the wall of the mosque, the other, from which all the top is broken away, is in the cemetery on the opposite side of the stream. The former was found by Messrs. Ramsay, Hogarth, and Headlam in 1890, the latter by Prof. and Mrs. Ramsay in 1901.

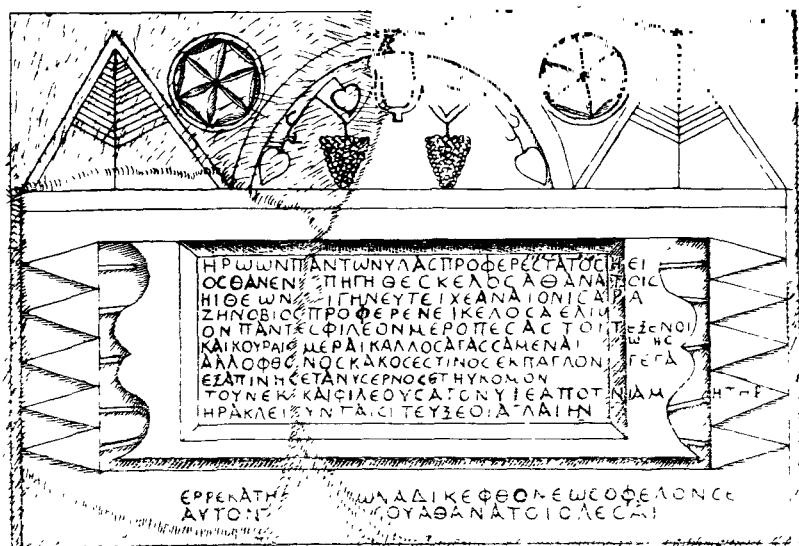


FIG. 1.

Ἡρώων πάντων Ὑλας προφερέστατος ἦε[ν].
 ὃς θάρεν [ἐν] πηγῇ θέσκελος ἀθανάτοισ·
 ἡιθέων δ' [ο]ῖ γῆν εὐτειχέα ναῖον Ἰσάρα.
 Ζηνόβιος πρόφερεν. εἵκελος Ἀελίφ·
 ὃν πάντες φίλεον μέροπες, ἀστοί τε ξένοι τε,
 καὶ κοῦραι ε[ί]μεραι κύλλος ἀγασσόμεναι.
 ἀλλ' ὁ Φθόνος κακός ἐστιν ὃς ἔκπαλιν γεγαῶ[τα]·
 ἐξαπίνη[ς] ἐτάνυσ[σ]'. ἔρνος [ἐ]τ' ἡύκομον.
 τούνεκ[α] καὶ φιλέουσα τὸν νύεα πότνια μήτηρ
 Ἡράκλει[ς] [σ]ὺν παισί[ν] τευξέ οἱ ἀγλαίην.
 ἔρρε κατη[φίω]ν, ἄδικε Φθόνε, ὥς ὄφελόν σε
 αὐτὸν [σ ? σ]οῦ ἀθάνατοι ὀλέσαι.

The last letter of line 1 may be Ν, but only the upright line is certain. The reading at the end of lines 5 and 7 is also doubtful on the stone: the restoration given above does not suit the traces, which are as indicated in the epigraphic copy. This restoration was given by Mr. Souter in publishing the inscription from the first imperfect copy in the *Classical Review*, 1897, p. 96. and seems necessary, though we cannot read it on the stone. The last letter in the gap in l. 12 was either σ or ε, and the second last also was probably σ or ε, but the traces are very slight.

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it gives the name of the place—*γῆν εὐτειχέα Ἰσάρα*, (for *Ἰσαυρα*), *i.e.*, the city of Isaura and the surrounding territory belonging to it. The name of the country is Isauria, but the city and the land belonging to the city are called Isaura, as Prof. Sterrett has pointed out, *Wolfe Expedition*, p. 150. Zenobios was the most excellent among the young men of Isaura and its whole territory. Dorla therefore must be the site of the city Isaura. There were two towns of this name, Isaura Palaea and Isaura Nea. Strabo, p. 568, calls them villages, meaning however not that they were small places, but that they were organised on the Asiatic village system instead of on the Greek political system. In other words, neither of them was a *πόλις* at the time when Strabo was writing, about 18–20 A.D. But Isaura Palaea had become a city by the second century, when it was striking coins. The present inscription cannot refer to Isaura Palaea, which lies fifteen or twenty miles away to the S.W. across the mountains: and thus Dorla must be the site of Isaura Nea, and Prof. Sterrett was not very far wrong when he placed Isaura Nea at Diñorna, a deserted site about twelve miles N.W. of Dorla, also situated on the extreme edge of the Isaurian highlands. The evidence for this lies in an inscription found at Diñorna mentioning Annia, the daughter of a senator of Isaura, who buried her son in Diñorna. But this inscription is not to be understood as showing that Annia lived in the city where her father was senator. He was a senator of Isaura, probably Palaea Isaura, the great city of the country and the only one where there was a senate; and his daughter married one of the leading men in the town of Diñorna, where Prof. Ramsay is disposed to place the Byzantine bishopric Korna.

Prof. Ramsay thinks that the spelling Isara is not a mere slip for Isaura, but more likely an intentional way of representing the native pronunciation of the name, which was more like Isawra. In many words where a native sound, approximating to w, occurred, the Greek form and spelling vary very much: *e.g.*, Olba, Oura, Orba, etc., represent a native Orwa or Ourwa.

The epitaph is superior to the commonplace metrical forms which are very frequent on tombstones in the country. The comparison of the dead Zenobios to the hero Hylas is neatly expressed for a village poet. But his ideas of quantity are defective—Hylas in line 1 must be scanned Hylas, and in line 10 he seems to think that the omission of ς allows the scansion of Ἡράκλεις as a dactyl. ν must be inserted after $\piαισι$, in line 10. Hiatus is often disregarded. But these faults are venial compared with the crimes committed by many village poets in those times.

The ornament is a combination of two different and inconsistent types. The lower part consists of a sunken panel marked off by lines, and a border indicated by difference of level. This form is found very widely, and has nothing distinctive of the locality. Above this is ornament in the scheme characteristic of this district, many examples of which will be found in this paper. The fully expressed schema consists of a central arch or pediment flanked by two narrower pediments, supported on pillars, but the lower half of this schema is here suppressed to make room for the panel. On each side of the panel are five very conventional angular leaves, which also are usual in this district (examples in No. 27 and perhaps in No. 19; in No. 4 they are doubled).

Thus the decoration of the stone consists of three parts: (1) A sunk panel to receive the inscription after the type imported into Doria with other ideas of the Graeco-Roman education; (2) above the panel the established and traditional type of Nova Isaura; (3) on each side of the panel an Isauran ornament repeated in a meaningless way.

There is no single idea, no plan, no true design in the decoration. The parts are inconsistent with one another. The combination of elements from Greek and native art is quite unintelligent: the artist thinks only of decoration and ornament. Ornament for ornament's sake is the ruling principle in all Anatolian art; but ornamentation may be intelligent. Here it is unintelligent, and yet the result looked at as a whole has a distinctly decorative effect. Vine branches are represented trailing from a vase in the central arch, but the leaves are not vine leaves, and the branches have not a natural appearance.

The native and Isauran character of a large part of the ornament makes it certain that this stone was carved by a native artisan; and it is an important observation to start from that there are two influences apparent in Nova Isaura, the indigenous custom and certain borrowed forms learned along with the general Graeco-Roman civilisation, which came by way of the great cities on the main lines of imperial communication and trade, especially Iconium.

The device of the sunk panel to receive the inscription is quite common

in Iconium. A very ornate example is published by Mr. Cronin in *J.H.S.*, 1902, p. 361. With regard to the date of this inscription I may quote Prof. Ramsay's opinion.

'This Isauran inscription probably belongs to the fourth century. I cannot think that so much command of Greek existed in Nova Isaura in the fifth century, when a bishop of Hadrianopolis Phrygiae (a city not very far distant and exposed to similar influences, but more educated, as being close to a great thoroughfare) had to get another person to sign for him because he did not know how to write (A.D. 451). The reason for the degeneration in knowledge and culture between the fourth and the fifth centuries lies in the general conditions and is almost universal in Asia Minor. On the other hand, this inscription is apparently later than No. 2; the lettering is much the same in form, but the art seems later and more under external influence. The end of the third century is not impossible, but the fourth century is the most probable date. A quite unusual command of the Greek language is shown in the metrical epitaphs of this district: if this epitaph and those in Nos. 41, 69,¹ are compared with most of those found in such numbers in Central Anatolia, it will be observed that these are composed at home in the Isauran territory, with superior knowledge and command of the language.'

2 (Figs. 2*a*, 2*b*).—Dorla. R. 1901 and 1904. Above the ornamental part of the stone—*Νον[?]λλα ἐκόσμησεν τὸν μακάριον πάπαν τὸ[ν γ]λυκύτατον καὶ πάντων φ[ί]λον*. Nonilla, if that was the name—the part lost must have been only three or four letters—was probably the wife of the bishop.

Prof. Ramsay considers that this is one of the most interesting and important sepulchral monuments ever found in Asia Minor. The stone, a massive rectangular block 5 feet 1½ inches in length by 3 feet 9¼ inches in height, was discovered by Prof. and Mrs. Ramsay in 1901 on the hill on the left or western bank of the stream that flows through the village. On one of the long sides is an architectural ornament which takes the form of four columns supporting a round arch and two side pediments. The central arch is supported on pillars ornamented with a pattern in incised lines, and above it are two branches with leaves and bunches of grapes. The shape of these leaves is doubtful, as the stone is very much worn. They seem to be trefoils, but whether rounded or pointed it is impossible to say: they are probably intended for vine-leaves, but if so, the delicate points have been worn away. Below the arch is an open book, or rather a set of tablets opened; and in the central niche between the columns is a wreath tied above with a ribbon, and surrounding the inscription *φίλτατος ὁ μακάριος πάπας ὁ θεοῦ φίλος*, and the letters M X, for *μνήμης χάριν*. Each of the side-pediments has a round boss in the centre: and a garland hangs from the supporting pillars, and beneath it is the representation of a fish. All the ornament is in relief, with

¹ In a paper on Isauran inscriptions and Ramsay along with this paper, but postponed topography intended to be published by Prof. through want of space.

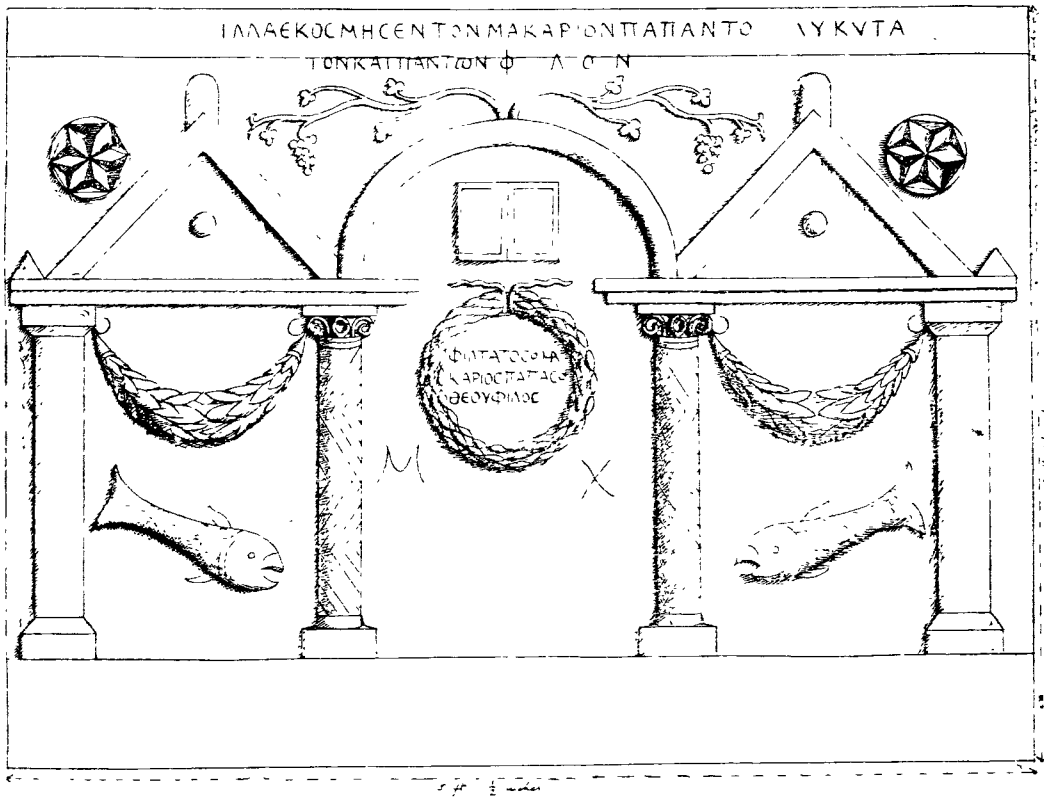


FIG. 2a.

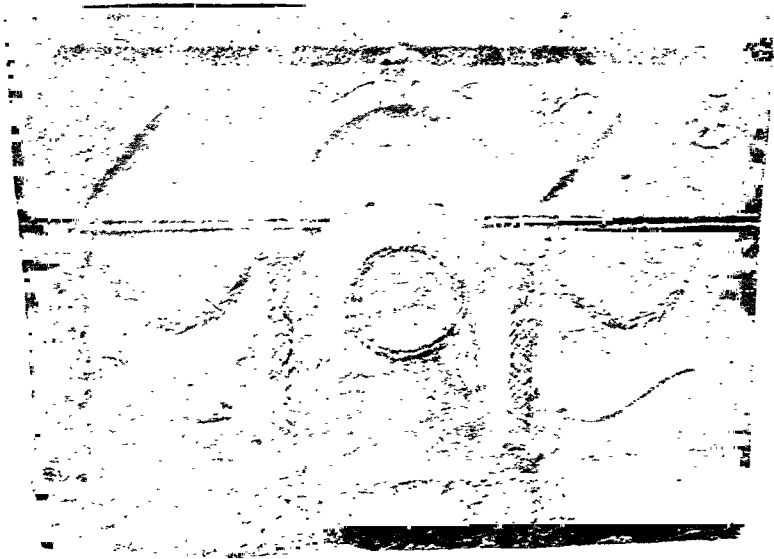


FIG. 2b.

the exception of the ribbons supporting the garlands, and the fins of the fish, which are merely incised. The fins of the left fish were not visible on the stone, and have been restored from comparison with the other. The larger part of the epitaph is inscribed above the ornament, close to the upper edge of the stone. Several other examples of this simple style of monument, found in Lycaonia and Pisidia, will be published in the course of this paper, and seem to prove that it is of purely local origin.

The tomb is evidently that of a bishop. In the expression *ὁ μακάριος πάπας*, *πάπας* must be either the name or the title of the person buried there, probably the latter. Judging from the general character of Anatolian inscriptions, Prof. Ramsay came to the conclusion, in view of the stone in 1901, that it was not later than the second half of the third century, and that *πάπας* was the title. This opinion was afterwards confirmed by the fact that in one of the Amherst papyri *ὁ μακάριος πάπας* is obviously used as a title of the Bishop of Alexandria as early as A.D. 270–80. But this epitaph shows the remarkable peculiarity that the title supplants the actual name in imitation of the pagan custom, according to which a priest who became *ιερώνυμος* (like the principal priests at Eleusis and in various of the great Anatolian cities) dropped his own name and was known simply by his title. This peculiarity is suggestive of a very early date; and that the stone is an early one, prior to the time of Constantine, is shown also by the lettering and by the general character of the epitaph and the ornament. The wording of the epitaph, *τὸν γλυκύτερον καὶ πάντων φίλον*, is of an early Christian period, being full of human feeling, whereas the epithets applied to such persons as bishops afterwards became much more religious and stereotyped in character. Compare the tender expression

γλυκύτερον φωτὸς καὶ ζῆς

applied by Aur. Xanthias to his son who died at the age of seven, in a Christian inscription of Rome, dated by the consuls of A.D. 238. The phrase *πάντων φίλος* is here used in an inscription which is undoubtedly Christian, and such moral sentiments are found on many Christian tombstones, but (as Prof. Ramsay remarks in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 495) they cannot alone 'be taken as a proof of Christian origin. In some cases similar sentiments were inscribed on non-Christian tombs as a counterblast to Christianity. Thus at Temenothyrai, *C.I.G.* 3865 *Μάρκου Πολιήτου φιλοσόφου πάντων φίλου* clearly belongs to the pagan philosophical reaction' (on which compare *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 506 f., and an article in *Erpösitor*, Oct. 1904). It seems that they were originally Christian, and their occurrence on pagan stones is a proof of the strong influence which the new religion exerted even on its opponents. Another example is found in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 386 f. No. 232. The expression *πάντων φίλος* occurs in an inscription of Tarsus, which may perhaps be restored [*ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν*] *τῷ αἰῶνι ζῇ. Φωσφόρος ὁ πάντων φίλος κ.τ.λ.* The inscription continues in the ordinary style of epitaphs, though with some unusual features (published with some difference by Messrs. Heberdey and

Wilhelm in *Wiener Akad. Denkschriften*, 1896, p. 5). It is evidently either Christian or of the reaction, when the aim was to show that paganism was superior to Christianity on its own lines. At Salonika τῷ πάντων φίλῳ Μυλάγῳ is probably pagan (*Mittl. Inst. Athen* 1896, p. 98). Θεοῦ φίλος is probably a play on Theophilus, the real name of the bishop.

The fish, the common symbol of the Christians in the early centuries, passed out of use at a comparatively early date, and the same is true of the open book which appears on this stone and which may represent the Bible. This symbol occurs also on several North-Phrygian tombs, which Prof. Ramsay published in the *Euphrosynion* in 1888, arguing that they were Christian on account of the formula τὸν θεὸν σὺ μὴ ἀδικήσεις,² which occurs in some of them and that the tablets must be understood to indicate the Bible. The present inscription may be regarded as complete confirmation of this argument, or at least of the first part of it: this class of gravestone is Christian.

The character of the ornament on this stone also points to an early date, probably the third century A.D. It seems at first sight to be an earlier stage of the elaborate decoration common on Byzantine and Roman sarcophagi of the fourth century, a row of figures standing in niches, with highly intricate and elaborate tracery and architectural ornament. Here we have the semi-architectural schema, without the human figures. But, as one stone after another is discovered, we see that the schema is a traditional type in Nova Isaura, characteristic of the place, which is likely to have lasted for centuries, varied, but never essentially changed. The fact that it is a simpler stage of the fourth century sarcophagus style would not, taken alone, prove anything about date. But this monument is very much larger than the other Dorla monuments, and represents an attempt to improve upon and elaborate the native type. New elements are introduced on this stone which are unknown on any of the other stones in Dorla; and yet it is indubitably among the very earliest of all the examples found in the village. This more ambitious style is a proof that more money, care, and work were spent on this stone. It was the tomb of an exceptional person (either through his wealth or through his rank) and it represented the highest stage of which local art was capable, elaborating the native schema by imported additions, especially the fish, that wide-spread symbol, which was certainly not invented in Nova Isaura, but introduced there from outside. Now, had this large and ambitious monument been built in the fourth century, it would probably have shown some of the Graeco-Roman forms most characteristic of that time; taking into consideration the entire absence of those characteristic fourth century forms, and the fact that in the Dorla series this has all the appearance of being among the earliest,³ we must infer that it belongs to the third century.

The ornament scattered liberally over the surface of the stone contains various elements; but none of these are necessarily borrowed from a formed

² The formula is always misspelt; but the above seems to have been the intention.

³ Only No. 59 seems to be distinctly earlier,

but it belongs to an older type, the ordinary pagan heroön.

Graeco-Roman art The fish was taken as a symbol, not as an artistic element, and is placed on the tomb to be significant, and not merely to be ornamental. We have in this stone a simple development of the native art, and not a mixture of an indigenous and an exotic art.

Other elements in the ornamentation, besides the fish, are almost certainly symbolical. The vine branch above the central pediment indicates that the bishop was a branch of the true vine, the open book, as has been stated, represents the Bible, and the garland symbolises the crown of life. It is probable that the six-leaved rosettes are also symbolical. The frequency of this rosette on Lycaonian Christian monuments, and the way in which it is employed in one which I hope to publish in a subsequent article, suggest that it is a modification of the early Christian monogram ✱, originally representing Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός). The book should be compared with the mosaic inscription of Naro in Africa (Hamman-Lif), *instrumenta servi tui* on an open diploma. This inscription was in mosaic in a room beside the church, containing the sacred books, etc. *Rev. Arch.* 1904, p. 368 (*Instrumenta* = 'Scriptures,' Tertull. *Apol.* 19, 21, 47; *instrumenta litteraturae*, *id. ib.* 18.)

The title *πάπας* employed in this inscription is extremely interesting. It proves what was before probable, that this title was at first employed much more widely and was gradually restricted in use. Heraeus, *Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr.* xiii. p. 157, says that the use of Papa to indicate the Bishop in Roman inscriptions begins about A.D. 300 (quoting from de Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. Urbis Rom.* i. p. cxv = Anth. Lat. epigr. 656, 2) and that from the sixth century it is confined to the Pope (quoting from Caesar, *de vet. tit. Christ.* p. 65), Prof. Harnack in *Berl. Sitzungsber.* 1900, p. 990, points out that in the West Papa was, in early times, used only in Rome, but was there employed as the ordinary term for bishop, either of Rome or of any other place. Tertullian uses it sarcastically of the Roman bishop Callistus. In the East Harnack thinks it was used only in Egypt, and only of the bishop of Alexandria, so that ὁ μακάριος *πάπας* was the recognised title of that bishop alone, while other Egyptian bishops were styled *πατήρ ἡμῶν*. In the pre-Nicene period, as he says, the title *πάπας* is not known to have been used of any other Eastern bishop: but it was customary for the Alexandrian bishops from at least as early as 250. Only in the letter of Pseudo-Justin to Zenas and Serenus the title ὁ *πάπας* occurs. This Isauran inscription shows that Prof. Harnack's distinction is too rigid, and that the phrase was used in Asia Minor during the third century. Dr. Sanday also quotes Gregory Thaum. *Ep. Cypri.* i. Οὐ τὰ βρώματα ἡμᾶς βαρεῖ, ἱερὲ (c. l. ἱερώτατε) *πάπα* (Routh. *Bibl. Sacra.* iii. 256), date not long after 254.

Though a bishop is mentioned in this epitaph, the name Isaura never occurs in the Byzantine lists of bishoprics. Prof. Ramsay has shown in an article on Lycaonia, which is already printed and will be published in the Austrian *Jahreshefte*, 1904, Part II., that the two neighbouring towns, Isaura Nova and Korna, were bishoprics in early time, but were merged in the great autokephalos bishopric of Isaura Palaea, called Leontopolis, some time after 381, and probably at the same time that the name Leontopolis was given to

Isaura, about 474.⁴ Basil himself, Ep. 190, dreaded this loss of independence for the *μικροπολιτεῖαις ἤτοι μικροκωμίαις ταῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπισκόπων θρόνον ἐχούσαις*, and in order to prevent it when the bishopric of Isaura Palaea was vacant about 374, he wrote to Amphilochius of Iconium and recommended the nomination of officials called *προϊστάμενοι* for the smaller towns or cities before a new bishop was appointed for Isaura. Prof. Ramsay in 1901 discovered the grave of one of these officials at Alkaran, between Korna and Nea Isaura, with the inscription *μνήμης χάριν Κόνωνος [προ]στα[μένου]*: see No. 45.

The name *πάπας*, applied to the priest of Malos Galatiae in Acta S. Theodoti, is quoted by a writer in *Anat. Boll.* xxii. p. 327 as a proof that the document was not written by a contemporary, but belongs to a later age. In view of our inscription this argument falls to the ground, and the use of the term *πάπας* in that document is rather favourable to the view (advocated by Prof. Ramsay many years ago, and recently by Prof. Harnack and others) that the Acta S. Theodoti is a good document of early date.

3.—In the wall of the mosque at Dorla (R. 1904). *Μάκερος καὶ Ὁᾷ[ς κ]αὶ Ἀν[ω ? λ ?]ις ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐκόσμησαν τὸν πᾶσι φίλον ἐπίσκοπον Μύμμαν.* It is doubtful whether certain marks to the left of l. 1 indicate a letter. This stone also shows the scheme characteristic of the district, the rounded pediment flanked by two pointed ones, all supported by four columns. The more conventional form of wreath which here appears is very common on tombstones in this district, as are the two implements below it. The one on the right is evidently a hammer, while the other apparently represents some sort of knife or sickle: it appears in complete form in No. 22. Under the right-hand pediment is a complicated ornament represented in the epigraphical copy by cross lines. A more correct representation of a small part is given below. (Fig. 3*b*). Each lozenge is indented with sides sloping to a deep point in the centre, and each is separated by a ridge, viz., the general level of the surface from the surrounding lozenges. This is probably intended to represent a fisherman's net; and, if so, the ornament is significant and not purely decorative. It is extremely unfortunate that the corresponding symbol or ornament under the left pediment has been completely defaced, probably because its character offended Mohammedan taste.

With regard to the date of this inscription I quote the following from Prof. Ramsay:—‘If this inscription were late, it might be argued that “*Πασίφιλον*” has perhaps here become a single epithet, and is no longer felt to be a pair of words, as it is in many second and third century inscriptions. But on the other hand this epithet does not belong to the later stereotyped Byzantine phraseology; and nothing in the inscription

⁴ That date may be taken as the final legal confirmation of the subjection which had long been aimed at by the bishops of Palaea Isaura (as is clear from Basil *loc. cit.*); the bishops

of those two places came to an end after 451, when they sent bishops to Chalcedon, but before 474.—W.M.R.

suggests the ecclesiastical system as it can be seen almost fully formed in the writings of the three great Cappadocians, Basil and the Gregories. The first half of the fourth century seems to be the latest allowable date for this inscription. It might possibly be assigned to the third.'

The crosses placed so inconspicuously as part of the ornamentation here should be noted. The earliest position of the cross on gravestones was probably above the inscription. In this situation it might pass for a sort of ornament, and thus it would not draw attention too prominently, while it would be significant to those who could understand. As has been pointed out by Prof. Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. p. 502, that is the char-

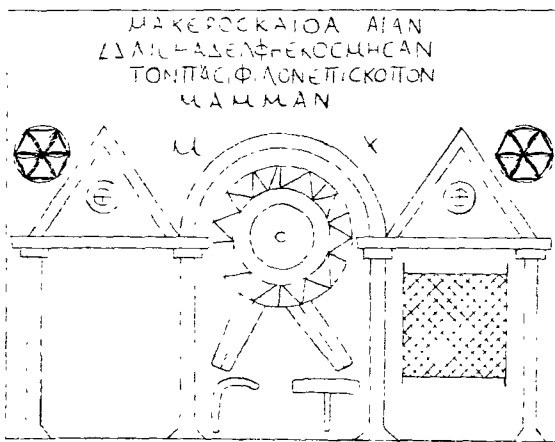


FIG. 3a.

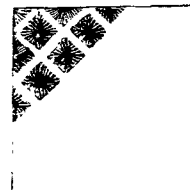


FIG. 3b.

acteristic of third century Christian epitaphs. An inscription (probably of the third century, found a few miles west of Laodiceia Katakekaumene in Galatic Phrygia, and published by Mr. Hogarth, *J.H.S.* 1890, p. 165, No. 23, belongs to this class; the editor has omitted the cross above the inscription (which was recopied by Prof. Ramsay in 1891).

Later than this are (1) the class of inscriptions in which the developed symbol ✠ or ✡ is placed above the epitaph, as for example *Ath. Mitth.* xiii. 1887, 256, No. 70; (2) the class in which the simple $+$ is placed before the first word (and often after the last word) of the inscription, and in the same line with it. On this subject see the concluding note.

4.—Dorla. R. 1901 and 1904. τὸν τειμιώτατον διάκονον Τάβειν Νάννα ἢ μήτηρ καὶ Οὐάλγιος καὶ Ροῦφος οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκόσμησαν μ.χ.

Fig. 4. The six-leaved rosette which appears here is a very common ornament in various slightly modified forms on tombstones in Lycaonia. Rosettes of this kind are common also in Pisidia, but generally have eight leaves instead of six. Prof. Ramsay has seen no exception to the rule that the six-leaved rosette is characteristic of Lycaonia and the eight-leaved

of Pisidia; but the Pisidian examples which he has seen are too few in number to justify any confident assertion of this principle.

The symbol of the swastika \equiv occurs frequently on stones both on the frontiers of Pisidia and on the borders of Lycaonia and Isauria. Prof. Sterrett (*Wolfe Expedition*, No. 220, cp. also Nos. 56, 93) mentions a stele with

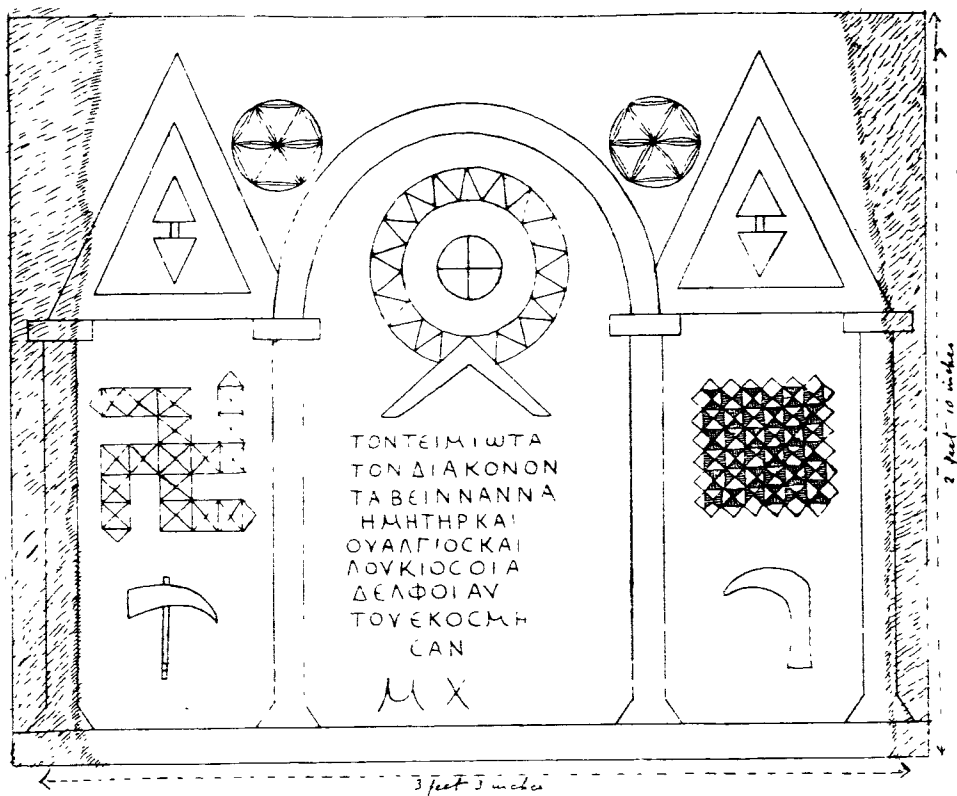


FIG. 4.

grape-vines and this symbol. There is nothing distinctively Christian about the inscription, but Prof. Sterrett is probably right in considering it to be Christian.

This tomb of the deacon is distinctly later than that of Bishop Theophilus (No. 2). The ornament and arrangement are closely analogous to the tomb of Bishop Mammas, but later, as the phrase τὸν τεimiώτατον διάκονον has already the technical character of the Byzantine church formulas. But the general form of the inscription is still of the older type, and it can hardly be much later than the middle of the fourth century, and may even be as early as the time of Constantine; on the whole a date about the epoch of Basil, A.D. 353—370, is most probable. It is quite probable that the tombs of Bishop Mammas and Deacon Tabeis were made in the same workshop, and are separated by only a very few years from one another. The

tomb of Rufus, No. 16. comes from the same workshop, and must therefore be placed in the same period.

5 (Fig. 5).—Dorla. R. 1904. Ὁ ἁγνότατος καὶ ἡδυεπὴς καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς κεκοσμημένος Σισαμόας ἐπίσκοπος.

The proportions of the ornament on this tombstone are almost identical with those of No. 21: but in the one case the inscription is placed in the

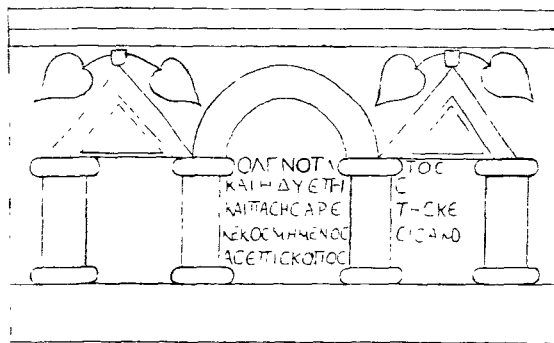


FIG. 5.

space above, in the other it is written across the ornament. The columns are a little more Greek and exotic in shape in No. 5 than in No. 21. But the two evidently come from the same workshop and belong to the same period. They were standing ready-made in the shop, and bought before the inscriptions were placed on them, according to the custom observable in many other cases, whereas No. 2 was perhaps made by special order to suit Bishop Theophilus.

It is difficult to decide whether this pair or the three, Nos. 3, 4, and 16, should be placed earlier. The language of No. 5 is more artificial and elaborate than that of No. 3, but on the other hand it differs from the formulae which were already accepted and stereotyped about 360, and must represent an older local growth of terminology which was afterwards abolished by the general custom of the Church (seen in No. 4). It might very well be that Sisamoas succeeded Mammas, and the Deacon was a younger contemporary of Sisamoas, while the two sets of stones came from two rival workshops.

ἡδυεπής is an old epic and poetic word, applied to Nestor in Homer, also to Muses, Apollo, a lyre, etc. It is characteristic of the Greek used in the rural districts of the plateau to employ old poetic words, as Prof. Ramsay has pointed out in the case of *τέκμων* and others. *ἡδυεπής* seems to have become a standing epithet of bishops in Nova Isaura: cp. No. 39 in the inscriptions of Nova Isaura, which will be published by Prof. Ramsay in the Papers of the American School of Rome.

6.—In the wall of a house at Alkaran, one hour N. of Dorla. The scheme is still the same as on the preceding stones, but a little more elaborated.

Whorls of curved lines are inserted in the spaces between the tops of the pediments, and beneath the rounded central arch appears a shell-like ornament, which, in a more developed form, is very frequent on Byzantine

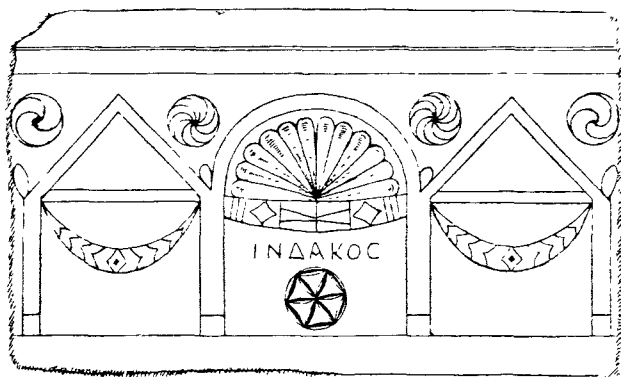


FIG. 6.

sarcophagi. Below this is a garland which, like those hanging beneath the side pediments, is of a more conventional and less natural type than those on the Bishop's tomb (No. 2). The name Indakos is a fuller form of Inzas, the name of a bishop of Korna (12 miles N.W.) in A.D. 381. On the common variation between forms in Δ and Z compare *Histor. Geogr. of Asia M.* pp. 285, 348, adding Arianzos of Cappadocia and Ariandos in an unpublished inscription of the Lydian district Katakekaumene.

7.—A broken fragment in the wall of a house at Dorla: the inscription is lost. We have here a still further development of the same schema. In

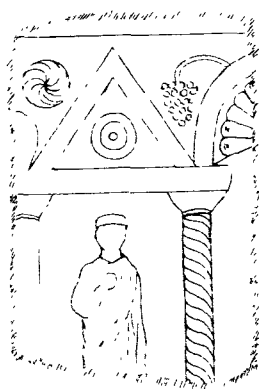


FIG. 7a.

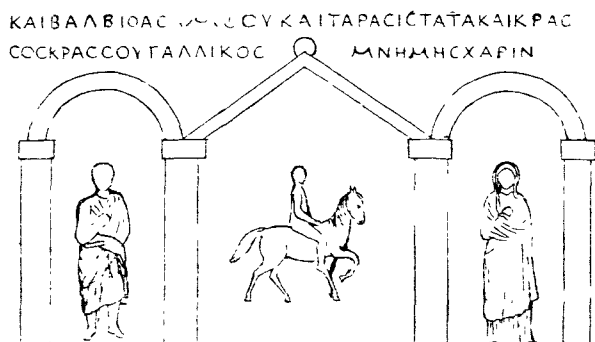


FIG. 7b.

the pointed pediment is an ornament of three concentric circles, above it appears the whorl of curved lines occurring in No. 6, and a bunch of grapes,

and to the right is part of a rounded arch within which is the shell also seen in No. 6. One of the two columns supporting the pediment is twisted, and between them is a male figure wearing a cap and a flowing mantle. This monument, when complete, probably showed a female figure under the right side pediment, similar to the Pisidian inscription found at Kyr Stefan near Colonia Parlais by Prof. Ramsay in 1886, which is here added for comparison (Fig. 7*b*). The text is published by Mr. Cronin, *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 114. The details were not drawn by Prof. Ramsay, who only sketched the general outline: they are added here from his verbal notes.

The Isauran schema is here elaborated by the addition of something of the Greek anthropomorphic tendency. In accordance with what has been said on No. 1, this addition must be attributed to the influence of Greek education and knowledge, coming through the great cities like Iconium. The native architectural schema is here still the ruling element, and the exotic idea is subsidiary, filling up empty spaces, but the pillars are in shape Graeco-Roman rather than of the old native fashion.

8.—One side of the sarcophagus of Sidamaria, in Lycaonia, now in the Imperial Museum, Stamboul. When we come to this sarcophagus, found in the same district, and so nearly resembling in scheme of ornament the stones just given, we can scarcely doubt that it is a later development of the same principle; the native schema has been embellished and added to through contact with Greek artistic ideas. Here we have still several columns supporting rounded pediments or arches, a series of figures in the niches between the pillars, and within each arch an elaborate variant of the shell which has already appeared in a simple form on Nos. 6 and 7. The lower portion of the scheme is partially suppressed to make room for the figures, and both the capitals of the columns and the pediments are decorated with highly elaborate open-work tracery. The columns themselves are twisted, a style already appearing in No. 7 (also No. 21). But the Greek sculpture has now become the ruling element, and the native schema only appears in the background. The two elements are, however, just as inconsistent with one another here as they are in No. 1: a hunting scene of the Greek fashion is placed amid the columns and arches of the South Anatolian schema, and wherever the latter interferes too much with the Greek figures it is suppressed. On two other sides of the same sarcophagus pointed central pediments appear flanked by rounded arches. This style must be attributed to an Anatolian city where Greek work was well known; but there is probably too much of the Greek element for a central Anatolian city, like Nova Isaura or even Iconium, and the scale of the monument is too great for the humbler workshops of those cities. In *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 358, Prof. Ramsay pointed out that two great examples of this developed art had been found, one in the Lycaonian city Sidamaria, and the other in the maritime Isaurian city Seleucia, and that the sculptural ornament on both was so similar as to prove their origin from a single workshop, and hence he inferred that the point of common origin must have been the great city of

Tarsus, where alone an atelier capable of producing such works is likely to have existed. Thence one example was carried over the great Roman road through the Cilician Gates into Lycaonia, and the other by sea to Seleucia.



FIG. 8.

This hypothesis suits all the known conditions. Tarsus attracted the aspiring youth of Lycaonia and Cappadocia (see article 'Tarsus' in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, iv. p. 685), and was itself influenced by them while it influenced their development.

9.—At Alkaran. 1904.

[ὁ δὲ ἵνα ἐκόσμησεν Κά?]δδιν τὸν θῖον αὐτοῦ.

With the difference that it has no pointed pediment and is much plainer in style, this stone so much resembles No. 6 that nothing more need be said about it.

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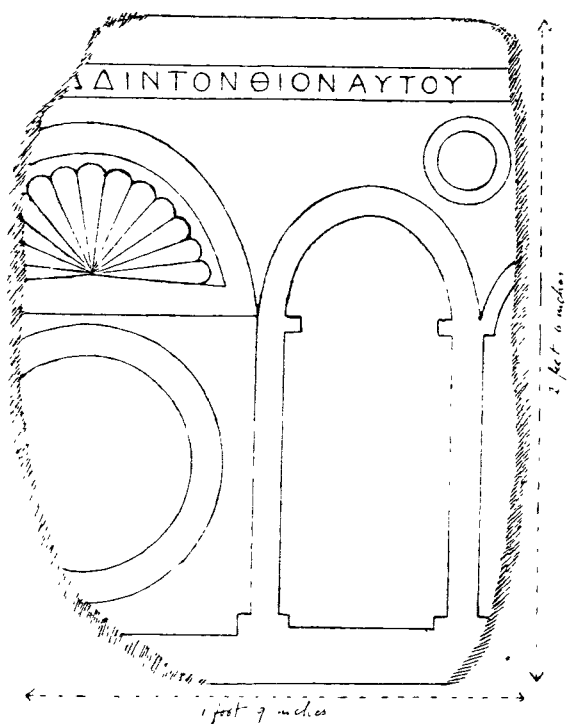


FIG. 9.

10.—Dorla. R. 1904. In a dark stable: detail, sometimes uncertain. *Αὐρ. Σιμωνί[δη]ς Κλεο[νί]κου ἐκόσμησεν Δόμναν τὴν γλυκυτάτην [αὐ]τοῦ σύμβιον μ. χ.* Crosses approximating to the Maltese cross are here used.

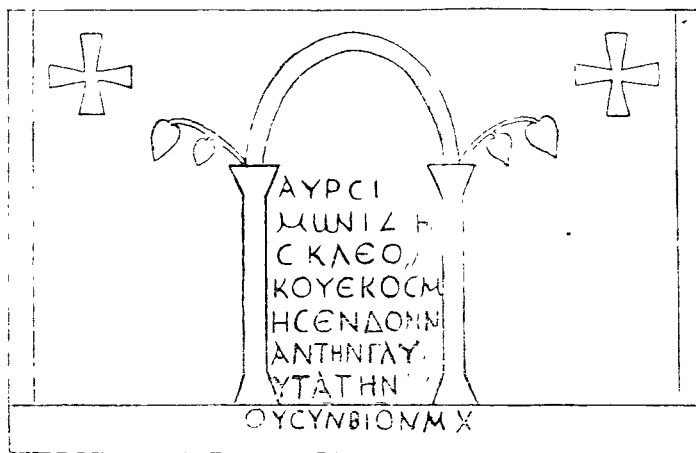


FIG. 10.

This is one of the rare cases at Dorla in which the two side pediments are suppressed.

11.—Kara Senir. R. 1904. The rudeness of the letters, as well as of the figures, is too great for reproduction. The stone is mutilated, and the



FIG. 11.

reading remains uncertain. The left half of the inscription is given by Prof. Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* p. 30.

In l. 1, the letter after Π is uncertain, Ο or Φ; and the last letter seems to be Ν, but must be intended for Η. Possibly the text is Εὐμύρι, Ὀπφι καλ[ή], Παπία καλέ, οὐδὶς γὰρ ἀθάνατος: εὐμύρι is for εὐμοίρει.

The figure in the centre is also difficult. Is it pagan, one of the Dioscuri with the star over his head, or is the star a rude cross as in No. 10? The formula οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος occurs often in Christian inscriptions, but also in pagan epitaphs. But the doubt as to the religious character of the relief is removed by comparison with the indubitably Christian inscription in *C.I.L.* iii. 14315 (from Salona in Dalmatia) + εὐμύρι Ἀγουστα οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος. Prof. Ramsay has given examples of the use of οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος by Syrian Christians in *Expositor*, 1895, vol. i. pp. 58, 59. Compare also *C.I.G. Ital. Sic.* 114 (from the Syracusan catacombs), which ends with the acclamation εὐμοίρει. As the horseman is imitated from the customary representation of the Dioscuri, it appears that in this case the Christians took over a pagan type and used it to express their own ideas. The type is similar to No. 12 found at Dorla, but not exactly the same. Hence it is given here though it perhaps lies outside the territory of Nova Isaura.

12.—Dorla. R. 1890 and 1904. Μάρκος ἐκόσμησε Νάνναν Καικιλίου τὴν γλυκυτάτην αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα μ. χ. Side pediments suppressed, as in No. 10.



FIG. 12.

13.—Dorla. R. 1890, 1901, not seen in 1904, and presumably destroyed.

"*Ἀνδῶς ἐκόσμησεν Μάξιμαν τὴν θυγατέρα*. The copy of 1890 has "*Ἀρδῶς*, a name which seems probable in itself; but as that copy was taken after sunset, when the light was fading, the other reading must be preferred.

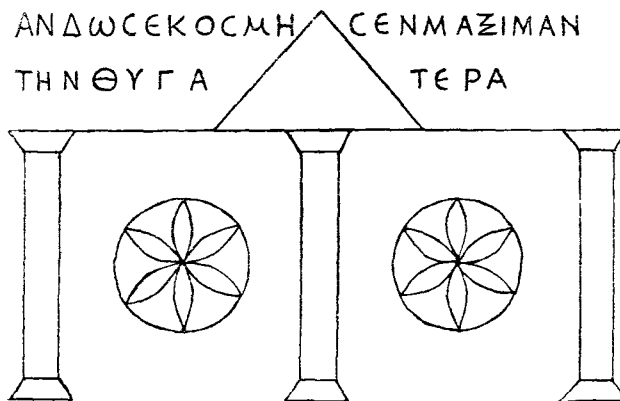


FIG. 13.

Here the ordinary schema has disappeared entirely, and an arrangement in two parts is preferred. The following example from Almasun, about six miles south on the frontiers of Derbe and the Isaurian country, is more like this than any other Dorla stone; hence possibly this has been imported to Dorla.

14.—Almasun. R. 1904. Ποπλᾶς Οὐανωλ[ι]θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ μ.χ. Prof. Sterrett has published his text, *Wolfe Exped.*, p. 36, but reads Οὐανίq. It is quite possible to take the ω as the crowning member of the pediment; this

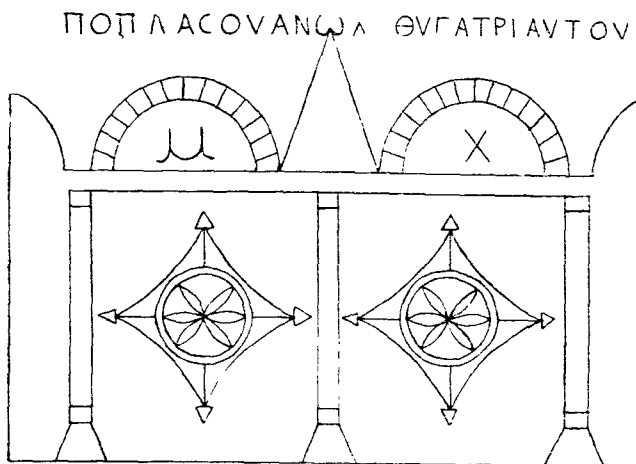


FIG. 14.

was observed on the stone, but the letter following is Λ, not Α, and there is space for a letter between it and Θ.⁵ Hence Ούανωλις, a by-form of Ούαναλις, or in later spelling Βαναλις, No. 27. seems preferable. With the variation in the vowel compare the many examples quoted in *Histor. Geogr. of Asia M.*, p. 437, Τάπτας-Τόπτης, Ἀτρωα-Ότροια, Halala-Loulon, etc. The form Ούανωλις would suggest that the penult in Ούαναλις is long.

15.—Dorla. R. 1904. Letters very rude.

ἡ δείνα ἐκόσ]μη[σεν τὸν ἀνδ]ρα αὐτῆς [name] μνήμης χ(ά)ρ(ιν).
 διὰ τεχνιτῶν Αὔλου Παπίου καὶ Τᾶ Κοττό[ν]ιος.

Κοττόνιος is probably the right form of the last name, see Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* p. 59. This seems to be the corner of a stone of the usual

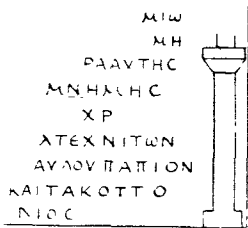


FIG. 15.

type, but the side pediment was round, not pointed. It must have been a stone of large size. The regular Dorla type has pointed pediments flanking a round arch; but rounded side arches enclosing a pointed central space occur in No. 14, 20, 25, as well as in 7a (which is Pisidian), and No. 9 shows all the three spaces rounded.

This is one of two cases in Nova Isaura in which the artisans, whose existence there we lay such stress on, are mentioned. Technitai are often mentioned in a district of Isaura only four or five miles south, Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* pp. 49, 83, and in an unpublished inscription found in 1904 by Prof. T. Callander.

16.—Dorla. R. 1901, 1904. ταύτην τὴν στήλην ἔστησεν Ρούφω τῷ αἰμνήστῳ τῷ ἀθλίῳ Δημήτριος ὁ πατὴρ μ. χ.

On the arrangement and date see No. 3. The complicated swastika on the right side is unusual.

⁵ Prof. Sterrett shows this space correctly in his epigraphic copy.

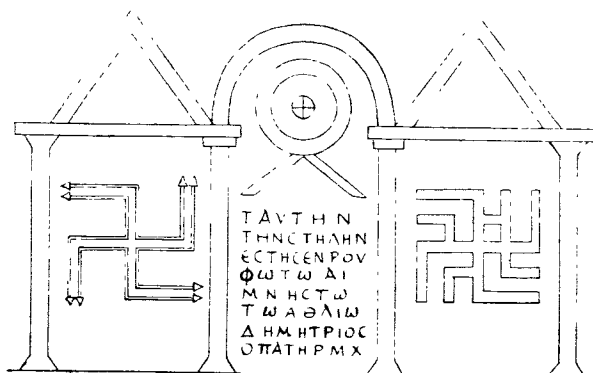


FIG. 16.

17.—Dorla. R. 1890, 1904. Θούθου Μῶς ἐκόσμησεν Βάλαθιν τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς. The names are very characteristically Isaurian. It would not be natural that names of this type should persist later than the fourth

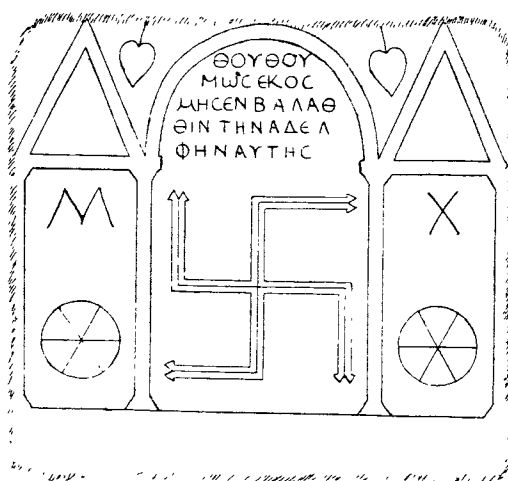


FIG. 17.

century; personal names of Christian character came into use gradually from the latter part of the third century onwards. With Mos (which was common at Olba) compare Tas, Bas, Zas, Plos, also Dazas, Tetes, etc., in Isauria, Pisidia, and Lycaonia. Thouthous, Thiouthious, Sousous, Zouzous, are masculine; Thouthou is feminine.

18.—Dorla. R. 1901, 1904. Α]ύρ. Οὐαλέρι[ς] ἐκόσμησεν [τ]ὸν υἱὸν Κλεόνικον. As praenomen, Aurelius, regularly abbreviated Aur., came into use about 212, according to Prof. Ramsay's hypothesis advanced in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 30, and corroborated by numerous examples seen since that time.

It is only the use of the praenomen that begins about 212, the nomen Aurelius, or M. Aurelius, was in use earlier. The use of the praenomen Aur. is

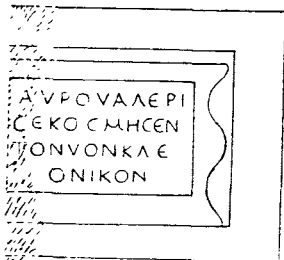


FIG. 18.

most frequent in the third century, and can hardly have lasted later than about 350.

19.—Dorla. R. 1904. The stone is broken in two parts; one is built into the south wall of the mosque, and one into the north wall, *ἐνθάδε κε[ί]ται Πάπας Οκλυως*. The sixth and seventh letters of l. 2 are very uncertain and possibly a letter is lost. This inscription is one of the latest at Dorla. The letters are coarse and late in form. It may be assigned to the fifth century; and there is no reason why it might not be even later, except the analogy of the other stones. The inscription is on the sunk tablet within a raised border, resembling that in No. 1, and strikingly like the important fourth century inscription No. 40.



FIG. 19.

20.—Dorla. R. 1904. On a large stone beside the tomb of Bishop Theophilus. The names *Γαῖος* and *Δούκιος* are used here together, possibly both applied to the same person, more probably two persons are meant. The simple name in the nominative on an ornate gravestone occurs also in Nos. 6, 33, 36, 37. The ornament is very simple, and the tomb is probably early.

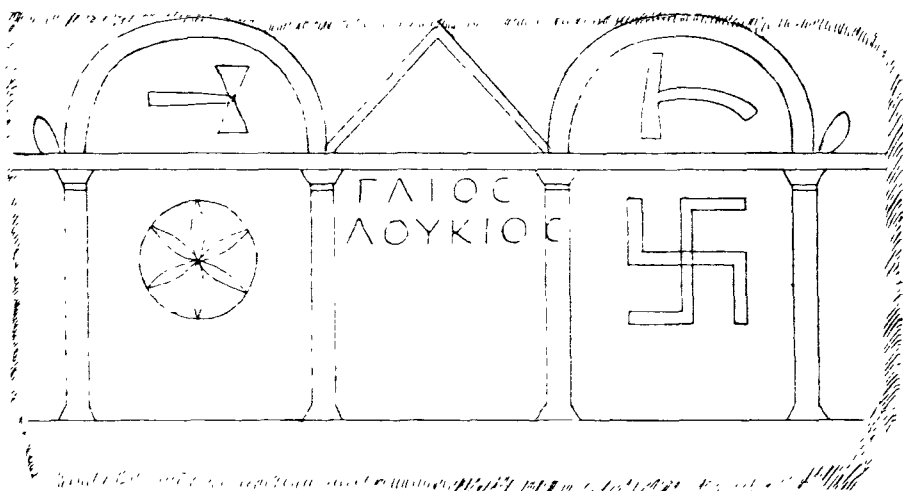


FIG. 20.

21.—Dorla. R. 1904. Αὐρ[?] Οὐαλέρ[ι]ς Ἐ[. . . .]ου [ἐκόσ]μησεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ὀρτῆσιν μν. χα. The last name is the Latin Hortensius. Aur. used as equivalent to a praenomen is inserted at the beginning, as one or two letters seem to have been lost there. A shorter praenomen than Aur. may have been used. Praenomina began to pass out of use in the third century after A.D. 212. They were important before that time as proving Roman citizenship; but when all free citizens of the provinces had become Roman, the value of the praenomen disappeared and it was gradually disused. The Latin character of the names also favours a comparatively early date. On the other hand it is probable that the name Valerius was introduced into Isaura Nova in the time of Diocletian. Aur. Valerius was probably born about 290–300; and the stone may be dated about 330–350, when all the circumstances of name and style are taken into account.

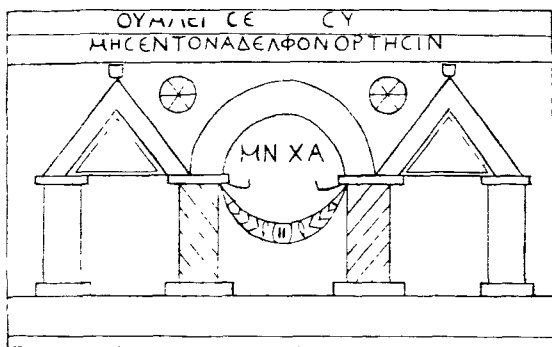


FIG. 21.

22.—Dorla. R. 1904. Σοὰς ἐκόσμησεν Ξ[] τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μνήμης χάριν. The curved knife which occurs on so many of the tombstones

has here a long handle added, making it like a knife for pruning trees.⁶ The other implement on the right is one that is still commonly used in rough



FIG. 22.

field work: it consists of a wooden handle inserted in the centre of an iron instrument with a point at one end and a flat edge at the other. The centre ornament occurs on Nos. 3, 4, 16. If there is no mistake in the copy Σ must be taken as the minuscule form of Ξ (ξ), as sigma is represented by ς .

23.—Armasun. R. 1904: text in Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* p. 36. A drawing is given here for the form of the curved implement. Οὐατίαλις ἐκόσμησεν Δῆτριον υἱὸν αὐτῆς. The name is Detrios, and not Demetrios.

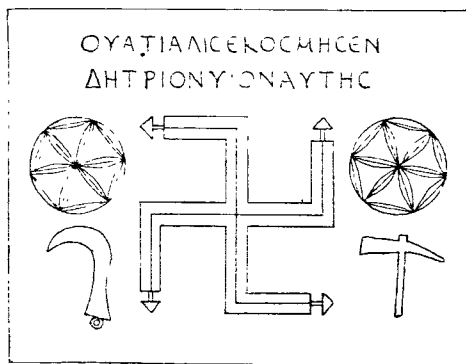


FIG. 23.

24.—Dorla. R. 1901, 1904. Δόξα οἰκονόμεισσα ἡ σεμνή. Doxa may be assigned to the fifth century. Her name is of the Christian type. The old class of tombstone is now disused, though this official in a convent was likely to be buried with some state. The word οἰκονόμεισσα is not given by Stephanus, and it is difficult to say whether it should be taken as the title of a female official in the church, or as meaning simply the wife of an οἰκονόμος.



FIG. 24.

⁶ Mr. G. F. Hill points out that it occurs on coins of Etenna as an instrument of offence.

25.—Dorla. R. 1901, 1904. Νέστωρ καὶ Ροῦφος ἀνέ[στησα|ν
Κου[.]ρ αλμων μνήμης [χάριν]. The restoration is doubtful. The
forms of the ornament are simple and early, like No. 20.

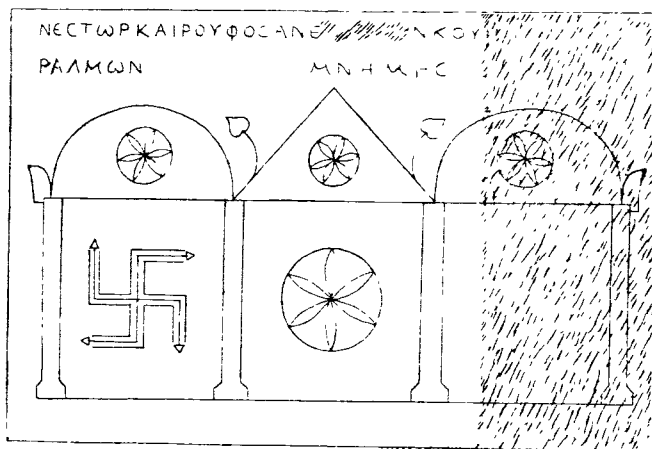


FIG. 25.

26.—Dorla. R. 1901. Πέτρος ἐκό[σμησε τὸν] θεῖον αὐτοῦ Πέτρο[ν].

The want of the more elaborate ornament in cases like this and some others (Nos. 22, 27–37) is to be explained by poverty: a cheap stone was all that Peter could afford. His name and his uncle's name show the influence of Christian custom, but Peter was early introduced into Anatolian nomenclature, though not so early as Paul, nor did Peter ever become so common.

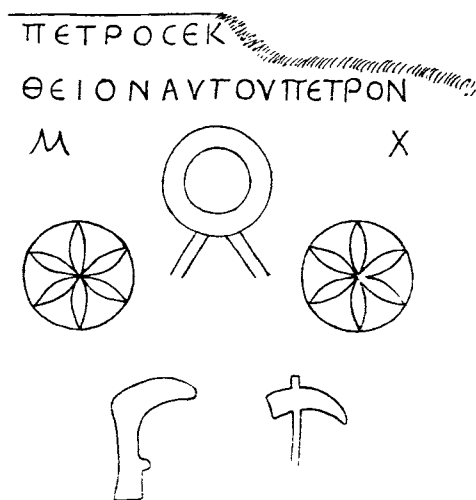


FIG. 26.

27.—Dorla. R. 1901. Βαναλῖς ἐκόσμησεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Παῖλον.
Compare No. 26.

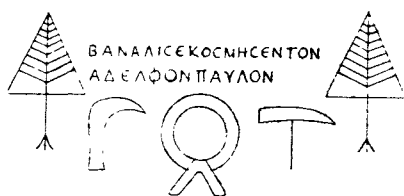


FIG. 27.

28.—Dorla. R. 1901. Νανν[α . . .] μ . [χ.

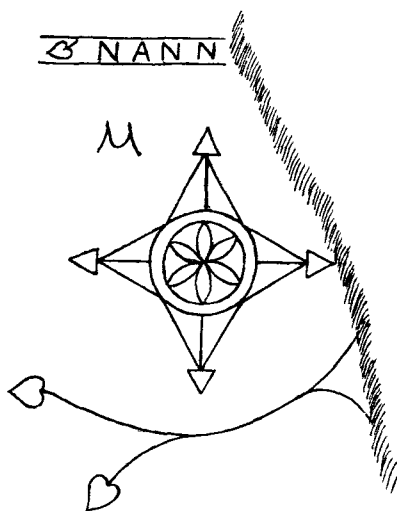


FIG. 28.

29.—Kara Señir. R. 1904. This stone of a simple village character is added for the symbol on the left, and as an illustration of the rule that poor people like the inhabitants of this village contented themselves with simpler and cheaper ornament.

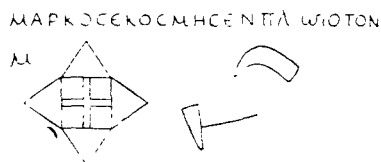


FIG. 29.

30.—Euren, ruins between Dinek and Dorla. R. 1901. Μαμμεῖς ἐκόσμησεν Λουρμαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς.

The name Lourmas, compared with Lourmithras in No. 88, is seen

to be compounded with an element *Lour*, which also occurs as a personal name under the form *Lir* in a Pisidian inscription.⁷ *Lour-mas* seems to be a compound of the Semitic type, like *Abd-Allah*, *Servant of God*. *Ma* is the common name of the Great Goddess, the Mother, the Earth. Prof. Ramsay points out that Lydian *Μῶς*, Earth (*Hesych.*), is the same word, as is also *Maia* in Greek Mythology. With the variation in the vowel compare No. 14, also

ΜΑΜΜΕΙΣΕΚΟCΜΗCΕΝΛΟΥΡΜΑΝ
ΤΟΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΝΑΥΤΗΣ

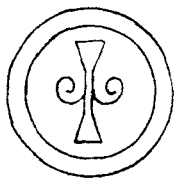


FIG. 30.

ωυ for *av* in the Ionic Greek dialect of the Lydian coast. *Maussollos* is derived from *Mâu*, by the very common Lydian and Carian suffix in personal names. *Mai-andros* is another derivative: compare *Skam-andros* (in which *Σkam* is a word meaning earth, *Skt.* *ksham*, Greek *χθών*). The precise meaning of the word *Lour* or *Lir* remains still uncertain.

The ornament within the circle is probably a candlestick. It occurs in more ornate form in No. 31.

31.—Dorla. Fragment of stone ornamented in incised lines, built into the doorway of a house close to the tomb of Bishop Theophilus.

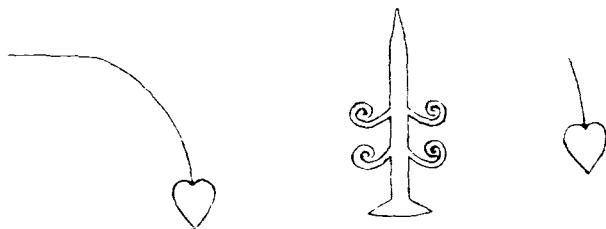


FIG. 31.

32.—Dorla. R. 1901. [ὁ δεῖνα ἐκ]όσ[μῆ]σε[ν Ζο]ύζουν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῖ.

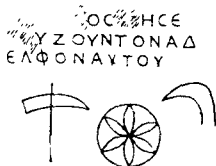


FIG. 32.

⁷ *Revue des Univ. du Midi*, 1895, p. 357.

33.—Dorla. R. 1901. Π. Αἴλιος Ἰούλιος ἰατρός. A name so entirely Roman as this is likely to be not later than the third century.

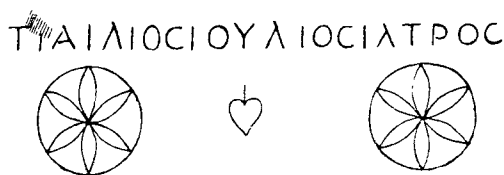


FIG. 33.

34.—Dorla. R. 1901, 1904. [ὁ δεῖνα ἐ]κόσμησε τὴν μητέρα. The central ornament is unusual on the grave-monuments, but persists in Dorla till recent times (see photograph published on p. 289).

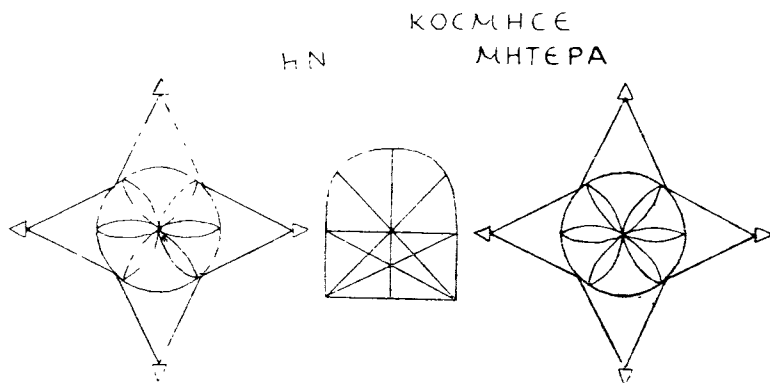


FIG. 34.

35.—Dorla. R. 1901. Φ]αυστένα ἀνέστησε μ τὸ[ν] υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἑρακλῆν μ χ. Rude, poor, and illiterate, the gravestone of a very humble person.

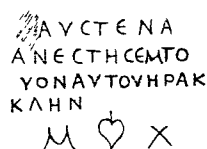


FIG. 35.

36.—Dorla. R. 1901. Letters of a late form: not earlier than the fifth century.

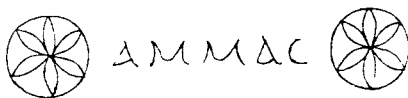


FIG. 36.

37.—Dorla 1904. Ἀππας κὲ Λούκιο[s].

Α Π Π Α Σ Κ Λ Ο Υ Κ Ι Ο

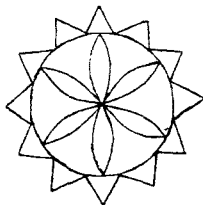


FIG. 37.

38.—In the cemetery of the Greek church, Agia Metamorphosis, at Konia. R. 1904. The stone has been worked over within the last few months, and much defaced, but most of the details can be recovered with certainty, except the nature of the ornaments in relief in the spaces between the columns.

In passing through the cemetery Prof. Ramsay saw this stone, and recognised it at once as being of the fine Dorla limestone and as having come

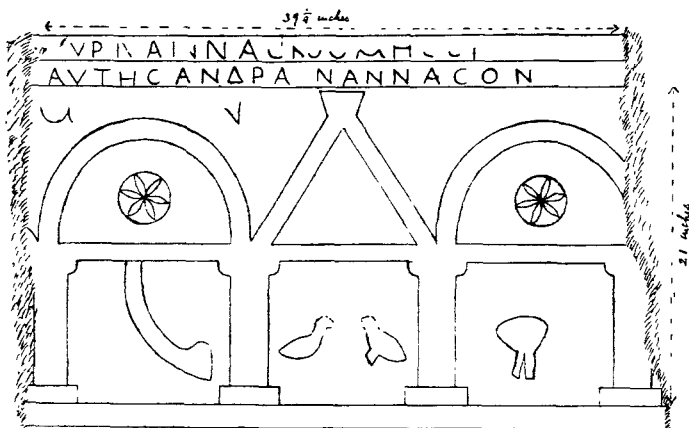


FIG. 33.

from the same workshop as Nos. 5 and 21. As the grave was a recently made one, he enquired to what family it belonged, and was able eventually to trace it back to a village called Tchumra, about half-way between Dorla and Konia. Further he could not trace it, and it remains uncertain whether the stone was brought to Tchumra recently or not: but there can be no doubt that his first impression was correct, and that it was cut by the same workman as Nos. 5 and 21. The ornament in the central space between the columns is evidently a representation of two birds. Those in the side-spaces are unfortunately so much defaced that it is impossible to say what they are, though the general outline is pretty certain.

This is the only one of the three which has been drawn to scale. It

was impossible for various reasons to make measured drawings of the others ; and for them the ultimate authority lies in sketches made by my father according to simple eyesight. But he recognised the same heavy proportions in this as in the other two, which he knew the better from having drawn them, and from having already observed the difference in their proportions from the other monuments of Dorla.

The last Fig. (39) shows a piece of embroidery which Mrs. Ramsay purchased in Dorla, where it had been handed down for many generations in a family resident there.

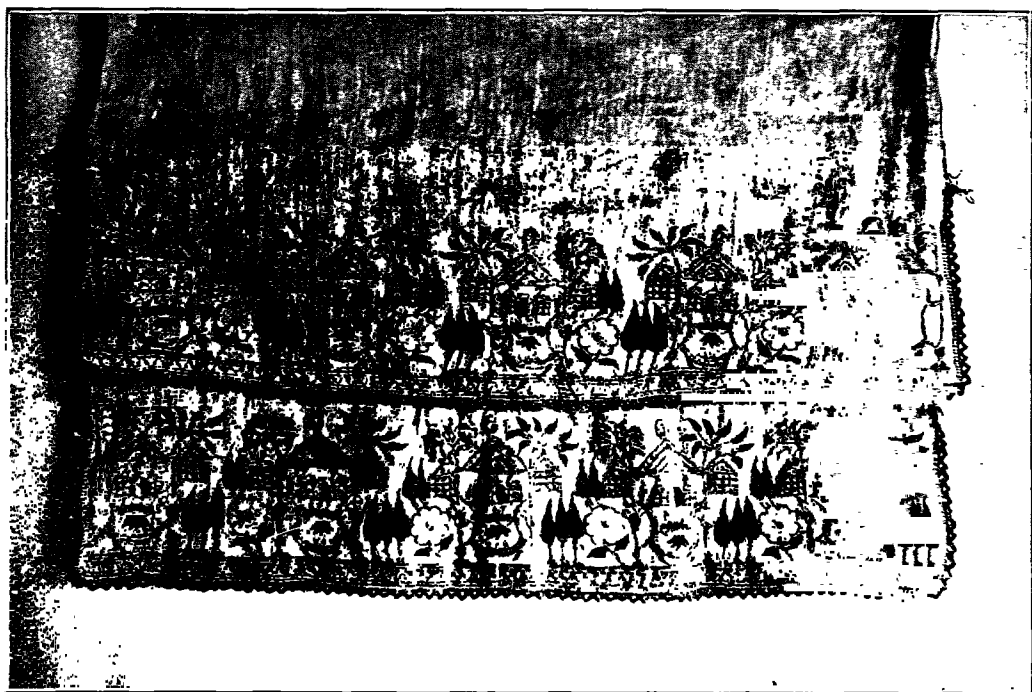


FIG. 39.

The pattern is a variation of the design characteristic of Isaura Nova, adapted to suit the different material, and repeated as often as the width of the cloth permits. There are three pointed pediments, that in the middle one considerably larger than the other two, and all having a boss above the point. The pillars supporting the central pediment have been transformed into palm trees, which rise above the spring of the arch and incline over the side pediments. The side columns have disappeared to make room for a fanciful ornament of little cypress trees and large round flowers, apparently roses. Beneath each of the side pediments is a design in squares, seemingly a modification of the net which appears on two of the monuments (Nos. 3 and 4), perhaps suggested by the latticed balcony common in the country.

Immediately under the central pediment is a repetition on a smaller scale of the Isauran design, this time with pointed side pieces, of a form similar to that which appears in No. 26, flanking a low round arch: below this again are a flower of some sort and a long garland hanging from the columns, or trees, very much like the garlands on the tomb of Bishop Theophilus, except that it is fastened to each pillar in two places, instead of merely by the ends.

On the complicated and difficult question of the period to which the whole set of monuments just given belong, and on which I have not the experience necessary to speak, I may quote the following series of arguments:

‘The period at which these monuments were made is determined by several lines of argument.

(1) Many of them afford individually some indication of date. These indications (stated already in the descriptions of each separately) point to the period 250–400 A.D.

(2) The names indicate unmistakably an early period. The stones are for the most part Christian, yet distinctively Christian names are extremely rare. Only *Doxa* once, *Petros* twice in No. 26, and *Paulos* once, are found. It is pointed out in the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phr.* ii. p. 492, that personal names of obviously Christian type begin to appear in inscriptions not earlier than the middle of the third century. As might be expected, *Paulos* is the earliest and commonest; but it is of course often impossible to say whether the name was due to Christian reasons, or arose from pagan causes. It is impossible that a Christian city with bishops, deacons, presbyters, *proistamenoi*, *oikonomoi*, *homologetai*, should be so devoid of Christian personal names, as is *Nova Isaura*, later than the third or fourth centuries. The lists of bishops even in the fourth century show a decided preponderance of a class of names distinctively Christian and Greek. To judge from the names alone, one would be inclined to assert that the mass of the inscriptions, especially the sculptured stones, are distinctly older than A.D. 400.

The rarity of Greek names is also remarkable. Apart from the hybrid forms, *Poplas* (*Publius*) and *Hortêsis* (the Greek spelling of *Hortensius*), the only Greek names are *Simonides*, *Nestor*, *Kleonikos*, and *Demetrios*. *Demetrios* may be due to Christian causes, or it may have established itself as one of the commonest Greek names. *Simonides* and *Nestor* probably came through study of Greek literature.⁸

Roman names are far more numerous. Some are due to imperial causes: the names of reigning families established themselves widely in the provinces. *Julius* occurs only once in one of the earliest of all the inscriptions. This proves that the inscriptions are not so old as A.D. 150; before 150 *Julius* would be commoner. *P. Aelius Julius* is a name characteristic of

⁸ On this influence see *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 36.

the period following Hadrian. Faustina, Domna, and Zenobios came into use in succession at later dates. The praenomen *Aur.* came in after 212 A.D., and can rarely be found later than 350, and is most characteristic of the period 212–300. Valerius was probably introduced under Diocletian about 300 A.D.

Specially important is the absence of names taken from the dynasty of Constantine. The name Flavius never occurs on the sculptured monuments, but is found once in No. 52. Some proportion of persons who died between 350 and 450 would certainly bear the name Flavius: hence we must conclude that these stones are as a rule earlier than 350.

The other Roman names are either the commonest, Gaius, Lucius, Marcus, Maxima—all partially due, it may be, to Christian influence (as must be remembered)—or are of uncertain reason, as Caecilius, Aulus, Hortensius, Rufus, Valgius (some at least due to imitation of the names of Roman officials). *Makeros* may be *Macer*, and *-illa* is uncertain, but the termination is Latin.

But the overwhelming mass of names are pure Anatolian. On the sculptured stones occur the following: *Andis?*, *Andôs*, *Ammas*, *Appas*, *Banalis*, *Balaththis*, *Detrios*, *Indakos*, [*Ka?*]ddis, *Konon* (may be due to Christian influence, but the name is characteristic of Isauria and Pamphylia), *Kottonis*, *Lourmas*, *Mammas*, *Mammeis*, *Môs*, *Nanna*, *Nannasos*, *Oas*, *Okluos?*, *Ouanôlis*, *Ouatialis*, *Papas*, *Papias*, *Sisamoas*, *Soas*, *Tabeis*, *Tas*, *Thouthou*, *Zouzou*.

This great preponderance of native, non-Greek, as well as non-Biblical, names proves beyond doubt that the monuments belong as a whole to the period 250–400, though some isolated examples may be later. It will be noticed that the bishops, deacons, and other ecclesiastical officials are as thoroughly Anatolian in name as the rest of the people.

(3) The tombs of three bishops (perhaps four) give a standard: there were no bishops in Nova Isaura after about 474, as is shown on No. 2.

(4) With few exceptions the lettering is remarkably uniform in style, and little development occurs in the forms of the letters. A style was evidently formed at a certain date, and persisted almost unchanged in a school of local artisans; but such persistence could not last very long, as external causes would have forced a change. The pressure of those causes almost entirely destroyed the art, instead of merely modifying it. As to the period when that style was formed, the argument is of another kind.

(5) The earliest monument cannot be earlier than the latter part of the second century, No. 33. The majority are unmistakably third or fourth century works, and the remainder must be estimated on the same standard. Moreover, the great majority are certainly Christian. Not merely the cross, as on Nos. 3, 4, 10, 16, 29, but also the common swastika and the candlestick (Nos. 30, 31) must be regarded as Christian symbols on these monuments. Thus fifteen of the most important and characteristic monuments are marked as Christian, 2–5, 10, 16 f., 23, 24 ff., 29 ff., 34. The rosette of six arms occurs on most of the graves that are certainly Christian, and may be reckoned as a

Christian ornament also; while the more elaborate symbol on Nos. 14, 28, 34, may be regarded as a combination of rosette and cross.

We are, in short, here in the presence of a distinctly Christian art. It is not meant that every artisan in Nova Isaura who worked on these monuments, or every person who used them, was a Christian; but that the development arose during the inspiration and quickening of mind and activity caused by the general acceptance of the new religion in the city. It is no isolated phenomenon, but the invariable experience of history, that the spread of a new faith is accompanied by an invigoration of the spirit and character of the people: witness the Arabs of the seventh and eighth centuries under the inspiration of Mohammedanism. Where the religion is spread by external causes or by force, it does not so touch the spirit. In this sense the art of Nova Isaura is a Christian art, and its first development cannot be placed earlier than the third century. It used, of course, older forms, already existing in pagan use; but it used them with freedom and novelty for its own purposes.

(6) One consideration would tell in favour of an earlier date than has been yet assigned. There is an entire absence of the Christian symbolism characteristic of the fourth century. Neither ✠ , nor the later P , nor ΑΩ , though all are found in the neighbouring towns of Lycaonia, occur on any of the sculptured stones of obviously Christian origin at Dorla. The Christian symbolism is of that veiled and half cryptic kind which we have been disposed to regard as characteristic of the pre-Constantinian period: and it would not be surprising if general opinion should ultimately place the whole set of these sculptured stones of Nova Isaura between A.D. 250 and 340. At present we may safely place them all between 250 and 400. Mr. Cronin has published a good example of a complete series of inscriptions of a village of Lycaonia in *J.H.S.* 1902, pp. 358-367. They may be placed roughly between 350 and 600: but not one of them could be considered earlier than even the latest stone at Nova Isaura, so far as is yet known.

In conclusion it should be stated that the most important of the drawings here given were made to scale on the spot. But for some (chiefly 5, 7b, 15, 21) I have followed the hasty sketches made by Prof. Ramsay, either because we failed to find the stones in 1904, or because they were in a position inaccessible to me. The simpler monuments, Nos. 26-37, do not need to be drawn to scale: these are all indicated on the stones simply by incised lines, without any relief.

The inscriptions are given from Prof. Ramsay's copies, the date of which is given in every case.

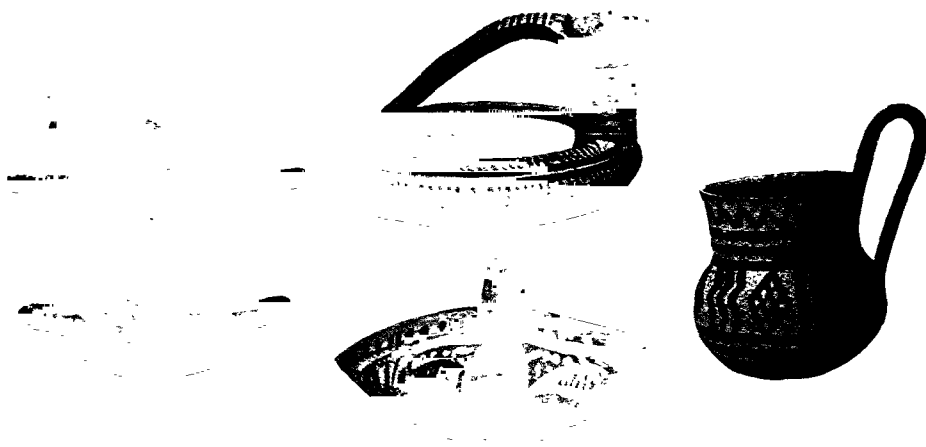
A. MARGARET RAMSAY.

VASES ADDED TO THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.

[PLATES VII.—IX.]

I HAVE already published in the pages of this *Journal* some of the vases acquired by the Ashmolean Museum since the catalogue of Ashmolean vases appeared in 1893.

In vol. xviii, p. 136 is published a late Attic vase with a representation of the carrying off of Oreithyia by Boreas. In vol. xxi, p. 1 is published a red-figured vase representing Pandora rising out of the ground. In vol. xv, p. 325 two sepulchral lekythi are published.¹ Two other papers



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(xiii. 70 and 137) comment upon vases already included in the Ashmolean catalogue, Nos. 211, 275, one concerned with the myth of Cacus, one with that of Tithonus and Eos.

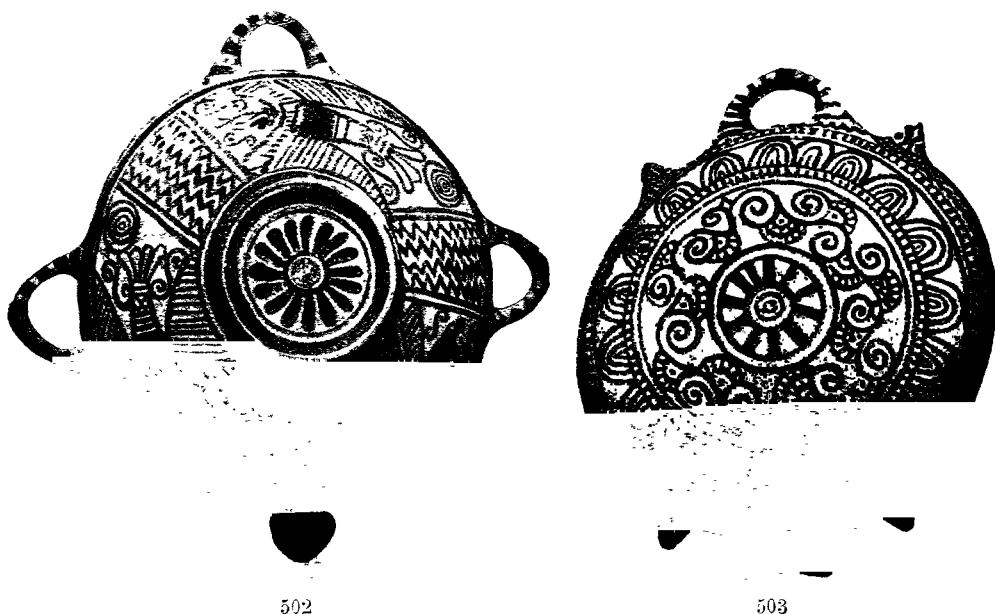
With the kind and willing consent of the Keeper I propose now to publish the rest of the more interesting of the vases acquired by the

¹ One of these vases, Pl. XV, p. 325, is unfortunately in part repainted. The vase is antique, and the figure of the young man on it is genuine: but some skilful modern hand has erased the figure which stood on the other side

of the stele, and painted in its place a winged Nike. The repainting had escaped the observation of both Mr. Evans and myself, and was first detected by the keen eyes of Prof. Furtwangler.

Ashmolean Museum in the last ten years, partly through the generous gift of Mr. Edmund Oldfield, partly through the unwearied watchfulness of Mr. Arthur Evans. The numbers attached to the vases are those which they bear in the slip catalogue of the Museum.

501. Attic geometric vase. H. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. A cup in two storeys with four handles. This cup seems to owe its curious form to a mere caprice of the potter. But it would serve the same purposes as the deep cups figured by S. Wide in the *Jahrb.* 1899, p. 209. It is said to have been found near Athens together with the three vessels represented in the engraving, a basket vase, a one-handed cup, and a ring-askos. Bought, 1894.



502

503

502. Boeotian geometric flat cup, with four handles. Diam. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. This is of the form called by Boehlau in *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 332, *Schale, ohne Fuss*; but it has a flat surface on which to rest. The decoration of the exterior consists of three flying eagles with hooked beaks, separated by lines of zigzags: in the interior, bands of black.

503. Boeotian cup. Diam. $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. This vase has really no foot: it has one handle, and opposite the handle a bird's tail: four birds' heads issue from the rim of the vase. For the decoration see the engraving. The 'Mycenaean' pattern in the midst is like that on a British Museum vase: *Jahrb.* 1888, p. 333, No. 20. Both of these vases are said to have been found at Tanagra. Bought, 1895.

504. Proto-Corinthian lekythos. H. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. This remarkable little vase has a very interesting subject. On the shoulder are a dog and two hares

running; on the body, an archaic figure of a deity clad in helmet and chiton, holding spear and shield; behind it, a man with arms raised; before it, a male figure with tall crown holding up a wreath. At the back of the vase, two horsemen and a winged sphinx: in the field, a bird flying. From Thebes, 1896.

Only two or three lekythi of this class have been published containing scenes in which the human figure appears. Noteworthy among



these is the Macmillan lekythos of the British Museum, *J.H.S.* xi. Pl. I, and the lekythos at Berlin (*Arch. Zeit.* 1883, p. 155, Pl. X.), on which is represented the battle between Herakles and the Centaurs. Our vase is earlier than either of these: its drawing is quite geometric in character, and the field is not filled up with ornament, as in the Berlin vase, nor are incised lines used. Nearer in time to our lekythos is that published by Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, p. 162, where we have a hare-hunt above, and a lion, ox, and boar round the vase, the field filled up with rosettes. Our vase can

scarcely be later than the eighth century, and furnishes an interesting link between geometric and (so-called) Proto-Corinthian ware. It is probable that there is no connexion of subject between the front and back of the vase. The subject of the front group is evidently taken from cultus. The armed deity who occupies the central place at first sight appears to have the head and mane of a horse. But on comparison with the heads of the horses at the back, this is seen to be an erroneous impression. The head is human; what looks like a mane seems to be the horsehair-crest of the helmet. The head at first appears to be bearded; but here again a more careful examination suggests doubt. For the drawing of the little vase is very primitive, in style scarcely at all more advanced than that of the Dipylon vases; and when one considers such geometric vases as *Mon. d. I.* ix. 39, 3, or (more especially) *J.H.S.* xix. 8, one sees that male and female heads are in that style rendered alike, with a prominent chin which looks like a beard. The same applies to the very early Athenian vase *J.H.S.* Pl. VII. I am therefore disposed to think that the deity is feminine, and the chiton she wears confirms the notion. We have probably before us a statue of Athena, armed, or possibly a deity of the type of the Apollo of Amyclae, which appears in well-known columnar form on the coins of Sparta.

The figures on either side of the chief deity are also perplexing. The smaller one, behind the deity, appears to be male, but has a mane of hair at the back quite unlike the hair of the other figures. The larger figure, before the deity, seems also to be male; it turns away from the goddess, wears a tall *polos* and holds a wreath. I confess myself unable further to unravel this interesting scene; the very faithful drawing of Mr. Anderson will enable any reader who is so disposed to attack the problem on his own account.

The two horsemen, who grasp the reins of their horses, have long strands of hair falling down their backs. The sphinx is an unusual representation; the head is human, the tail leonine, while the hoofs are represented much like those of the horses.

The hare-hunt, which connects our vase with the Proto-Corinthian class of ware, is curiously not of a very early type; we see one dog and two hares, and the subject is relegated to the mouth of the vase.

505. Corinthian oenochoe: early style. H. $10\frac{3}{4}$ in.

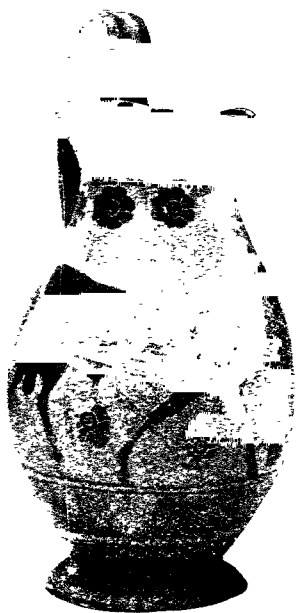
Form 179 of Furtwängler's *Catalogue*, Fig. 8 of Walters', who calls it an olpe.

A panel on the front and to r. of the handle, on which, Ram advancing to right; above and below, rosettes; in front, pattern. From Laurium. Bought, 1899.

507. Corinthian aryballos. H. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. A female figure, winged, draped in long chiton, holding in each hand by the neck a swan; on one side of her a lion, on the other a bird like a partridge: rosettes, etc., in field.

From Thebes. Bought, 1896.

This is a good example of the *πότνια θηρῶν* type. It differs from the Medusa published by M. Six (*J.H.S.*, Pl. XXIX.) in that the face of the goddess is that of a woman, not of a monster. In this respect our vase is nearer to the Mycenaean gem (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gems*, Pl. A, No. 83) where we see an unwinged draped female figure holding in each hand a swan with wings spread. On our vase the wings of one swan are spread, of the other furled. In the *British Museum Catalogue* the name Leda is suggested for the goddess: but the mere presence of the swans does not justify this attribution. M. Six has shewn swans to be properly connected with Medusa. And we have no reason to think that Leda was known to the Mycenaeans. Rather I should consider the goddess of our vase a form borrowed from oriental art, and



505



507

variously interpreted in various ages of Greece. Such a figure on the chest of Cypselus was labelled Artemis; and as our vase is Corinthian, this evidence would seem to rule our case.

509. Attic b.-f. amphora, neck separated from body by ridge. Very stiff conventional work, folds in garments not indicated: but garments covered with red spots and white rosettes. Outlines of *bodies* under drapery in incised lines. Red paint used on hair, beard, and garments. H. 16½ in.

Incised on bottom OΣ.

Decoration, bar ornament, lotus line. Subjects continuous round vase.

Neck:

Obv. Bearded man carrying chlamys, body wreathed, apparently challenging beardless man, also wreathed and carrying chlamys, who walks to r.

and looks back. On either side draped bearded man r., one carrying staff and wreath, one staff only.

Rev. Same figures; the bearded man is kept away to r. by one of the draped figures: the beardless man runs to l. towards the other draped figure: the draped figures each hold staff.

Body:

Obv. Zeus seated r. on throne supported by lion, holds sceptre. Before him, Hermes holding caduceus moving to r., turning to address Zeus. On either side of the group, two draped bearded figures, three holding staves, one a wreath.



509

Rev. Similar group, the attitude of Hermes and of one of the draped figures varied.

Under one handle: youth r. on horseback, holding lance: above, bird flying l.

Under the other handle: draped bearded figure r. holding staff: another to l., head r., holding wreath: naked boy to r.

Purnell *Cat.* No. 647: Oldfield gift, 1899.

This is a vase of the 'affected Tyrrhenian' class. In the *British Museum Catalogue* (B. 152) these vases are spoken of as Attic modified by Corinthian influence. But Dr. Karo, who has devoted a careful study to them

(*J.H.S.* 1899, p. 147), regards them as Ionic in character, and probably produced in some Ionic city. The only example as yet well published is in Gsell's *Fouilles de Vulci*, Pl. VII, VIII. Karo mentions 44 examples. The subjects depicted are usually very conventional, and sometimes seem quite unmeaning; but sometimes, as on the neck of our vase, there seem to be two scenes from one event.

510. Attic black-figured amphora. H. $16\frac{3}{4}$ in.

On neck palmette pattern, bar pattern: lotus under handles: beneath design, line of maeander, beneath which, three pairs of lions and boars facing one another.

Obv. Judgment of Paris:—Hermes, accompanied by dog, holding caduceus, leading Hera and Athena (armed) into the presence of Paris (bearded) who holds sceptre.



510; OBERSE (Gerhard)

Rev. Bearded Dionysus r.; holding vine-spray and wine-cup. On either side of him a naked Satyr carrying a nymph, who holds crotali.

Details in white and red. Obverse figured in Gerhard's *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, iii. Pl. CLXXII. Notable features in the scene of the Judgment of Paris are (1) that only two of the Goddesses are present, (2) that the dog of Paris accompanies Hermes, not his master. The whole subject is treated by Miss Harrison in *J.H.S.* vii. pp. 196–219.

This vase has been lately taken to pieces and cleaned. The results on the obverse are not very serious, though the middle part of Hermes, the head of the dog, and the lower part of Athena have disappeared. But it will be seen from the cut that much of the drawing of the reverse has gone, leaving only enough to reconstruct the type.

Oldfield Collection.

511. B.-F. Stamnos. H. 12½ in.

Obv. In the midst Apollo r. in citharoedic costume, playing on lyre. Meeting him Leto and Artemis accompanied by a fawn. Further to r. Hephaestus in long drapery, red-bearded, ivy-wreathed, carrying axe. Behind, Apollo, Demeter, and Persephone r. carrying torches, and Dionysus, red-bearded and ivy-wreathed, holding vine-branches and accompanied by goat. Behind Dionysus, nymph r.

Rev. From l. to r : naked athlete, athlete holding spears, discobolus, trainer draped, holding branch, naked runner. All the men bearded.



510; REVERSE

Above each handle an eagle carrying a serpent, and below a man crouching, holding halteres.

Oldfield Collection.

This vase was seen by Gerhard, and is published in his *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pl. XXXIX. It has been a good deal repainted, in parts since the drawing of Gerhard. It has recently been cleaned and the restorations removed. The cut will shew how much of the group of the reverse is genuine. The obverse has not seriously suffered. The goat of the obverse group never had any legs.

Three deities on the obverse are unmistakable, Apollo, Dionysus, Hephaestus. With regard to the female figures one may hesitate whether they are goddesses or mere nymphs, but the attributes, fawn or doe and



511; OBVERSE (Gerhard)



511; REVERSE

torches, seem decisive in favour of the former attribution. Thus we have an Apolline triad, a Dionysiac triad, and Hephaestus and a nymph as flanking figures. Gerhard suggests that the subject of the group is the return of Cora; but his arguments are fanciful.

The group of the reverse is a good illustration of the contests of the pentathlon. Taking the figures from right to left, we have a leaper (crouching), a runner (the staff put in his hand in Gerhard's plate does not exist), a trainer, a discus-thrower, a spear-thrower, a wrestler. The order thus corresponds to that of the line which sums up the contests of the pentathlon, *ἄλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην*.

The stamnos is an extremely rare form in black-figured Attic vases.

512. (Pl. VII.) Attic black-figured lekythos, pointed at foot. On shoulder, line of leaves with interlacing stalks. H. $9\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Field bounded on either side by three palmettes. A warrior kneeling bearing on his shoulder the corpse of a dead comrade. In the field scattered letters and marks without meaning. Beard of warrior and some other parts red. From Thebes, 1895.

513. (Pl. VII.) Attic black-figured lekythos, rounded at foot; on shoulder, palmettes. White ground. H. $11\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Theseus seizing the Minotaur, and plunging a sword into his body; behind Theseus, a tree on which is hung his garment; behind the Minotaur, a man standing, with chlamys over his arm, looking back. (Black paint only.)

From Gela.

514. (Pl. VII.) Attic black-figured lekythos, pointed at foot. Black palmettes on shoulder. H. $9\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Oblong field. Flanking the scene, on either side, a palace, represented by a Doric column, whence issues an ox. In the midst a square shed, on the top of which is an ox, while two emerge from it; above, two ravens in a tree.

From Gela. Bought, 1896.

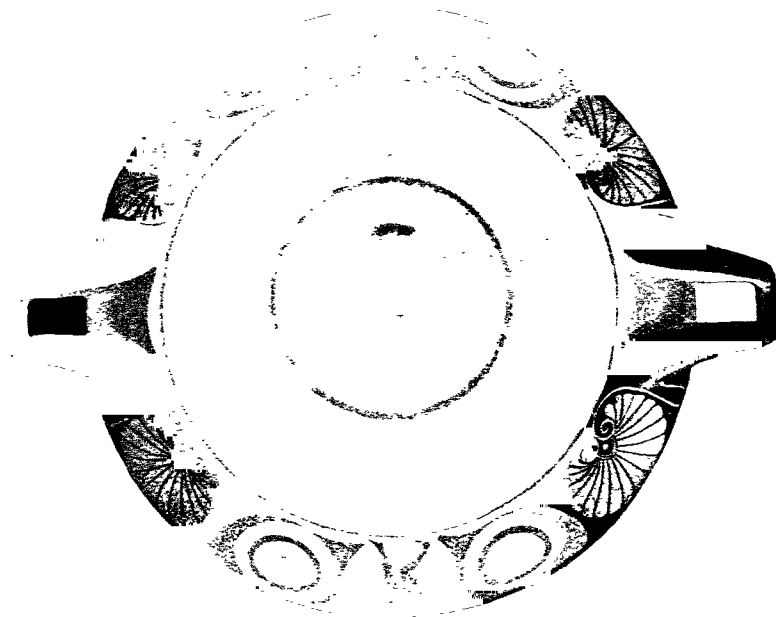
This vase, which seems to represent a cattle shed near a palace, is interesting when compared with the Cacus vase (*Ashmolean Catalogue*, No. 211: *J.H.S.* xiii. p. 70). In both, cattle appear issuing from a shed or entering it. But the likeness in the shed itself is not close, and much in the Cacus vase remains unexplained.

We may best begin the series of red-figured vases with a few kylikes of early type.

515. Black- and red-figured kylix. Diam. $12\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Exterior (r.f.), obverse, between two eyes, a young discobolus (upper part modern) holding fillet and discus: reverse, between two eyes, lower part of a similar figure.

Interior (b.-f.) $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma$. Warrior, running, guarding himself against pursuer. Formerly in the Branteghem Collection. Klein, *Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, 2nd edit. p. 55, 5. Presented by Mr. E. P. Warren.



515 ; EXTERIOR



515 ; INTERIOR

516. Kylix : severe style. Diam. $13\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Exterior. *Obverse*. Three naked youths wreathed, running; the one to the left holds a lyre; his name is $\text{]} \Delta \text{[}$ the other two are ΑΣΧΙΟΝ and ΛΑΜΠΟΝ . *Reverse*. Youth reclining on cushion holding wine-cup, with attendant; goat behind him. Letters in field HO I ΣΑ .

Interior: Naked youth, wreathed, holding horn: $\text{MEMNONOS } \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.

Formerly in the Branteghem Collection. Klein, *Vasen mit Liebl.*, ed. 2, p. 57, 20.

Presented by Mr. E. P. Warren.



516 ; EXTERIOR



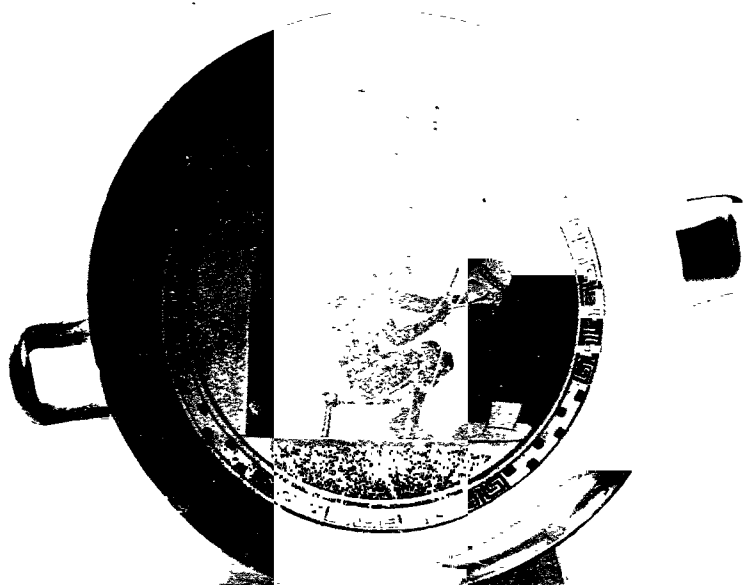
516 ; INTERIOR

518. Kylix. Severe r.-f. painting. Diam. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Interior: $\text{HO } \Pi\text{A} \iota \varsigma \text{ K}\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. Armourer sitting on low stool, finishing with file a helmet which he holds in the l. hand. Behind, melting-pot on furnace; in front, low anvil; above, row of files and knives.

Face, trunk, and arms of armourer and lower part of furnace modern.

Bought at the Bourguignon sale, 1901.



518

519. Kylix: later style. Diam. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in.

The design of both exterior and interior consists in the repetition, five times over, of a group consisting of a youth, with himation wrapped round his body, conversing with another whose head also is covered with the himation. Inscription on exterior, six times repeated, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. Vase shattered and in parts repainted.



519

520. Cup, r.-f. severe. Diam. 7 in.

Exterior. *Obv.* Naked youth r., head to l., leading by the reins two horses, and holding staff in r. hand.

Rev. Two naked youths crouching, one on each side of a crater, both ivy-crowned. He on the r. dips oenochoe into crater; he on the l. holds skyphos (black) and cylix.

Pourtales *Cat.* No. 191: Pl. 34.

Oldfield Collection.



520

521. Stamnos, r.-f. severe. H. 14½ in.

Line of maeanders beneath subjects.

Herakles and Negroes. (Busiris type.)

Herakles clad in chiton and lion's skin, bow and quiver slung from his shoulder, rushing upon Negro clad only in waist cloth, whom he holds by the throat with l. hand, brandishing a club in r. The Negro is forced down on an altar, on the front of which are a knife and blood: he extends his r. hand in supplication to Herakles. In the field are seven other Negroes, some wearing waist cloth, some chiton, in various attitudes of fear and flight: one holds a sacrificial tray, one an unlighted torch. Falling in field, a one-handed pot.

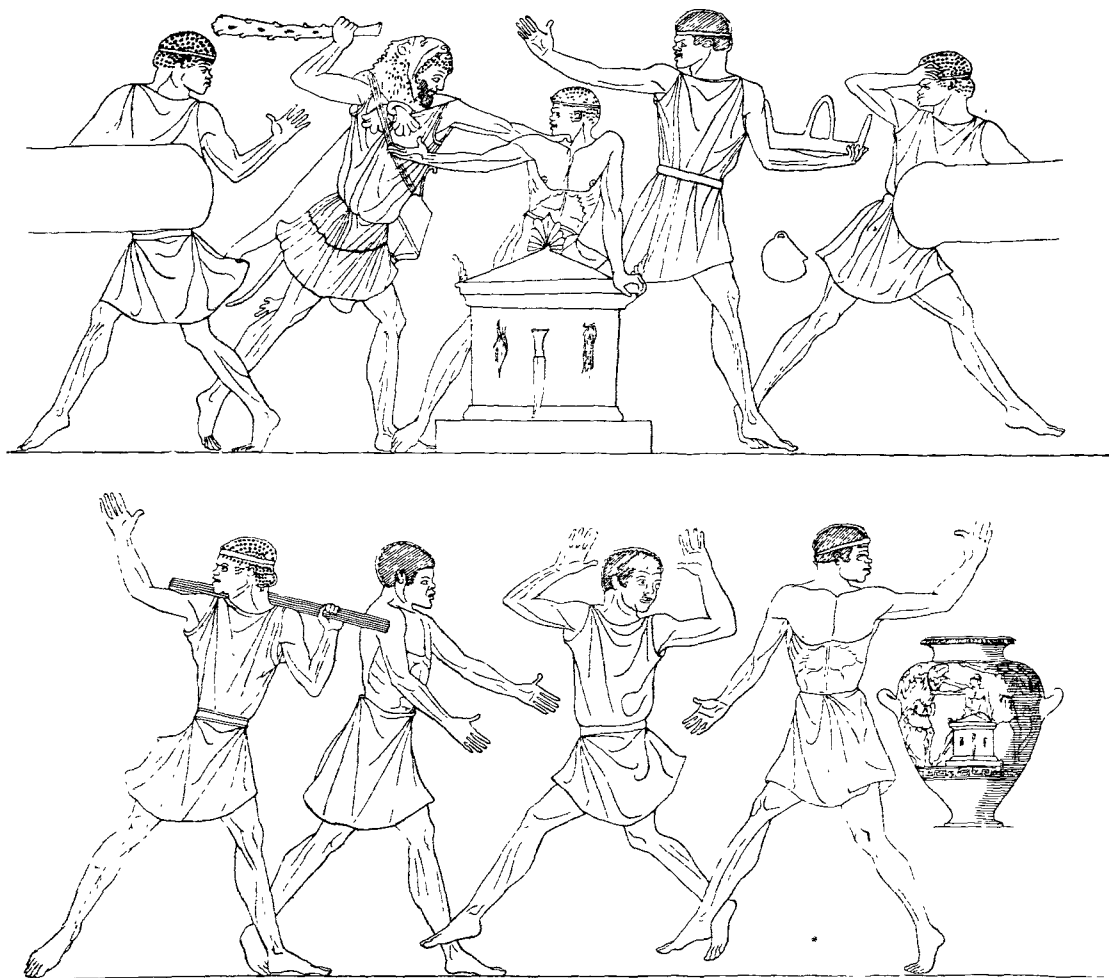
Inner markings in yellow: original sketch lines visible. The drawing is very characteristic and bold: the heads of the Negroes (one ¾ face) strongly drawn: the hair represented sometimes by a mass of black, sometimes by detached dots.

Published in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865, Tav. d'Agg. PQ, p. 300.

Oldfield Collection.

Dr. Helbig, who publishes the vase in the *Annali*, suggests that this is the same vase which belonged to the Prince of Canino, and was found at Vulci. The drawing for the Plate PQ was found among the papers of E. Braun, and was reproduced in half scale. It is fairly correct. Of course a skilled artist now could produce something closer to the original, and, as the drawing is very remarkable, this would be well worth doing. As, however, the liberal amount of illustrations allotted to the present paper was exhausted,

I have satisfied myself with reproducing by photography, in the original size, two of the Negroes' busts.



521

522. (Pl. VIII.) Stamnos : fine period. H. 18 in.

Decoration as in plate.

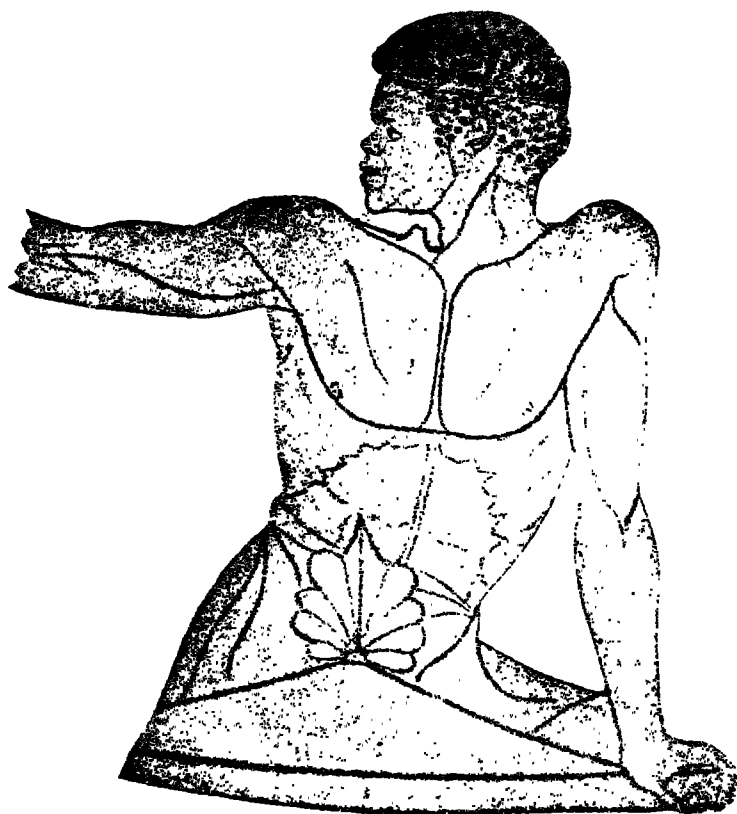
Obverse: Theseus (ΘΗΣΕΥΣ) and Rhoecus (ΡΟΙΚΟΣ) fight back to back against two Amazons: one, Melusa (ΜΕΛΟΣΑ), on foot, strikes with an axe at Theseus—she is clad in Phrygian dress; the other, on horseback, clad in cuirass and helmet, strikes with a lance at Rhoecus, who strikes back with a spear. Theseus is armed as a hoplite, Rhoecus as a peltast.

Reverse: ΚΑΥΟΣ. Bearded men, young man, and woman in conversation. From Gela in Sicily.

Given by Mr. Evans, 1893.

H.S.—VOL. XXIV.

Y



521 : DETAIL



521 ; DETAIL

[This head is somewhat out of perspective.]

This is one of a class of Amazon vases notable for fine drawing. The subject of the various Amazonomachies in art is slightly treated in Roscher's *Lexikon*, i. 276, and more fully by Klügmann, *Die Amazonen in der att. Litt. u. Kunst*. Klügmann (p. 47) mentions four vases closely resembling ours in character, (1) at St. Petersburg,² mentioned below; (2) at Paris, De Luynes, *Vases*, Pl. 43; (3) Pourtales vases, Pl. 35, erroneously stated to be in the British Museum; (4) in the British Museum



522; REVERSE

E 450: Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. Pl. 163, to which others, such as British Museum E. 157, etc., might be added. The class of vases is of distinctly Attic character, and there may be something in Klügmann's suggestion that they shew the influences of Micon's Amazonomachy in the Stoa Poikile at Athens. These vases represent the contests of Theseus and the Amazonian invaders of Attica: the Amazons are usually on horseback and the Greeks on foot and the dress of the Amazons is usually of the barbarous Phrygian type. The name Melusa, as that of an Amazon, occurs on the red-figured vase in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, where she is on horseback, opposed to Phorbas and Theseus. Stephani observes that we must compare the

² *Comptes rendus*, 1866. Pl. VI. text p. 175. This vase may well be by the same artist as ours.

Homeric phrase *πολέμοιο μεμηλώς*, and supply *πολέμου* after *μέλουσα*. But perhaps a better suggestion is given us by the epithet *πασιμέλουσα* applied to Hera by Nonnus (*Dionys.* v. 128). Melusa is also the name written over a female figure, who should be Leto, whom Apollo is defending from an attack by Tityos, on a red-figured amphora.³ It is also known as



523; REVERSE

the name of a nymph. For the name Rhoeus in connexion with the exploit of Theseus against the Amazons I have found no precedent; the companions of Theseus are usually Peirithous and Phorbas. Possibly *ΡΟΙΚΟΣ* may be a careless copy of *ΦΟΚΒΑΣ*. Rhoeus is, however, known as the name of a

³ *Ann. e. Mus. d. Inst.*, 1854, Pl. X.

Centaur (see Pape's *Lexikon*, &c.) : and the myths and art representations of Amazons and Centaurs are closely mixed up.

523. (Pl. IX.) Attic stamnos: red-figured. H. 16 in. Decoration as in plate.

Obv. Three women all clad in sleeved chiton with overdress, and all wearing wreaths of woollen fillets mixed with ivy or other leaves. One carries a two-handled drinking-cup, the second ladles wine from a stamnos which stands on a table adorned with ivy-sprays into a drinking-cup, the third plays the flutes.

Rev. Three women: one, clad in sleeved chiton with overdress, and wearing wreath (red), carries a drinking-cup; the second, clad in sleeveless chiton and overdress, with woollen fillet on head, carries thyrsus and drinking-cup; the third, clad and wreathed as the first, raises her head as if singing.

Found at Gela: bought 1896

524. Attic stamnos: red-figured. H. 14 in. Decorated as last.

Obv. In the midst Apollo, clad in himation, laureate, holding lyre (red cord); behind him, woman clad in sleeved chiton and overdress, wearing woollen fillet and wreath (red), carrying flutes; before him, woman clad in chiton only, wreathed as last, carrying flutes.

Rev. Female figure, clad in sleeveless chiton with overfall, and himation, a broad band and a wreath (red) on her head, seated on rock. A woman, clad in chiton and overdress, hair bound with cord (red), approaches her, carrying drinking-cup; to left, another woman, similarly clad, carries flutes.

Found at Gela. Presented by Mr. Fortnum.

Numbers 523 and 524 belong to a special class of Attic stamni, of which other examples are the British Museum vase E 451, on which a sacrifice to Dionysus Dendrites is represented, and the Ashmolean vase, No. 292, where a sacrifice to Demeter or Persephone is taking place.

Both the vases seem to represent, in highly generalized or idealized form, some sacrifice at an Attic festival. The fact that the votaries are female I do not take to be a realistic trait shewing that these sacrifices were in the hands of women; for Greek artists often introduce women to represent not actual human agents, but impersonations of action. Thus in the well-known vase of Polygnotus in the British Museum, women are occupied with the sacrifice of a bull, a task evidently not feminine: on the chariot coins of Sicily the driver is sometimes feminine; and so forth.

Interpreting the vase-paintings in this broad fashion, we may see in No. 523 a festival of Dionysiac character (as indicated by the thyrsus and ivy) of which a prominent feature was the lading of wine into cups. The woman with the flutes and the singing woman seem to shew that musical

contests or performances were part of the festival. All these features point to the Anthesteria. We have, of course, nothing to do here with the original meaning of the Anthesteria, but only with the manner in which it was celebrated at Athens in the fifth century. In the drinking vessels which appear so prominently on the vase, into which wine is being ladled, I should see the *χόες* or cups which gave their name to one of the days of the festival. Certainly the drinking of new wine was one of the prominent features of the Anthesteria. It is noteworthy that the large vessel out of which the wine is ladled is a *stamnos* of the same form as our vase. This suggests that the use of such vessels for mixing wine at the Attic festivals was the reason why this particular form was chosen for memorial-pictures.



524; OVERSE

M. Saglio in his Dictionary takes another view of the form of the *χόες*. He cites (*s.v.*) the observation of Crates quoted by Athenaeus⁴ that the *χόες* had in historic Greece the form of oenochoae. But it appears clearly from several authorities that the *χόες* were vessels to drink from,⁵ and the Greeks drank from cups and not from wine-jugs or decanters: Crates, moreover, who lived after B.C. 200, is not a very good authority for old Athenian usages.

⁴ XI. p. 495.

⁵ A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 384 and foll.

The other vase, No. 524, is more difficult. The figure of Apollo on the obverse is not to be mistaken, the long hair and the lyre are conclusive. We should expect to find Artemis on the reverse, and in fact the seated figure is not impossibly an Artemis; the fashion of her chiton, with a short overfall falling on the breast, and the broad band in her hair which appears to be of metal rather than stuff, would suit the attribution. She seems to be receiving an offering in a vessel, which is without visible handles, and may contain some liquid other than wine, which would not be a suitable offering to Artemis, perhaps milk or honey. The only other hint offered by the vase



524; REVERSE

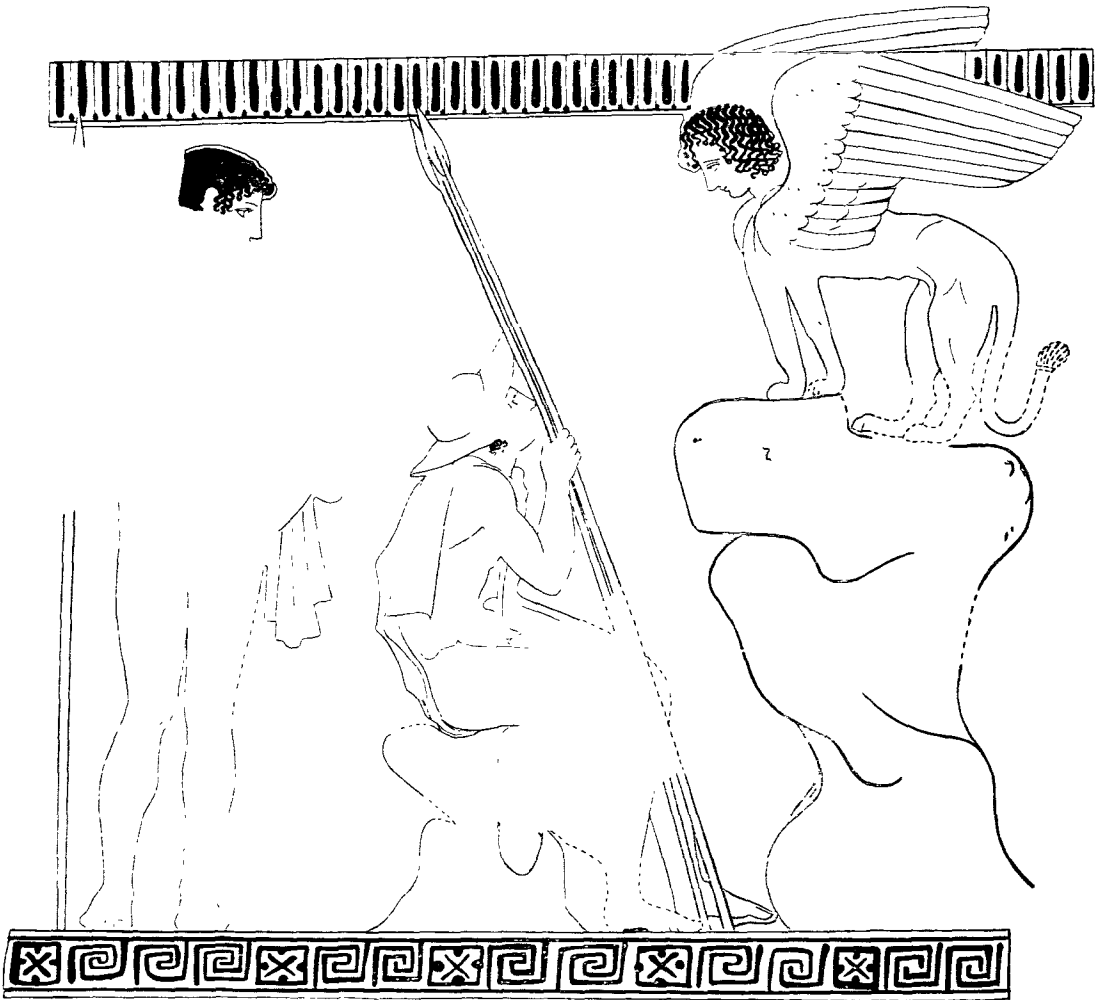
is given by the lyre of Apollo and the flutes held by three of the women, which seem to point to some kind of musical performances. The Thargelia was the Athenian festival of Apollo and Artemis; and as at that festival there were choruses of men and boys, it seems not unlikely that it may be the particular festival intended in the vase. As I have already observed, the fact that it is women and not men who hold the musical instruments is no real objection; the drawing only furnishes a good illustration of the ideality of Greek painting.

In the case of many of the female votaries on these vases, the wreaths worn are remarkable, and may possibly furnish a useful clue. They are

made up of woollen fillets and the leaves of various plants, sometimes ivy. They appear to be usual accompaniments of sacrifice; but even on the vases of this class they are by no means invariable, simple wreaths sometimes taking their place.

525. Attic amphora with representation of the birth of Pandora.

This vase I have figured and discussed in this *Journal*, vol. xxi. p. 1, Pl. I.



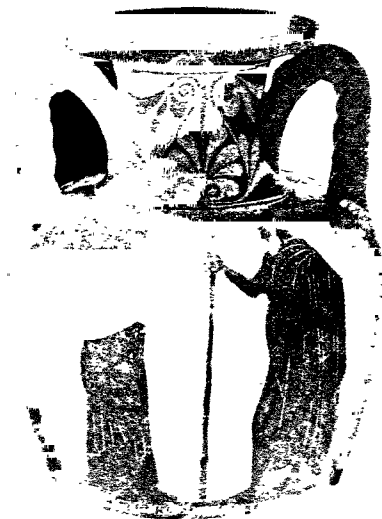
526

526. R.-f. amphora: fine not severe; twisted handles. H. 18½ in.

Palmette patterns on neck: lines of egg pattern and bar pattern: lines of maeander pattern under devices.

Obv. Oedipus beardless, wearing petasus and chlamys, seated r. on rock : holds in r. two spears. He looks up at the Sphinx who stands facing him on a rock indicated by thinner varnish. Behind Oedipus is a comrade wearing chlamys and holding staff.

Rev. Winged female figure r., clad in chiton and overdress, holding in both hands a fillet : facing her a bearded man clad in himation and holding sceptre.



526 ; REVERSE

Hamilton Gray *Cat.* (1888), No. 32 ; Overbeck, *Heroische Bildwerke*, i. 13. Oldfield Collection.

This vase has now been carefully cleaned. Part of the figure of the comrade of Oedipus has disappeared, and there are breaks in the outline of Oedipus and the Sphinx which are in the engraving filled in with dotted lines.

I should be disposed to see in the reverse type not Victory rewarding a competitor, but Eos approaching Tithonus. Eos and Tithonus occur together on a Nolan vase in the Ashmolean :⁶ there they are more clearly characterized, since Eos rushes forward with arms outstretched, and Tithonus is bald and evidently an old man. If the present vase does represent the Dawn and her lover, there is certainly some contamination derived from scenes in which Nike figures.

⁶ *J.H.S.* xiii. 137.

The group of Oedipus and the Sphinx requires not much comment. On our vase the Sphinx does not appear, as she sometimes does, seated on a pillar, and undistinguishable from the figure of a tomb, but is represented as a living creature on a rock, with a rather formidable panther-like body. The typography of the subject is given by Hofer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 719.

PERCY GARDNER.

(*To be continued.*)

SOME 'LATE MINOAN' VASES FOUND IN GREECE.

[PLATES XI.-XIV.]

THE progress of excavations in Crete has made it possible to distinguish with some degree of certainty the native from the imported objects found on Mycenaean sites in Greece. The purpose of this paper is to make known some fine examples of 'Late Minoan' art found at Vaphio in Laconia, Phylakopi in Melos, and Mycenae itself, and to show on what grounds they are to be regarded as of Cretan workmanship.

The drawings, excepting Pl. XII.*a* which is by M. Gilliéron, are the work of Mr. Halvor Bagge. The restoration of the large jar from Vaphio (Pl. XI.) is principally due to the ingenuity of Mr. J. H. Marshall, who devoted some months in 1901 to a study of the Cnossian Palace Style and in particular of the designs found on large amphorae of this class, and drew out a number of reconstructions of vases found at Cnossus and on the mainland of Greece. These reconstructions, among them earlier versions of Plates XI. and XIII. and a third which has since been published in these pages by Mr. Mackenzie (*J.H.S.* xxiii. (1903), p. 192), were exhibited by Mr. Marshall at a meeting of the British School at Athens in March 1901, and were to have been published by him. Unfortunately his acceptance, a few months later, of an important post under the Indian Government made it impossible for him to carry further the studies he had so brilliantly begun, or even to put together the results of his past researches. Both Mr. Marshall and I are much indebted to Professor Tsountas, the discoverer of the Vaphio Tomb and of the tomb at Mycenae which yielded the objects figured on Plates XIII. and XIV., for permission to study and publish this important new material, and to Dr. Evans who has given us most generous aid and allowed us to make use of unpublished finds from the Palace of Cnossus.

§ 1.—*Vases with Marine Designs from Vaphio and Phylakopi.*

Early in 1900 the work of piecing together the fragments of what we have since learned to call 'Palace-Style' pottery from Phylakopi led me to look for similar designs in the Athens collection, and incidentally to examine the trays of broken pottery from the Vaphio Tomb. Among them there were many which exhibited a puzzling combination of rockwork, spray-pattern,

and large flowers. In the following winter Mr. J. H. Marshall undertook to work out the design, with the result shown in Pl. XI.

The painter who wished to break up the surface of one of these monster jars had two courses open to him—to divide it horizontally into parallel friezes or vertically into panels. We have instances of both methods, but the latter ultimately prevailed and proved the bane of Late Minoan vase-painting. It became usual to subdivide the surface by long seam-like bands descending from the handles and to cover the panels with ornaments bearing no relation to one another; and this fashion lasted far into the Cretan Geometric period. The painter of the vase before us has hit upon a compromise, that of combining vertical and horizontal divisions, giving a sinuous course to the former and an oblique direction to all but one of the latter. In this connection it must be pointed out that the design shown in the reconstruction requires for its proper completion a four-handled vase: since there are four oblique friezes, and in each panel one comes to an end at the top and one at the bottom, it is evident that there must have been four panels and consequently four handles.¹

The neck, the panel-divisions, and the alternate friezes are decorated with conventional rockwork patterns, bordered by single or double strips of the favourite Late Minoan spray, which also decorates the upper surface of the rim. The alternation of these closely-worked bands, resembling rich embroidery, with the wider spacing of the flower-frieze is undeniably effective, but it is clear that mechanical repetition has dulled the painter's perception of the beauty of jagged rocks and their honeycombed surfaces. To see these patterns at their best one must turn to a vase on which the Minoan picture of the marine wonderland is given with something of the original spirit.

Plate XII.*b* represents the upper part of a large ewer from Phylakopi.² Of the lower part no fragments were found; probably it was pear-shaped. The neck, rising abruptly from the spreading shoulder, bears the same ornament of white spaces reserved within a dark ground as that of the amphora just described. Below the neck begins a magnificent design of rockwork which descends in four great masses, branching and jutting out in smaller promontories, down the shoulder of the vase. The space between two of them forms a miniature cove within which a nautilus rides in shelter, while outside, in deep water as it were, swims a great octopus. The scene was no doubt bordered below, as it is above, by a girdle of fantastic rocks. In this marine connection there cannot be much doubt as to the meaning of the design on the neck. When (as on an unpublished vase of this period) a similar rosette with irregular radial divisions fills the eye of a spiral, it certainly stands for the flower so often found in the same position. Here, and more clearly still on the neck of the Vaphio amphora (Pl. XI.), where the surface which they clothe has a margin

¹ The butterfly-like creature which animates with the *amphora* on Plates XI. and XII.*b* does not seem to me to be justified by the fragment which suggested it. In all other points I agree

with the restorers.

² A smaller illustration of it is given in *Ewey Vases at Phylakopi*, Pl. XXXI. 1.

of indented rock, these flower-like forms may be read as sea-anemones. As to the technique, both Mr. Marshall and Mr. Mackenzie³ have pointed out that patterns of this kind, formed by reserving patches of pale ground-colour within a field of dark glaze-paint, are but one step removed from the white-on-black of Middle Minoan ceramics. The combination of buff and black furnished a less brilliant contrast, but had the compensating advantage of greater durability.⁴

The cruciform rock-mass surrounding the neck of the Phylakopi ewer is treated in two different ways—the surface is either covered with small overlapping cells, or with a bold network filled in with sprinkled dots. Both methods are combined in the panel-divisions of the Vaphio amphora, while the oblique friezes are covered with continuous cellwork. Except for the introduction of *nautili* within the rocky tracts on the Vaphio jar, the conventions of the two vases are the same; but the freer and finer style of the ewer shows that it was painted before these marine designs had lost their freshness, while the patchwork arrangement of the marine elements on Pl. XI. seems to prove the contrary for the amphora. The laborious repetition of these rockwork patterns must have become intolerably irksome. Pl. XII.*a* represents a marine vase of this period, also from Phylakopi, on which they are altogether omitted, the only rocks represented being black knobs decorated with waving tufts of seaweed.

§ 2.—*The Cretan Origin of these Vases.*

These three vases are important accessions to that remarkable group of marine designs which until lately was best known by three pieces found at various times in Egypt—the famous *aiguière* in the Château Borély at Marseilles,⁵ a bridge-spouted jug in the New York Museum,⁶ and a shallow pyxis in the British Museum⁷ which, as Mr. Walters has pointed out, is almost identical in design with the New York jug.⁸ Within the last few years the number has been increased by a dozen at least of fine examples from excavations in Eastern Crete, in particular Mr. Hogarth's exquisite 'filler' with shell-decoration from Zakro,⁹ a series of similar fillers from Palaikastro,¹⁰ a vase from the latter site in the form of a flattened gourd, and a three-handled *Bugelkanne* from Miss Boyd's excavations at Gournia. Numerous fragments, in particular the top of a three-handled *Bugelkanne*, and part of a nautilus design closely related to that of the two vases found in Egypt, occurred at Phylakopi.

This distribution points to Crete as the place of manufacture. The

³ *J.H.S.* xxiii. 190.

⁴ A good instance of a similar pattern in the old technique is a large jar, found in Thera but certainly imported from Crete, the neck of which is decorated with continuous clusters of white rosettes (now in great part obliterated) on a dark ground. It is in the collection of the

French School at Athens.

⁵ Perrot and Chipiez, vi. Fig. 486.

⁶ P. and C. vi. Fig. 436, *A.J.A.* vi. 437.

⁷ P. and C. Fig. 485.

⁸ *J.H.S.* xvii. 12.

⁹ *J.H.S.* xxii. Pl. XII.

¹⁰ *B.S.A.* ix. p. 311.

Egyptian finds confirm what we already know of intercourse between Crete and Egypt; and on the other side the Mycenaean civilisation of the Eurotas valley is more likely to have depended for its luxuries on Crete than on Mycenae, where, by the way, these marine designs are but scantily represented. I have published elsewhere¹¹ a vase from Eastern Crete which exactly matches the design of the painted goblet from Vaphio; and more recently Mr. Dawkins has sent me a drawing of a potsherd found at Palaikastro which repeats the division into vertical and oblique zones of rockwork characteristic of the Vaphio amphora. Almost every archaeologist who has seen the relief-work on the steatite vases found at Phaestus has recognised in it an argument for the Cretan origin of the Vaphio gold cups. Mr. Evans long ago suggested that these steatite reliefs were meant to be plated with gold; and during last season's excavations at Palaikastro Mr. Currelly actually discovered a fragment of a steatite *rhyton* with a representation of a charging boar, to which a particle of gold-leaf still adhered—a remarkable fulfilment of an acute prediction. Motives for Cretan trade with Laconia existed in the famous green porphyry of Croceae, near the modern Levetzova—a store of large blocks from these quarries has recently come to light in the Palace at Knossos—and in the purple-shell for which the Laconian Gulf was famous in later days. The presence of the palm in the hunting-scene on the gold cup has been used as an argument for a supposed Syrian centre of Mycenaean art, but is really another argument in favour of Crete, since the palm grows wild there to this day; the grove of palms which descends to the sea-shore near Itanos is well known to travellers in the Sitia province.

§ 3.—*The Meaning of the Marine Designs.*

Any attempt to estimate the significance of this School of Marine Design must take account not only of painted vases but of the whole range of Minoan art and industry. As early as the Middle Minoan Age there is apparent in the art of Knossos a naturalistic movement which by the close of 'the first Late Minoan sub-period' has attained a high degree of perfection in the faience reliefs found with the figurines of the Snake-Goddess. The same deposit contained flying-fish, shells, and rockwork, modelled in glazed earthenware, and evidently the *debris* of an elaborate seapiece. In the ensuing or second Late Minoan period the wall-paintings at Knossos and Phylakopi display the triumph of this new style of marine design, and we can recognise its influence in many of the minor arts—in the class of pottery under discussion; in certain engraved gems and gem-impressions; in the exquisite steatite casket from Mycenae with its almost Japanese carving of an octopus among rocks (which may be matched by a fragment from Knossos); in the numerous pieces of goldsmith's work of which Mycenaean tombs have been so prolific; and in the innumerable cheaper trinkets of glass-paste, representing cuttlefish or nautilus

¹¹ *B. S. A.* ix, 255.

or triton shell. And it may be that it had an equal vogue in wood-carving, embroidery, and other handicrafts which have left no material traces.

Yet these designs were only one phase of an art which had a wonderfully comprehensive outlook over the whole natural world. Each year of excavation brings fresh proofs of its versatility. So extensive was its range of subjects, including man and beast, bird and butterfly, trees and flowers, and even the beginnings of landscape, that the special popularity of these marine designs and their enduring influence in ceramic tradition seem to demand an explanation.

This explanation is to be found not so much in their intrinsic beauty as in the local conditions under which they were produced. The sea was the highway of the populous unfortified settlements which fringed the shores of prehistoric Crete. The ruling class derived its wealth from trade oversea, and then, as now, the sea provided a good part of the food of the poor. The modern inhabitant of the Cretan coast or the islands of the Archipelago may be no sailor, but he is generally half a fisherman, for whom familiarity with the sea and its fruits does not necessarily involve possession of a boat. He works with line or spear or basket-trap from the rocks, catches the cuttle-fish with a primitive pine-bark lure that might have been made in the South Seas, and esteems its flesh a delicacy. The triton is a rarer prize; its contents are eaten and the shell furnishes a trumpet for the village field-guard. It is an open question whether the shells represented on Minoan vases (such as Pl. B.a) are meant for *murex* or *triton*. Even in the more careful drawings recently discovered in Eastern Crete, the artist seems to have combined the spiky surface of the one with the elongated proportions of the other. It is clear, however, that the Minoan Cretans had anticipated the Phoenicians in the manufacture of purple dye. Last year Mr. Currelly and I found a bank of pounded purple-shell (*murex trunculus*) associated with Middle Minoan vases on the island of Kouphonisi (ancient LEUKE) off the south-east coast of Crete, and during the past season we have come across two similar deposits in the neighbouring ruins of Palaikastro, in either case associated with Middle Minoan pottery. Again, when we remember that these very waters used to be famous for their sponges, and are still visited every summer by a host of caiques from Kalymnos and other centres of sponge-diving, we are tempted to guess that sponges as well as purple-juice were among the wares shipped from Crete to her markets in the East. One of the painted 'fillers' from Palaikastro shows us the murex-shells clustered on the rocks, from which no doubt they were collected by divers in the fashion described by Pliny, and the flying-fish picture from Phylakopi has unmistakable sponges on the sea-floor. Then, as now, on Aegean beaches the diver was a hero. We have a far-away reflection of the glamour that surrounded his doings in that old Minoan story of the marine underworld which tells how Theseus at the challenge of Minos descended to the palace of Amphitrite and brought him back his ring.

τῷ δ' οὐ πάλιν
 θυμὸς ἀνεκάμπτετ', ἀλλ' εὐ-
 πάκτων ἐπ' ἱκρίων
 σταθεῖς ὄρουσε, πόντιόν τέ νιν
 δέξατο θελημὸν ἄλσος.¹²

At ports where sailors and fishermen and divers for sponge and purple went and came, it was natural for an imaginative race to acquire that sense of the magic and mystery of the sea, that curiosity about the life in its depths, which found expression in these ceramic pictures.

§ 4.—*The Palace-Style Amphorae from a Tomb at Mycenae.*

Professor Tsountas, who took a lively interest in Mr. Marshall's work on the Vaphio fragments, had recently discovered remains of two large jars of similar size and form in the *dromos* of a chamber-tomb at Mycenae. With great generosity he suggested that Mr. Marshall should study and publish these vases and the other objects found with them. Restored drawings were made by Mr. Bagge under Mr. Marshall's direction: the more complete vase is here published for the first time (Pl. XIII.); the other was used by Mr. Mackenzie to illustrate his paper on *The Pottery of Knossos* (*J.H.S.* xxiii. 192).

I need not repeat the careful description which Mr. Mackenzie has given (*loc. cit.* p. 194) of the characteristics of the great jars found in the Palace at Cnossus. The two vases from Mycenae resemble them so closely in the ruddy colouring and gritty texture of their clay, in their warm buff slip, and glaze-paint varying from red to black, that, apart from similarity of design, it is safe to declare that they must have been painted at Cnossus. In the case of the Vaphio amphora there are differences which point rather to some other Cretan site.

The design of the vase published by Mr. Mackenzie can be paralleled in every detail by fragments found in the Palace; indeed Mr. Marshall's restoration is largely based on evidence supplied by Cnossian fragments. To find a repetition of the splendid scroll-pattern of Pl. XIII. we must go to Phaestus, where it reappears on a small vase which the Italian excavators have not yet published. The most curious feature of the design is the substitution, for the leaves or fronds along one side of the spray, of a series of little crested volutes. These same volutes appear on either side of certain figures in the flower-frieze of Pl. XI., of which I have deferred mention until now. These figures seem to be meaningless combinations of elements current in the design of the time; it should be noticed that the lower half is identical with that of a figure in the field of the gold ring found in the Vaphio Tomb, consisting of a kind of *ankh* combined with a double axe. The same double-axe combination appears on two fragments of Palace-Style

¹² Bacchylides (ed. Kenyon), xvii. 81.

ware found at Phylakopi¹³ and on a vase from Miss Boyd's excavations at Gournia in Eastern Crete.

The same tomb yielded a quantity of minor antiquities, some of which furnish fresh links not only with Crete but with Egypt, in particular a series of vases of steatite and alabaster and some inlay-tablets of coloured faience. Before discussing them it will be convenient to describe the tomb and enumerate its contents.

The tomb,¹⁴ a square rock-cut chamber approached by a short *dromos*, lies between the so-called Treasuries of Atreus and Clytaemnestra and near the carriage-road leading up to the Lion Gate. The entrance to the chamber had been walled up and the fragments of the two large jars were found in the *dromos* outside the blocked doorway; they might therefore be of later date than the objects found inside, since the example of the Menidi tomb shows that the cult of the dead, consisting chiefly in the deposition of offerings in the *dromos*, sometimes continued for centuries; but on grounds of style it is impossible to suppose that these amphorae, which so closely resemble those in use at Cnossus shortly before the fall of the Palace, can be much posterior—it would be easier to regard them as anterior—to the offerings found within, which present several points of contact with finds made in the Palace of Cnossus and in the Shaft-graves. It is likely that they are approximately contemporary with the interment.

The contents of the tomb had been crushed by the fall of the roof, and there are indications, particularly the presence of a sword-hilt (4908) without its blade, that it had been superficially plundered. Professor Tsountas noted both here and in other Mycenaean tombs which he has opened that some of the trinkets were associated with small heaps of charcoal as though some of the offerings, perhaps the robes to which these ornaments were attached, had been burned within the tomb—a suggestion parallel to the burned deposits in the supposed 'graves of foreigners' at Gurob in the Fayoum. He has never found bones mixed with the charcoal or any other indication that the body had been burned.

The following objects were found in the tomb. I give the order and numbering of the Museum inventory :—

4902. Eleven butterflies or sea-horses of thin gold (Fig. 1c), pierced with thread-holes. The head and body are not unlike those of the little hippocamp (*hippocampus brevisrostris*) of the Mediterranean, which is still prized as a charm at Naples. The amplification of its fin into a butterfly-wing may be illustrated by the presence of such wings on several of the Zakro sealings (*J.H.S.* XXII. pp. 92, 93) as part of the equipment of composite monsters.
4903. Twelve gold pendants forming a necklace (Fig. 1d).
4904. Seventeen flowers of thin gold like Perrot and Chipiez, vi. Fig. 506.
4905. Eight rosettes of thin gold; some have little gold discs attached by a wire of the same metal.

¹³ One is reproduced, upside-down, in *Excavations at Phylakopi*, Pl. XXXI. 2.

¹⁴ See *Πρακτικά*, 1899, p. 102. Some of the objects enumerated below seem to have been

found in a second tomb adjoining the first, but they are not distinguished in the notes with which Professor Tsountas has so kindly furnished me.

4906. Two nautili stamped in gold leaf (Fig. 1*a*).
 4907. Small studs of gold and bronze.
 4908 and 4914. Sword-hilt and pommel of white faience.
 4909. Eight bronze arrowheads.
 4910. Four globular beads of amethyst and some of glass-paste.
 4911. Three fragments of sphinxes of *lapis lazuli*.
 4912. Inlay-tablets of pale grey faience with dark stripes (Fig. 3).
 4913. Four small pieces of fine cord.
 4914. (See 4908).
 4915. Oblong jewel of thin gold plate, the upper surface decorated with *cloisonné* enamel-work, now much perished, two parallel perforations below (Fig. 1*b*).

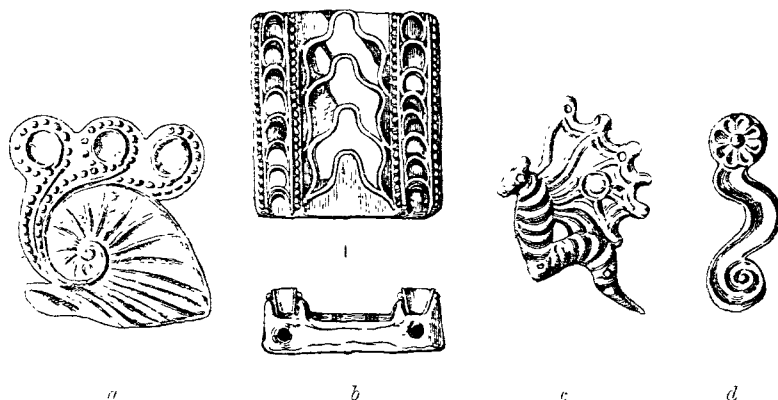


FIG. 1.—GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM TOMB AT MYCENAE (1. 1).

4916. Gold bar or 'toggle' (like one from the Fourth Shaft-grave, Schuchhardt-Sellers Fig. 234).
 4917. Pieces of thin gold plate, probably from a dagger-hilt, with chased spiral ornamentation.
 4918. Pieces of gold leaf.
 4919. Insignificant fragments of a silver vase.
 4920. Beaked jug of alabaster (Pl. XIV. *f*).
 4921. Flat-rimmed jar of steatite (Pl. XIV. *e*).
 4922. Spherical jar of steatite (Pl. XIV. *d*).
 4923. Squat jug of alabaster (Pl. XIV. *e*).
 4924. Small lamp of steatite (Pl. XIV. *a*).
 4925. Large lamp of steatite (Pl. XIV. *b*).

§ 5.—*The Stone Vases from the Mycenae Tomb.*

We come to the six stone vases (Pl. XIV.). Cretan analogies show that they too were imported. The material of the two lamps *a* and *b* is a grey variety of Cretan steatite, and their form as well as their exquisite spiral ornamentation can be matched in the museum at Candia. Rare on the mainland, lamps of this form were fairly common at Phylakopi,¹⁵ where Cretan influence was strong. At Knossos, Palaikastro, and other Minoan sites in

¹⁵ *Excavations at Phylakopi*, p. 209; two such lamps of steatite and at least eight imitations in clay.

Crete, lamps not only of this form but of this material have been found in such numbers as to leave no doubt about the Cretan origin of those found at Mycenae and in Melos.

Of the two jars *c* and *d*, which are worked in bluish-black Cretan steatite, the latter reproduces a familiar ceramic form which survived from the Middle into the Late Minoan period, and the former is a compromise between that and another well-established Cretan form, the cylindrical jar with side-handles and 'bridged spout,' an example of which in Cretan steatite was found in the Nauplia cemetery.¹⁶

The two jugs *c* and *f* present a more complex problem. The oriental alabaster of which they are made is said not to occur in Greece or Crete, but is known to have been quarried on a large scale in Egypt and to have been worked into vases at almost all periods of Egyptian history. Though alike in material they differ in form, *c* being as distinctly Egyptian in its lines as *f* is Minoan. The former is an ordinary product of Egyptian industry; the latter was made for the Aegean market, probably in a Minoan workshop.

The general shape of *c*, a globular body surmounted by a cylindrical neck, is common to many Egyptian vases, of bronze and clay as well as alabaster, under the Eighteenth Dynasty. Fortunately it has one characteristic feature, the prolongation of the flat handle in a grooved collar which clasps the neck immediately below the lip, which fixes its period and its affinities. In the British Museum there are at least a dozen Egyptian vases of various shapes and sizes with this handle-attachment, four in serpentine, one in diorite, the remainder in alabaster.¹⁷ It is true that in origin this peculiar feature is not purely Egyptian—it seems to have been adopted from the Syrian 'base-ring' flasks which were imported in large numbers into Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁸ But the direction in which the alabaster copies diverge from the parent type leaves no doubt that they are native Egyptian products. Thus a specimen in the Berlin Museum,¹⁹ which by the kindness of Dr. Schäfer I am allowed to reproduce here (Fig. 2), has a base in the form of the common Egyptian ring-stand, carved in one piece with it—an adaptation not likely to have originated outside Egypt. Moreover this handle-attachment is found in Egyptian green-glazed ware and in glass.²⁰

¹⁶ The spout of the Nauplia vase was made in a separate piece and is now missing, but the dowel-holes for affixing it can be seen.

¹⁷ Fourth Egyptian Room. Nos. 4638; 4639; 4644; 4646; 4729; 4734; 26,783; 24,417; 26,962; 36,383; 36,404; 36,405. For information about them I am indebted to Mr. H. R. Hall. Another is in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

¹⁸ Mr. J. L. Myres conjectures that the ware had a leathern prototype, presumably somewhere in Syria; see *J.H.S.* xvii. 151, and

Cyprus Museum Catalogue, p. 37. Note that it reached Egypt earlier than Cyprus, where it appears almost simultaneously with Mycenaean ware of advanced type—not much earlier than Amenophis III.

¹⁹ No. 8316, from the Theresin Collection. Others of this type are in the British Museum and in Prof. Petrie's collection at University College.

²⁰ Green-glazed ware No. 21,919, glass No. 22,819, in the British Museum.

The class is to some extent dated by a specimen found in the El-Amrah cemetery at Abydos,²¹ in a rich grave, which, by comparison of its contents with those of graves in the neighbourhood, can be assigned approximately to the middle period of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This grave contained two alabaster vases, one with the characteristic 'neck-clasping' handle, the other of a well-known type with spreading foot and no handle, an example of which in Mr. Hilton Price's collection bears the cartouche of Amenophis II.²² It also contained a very remarkable askoid vase in the form of a hedgehog, made of polished red pottery and decorated with graceful *fleur-de-lys* scrolls which, as Mr. Myres has pointed out, indicate strong Aegean influence.²³ The El-Amrah cemetery was particularly rich in plastic vases of this polished red-ware and in scarabs of Thothmes III., in whose reign it must have been fashionable; and in the neighbouring cemetery of El-Arabah an askoid vase of this ware nearly related to the hedgehog, and an earthenware jug with neck-clasping handle nearly related to our alabaster class, were found associated with two scarab-rings of the same sovereign.²⁴ Again, a somewhat similar jug, apparently a native imitation of the 'base-ring' type, was found at El-Amrah in

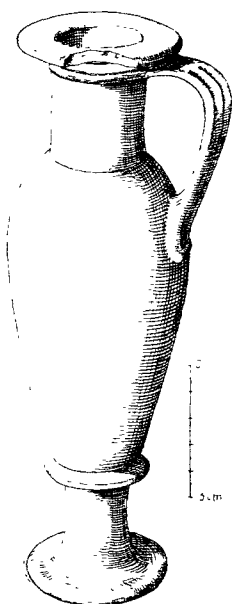


FIG. 2.—ALABASTER
VASE FROM EGYPT.

the same grave with two scarabs of Thothmes III.²⁵ Everything points to his reign as the period during which these Syrian influences left their mark on Egyptian industry. The comparative rarity of *alabastra* like Pl. XIV.e shows that they were not long in vogue and encourages us to suppose that the example found at Mycenae may have been made in the time of Thothmes III. or his successor, Amenophis II. It was a period of political and commercial expansion, when the boundaries of Egypt for a time included Palestine, when Minoan envoys and Minoan works of art found their way, as the Theban tomb-paintings record, to the Egyptian capital, and the products of Egyptian industry were carried in exchange to Crete and to Mycenae. For the find at Mycenae has a parallel in Crete.

²¹ D. Randall-Maciver and A. C. Mace, *El-Amrah and Abydos*, Tomb D. 11, Pl. L. The tomb-group is in the Ashmolean Museum.

²² Hilton Price, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities* (1897), No. 3330. with drawing. This form occurred also at El-Amrah, D. 17, D. 29 (with red-ware vase in form of gazelle), and D. 116=Pl. XLVI., and in the Maket tomb at Kahun, the central point of which is placed by Prof. Petrie about the time of Thothmes III.

²³ The hedgehog vase and the interesting

class to which it belongs are discussed by Mr. J. L. Myres in *El-Amrah*, pp. 72-75. He concludes that they were made '(1) probably in Egypt, (2) in a fabric recently introduced from the Palestinian area, (3) under the influence of Aegean models and artistic and ceramic conventions.'

²⁴ John Garstang, *El-Arabah*, Tomb E. 178, Pl. XIX.-XXI. and p. 27.

²⁵ *El-Amrah*, D. 119, Pl. LV. 66, and pp. 92, 102.

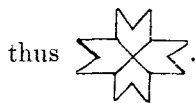
Quite recently a group of Egyptian *alabastra*, including one slender flask with the peculiar handle-attachment seen on *e*, has come to light in a great royal tomb discovered by Mr. Evans on a hill-top near Cnossus. With them were magnificent painted amphorae somewhat more advanced in style than those published in the present paper.

The other vase from the Mycenae tomb, *f*, looks like a clever copy in alabaster of the silver flagon found in the Fourth Shaft-grave,²⁶ which also contained that remarkable alabaster vase with three handles, evidently copied from a metal prototype.²⁷ A fragment of a vase like *f*, also in alabaster, showing the ring at the base of the neck and the spring of the handle, was found at Cnossus in 1900. The S-shaped handle and ring on the shoulder are seen on Egyptian representations of Keftian vases, and particularly on one large white amphora which Mr. Hall is probably right in interpreting as of silver.²⁸ Since such vases were imported into Egypt it is quite possible that the native alabaster-workers copied them, just as centuries later they copied the shapes of imported Hellenic hydriae.²⁹ But Egyptian craftsmen were not as a rule good copyists, and there is a whole series of alabaster vases of true Minoan design, found in Crete and on the mainland, which were certainly made for the Minoan market by Minoan workmen. Such are the alabaster triton-shells found in the Palace at Cnossus and in a tomb near Phaestus—in the latter case associated with plain cylindrical jars of the same material which may be of genuine Egyptian workmanship;³⁰ and such too the fine alabaster vases carved with shields and other Minoan ornaments which were found in the Throne-room.³¹

We must suppose that the traders who brought back the finished Egyptian vases also imported masses of raw alabaster to be worked up by the skilled lapidaries of Crete.

§ 6.—The Faience Inlays.

The Mycenae tomb also contained a number of broken tablets of faience (Fig. 3) with a pale green surface on which are dark purplish-brown stripes of varying width. They must have decorated some small article such as the lid of a box. Probably the pieces shaped like *a* and *c* of Fig. 3 were arranged in groups of four with their apices in contact, forming an eight-pointed star,



The pieces shaped like *b* are all fragmentary; they may

²⁶ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 243. Cf. also *Excavations at Phylakopi*, p. 136, Pl. XXVII. 8.

²⁷ The reproduction in metal by M. Gilliéron is successful and convincing.

²⁸ *B.S.A.* viii. 173.

²⁹ In the Berlin Museum there is a little alabaster *Bügelkanne*, found in Egypt and presumably made there.

³⁰ The Minoan potters copied this form in clay. One example found at Phaestus has the wave-markings of the alabaster imitated in paint.

³¹ *B.S.A.* vi. 41. The alabaster goblet found in the First Shaft-grave and its companion from Thera probably reproduce a Minoan metal-form.

have formed the border. The pieces here figured are the only ones that are approximately whole. They are bevelled off towards the back, in order to give the mastic or cement bedding a better hold, and two of them have a character incised on the back, perhaps for the guidance of the workman.

The only other object of this kind from Mycenae is a large disc from the Fourth Shaft-grave. At Cnossus, on the other hand, the art of inlaying seems to have been practised during a long period and in a variety of materials: bone, ivory, and crystal as well as faience. In his excavation reports Mr. Evans has several times discussed these inlay-tablets, their materials, and the characters frequently found on their backs.³² At the beginning of the Late Minoan period there was an extensive manufacture at Cnossus of all kinds of ornaments and even of vases and figurines in faience; and just as the faience disc from the Fourth Shaft-grave resembles those found in the Throne-room at Cnossus, so too the extraordinary faience knots found with it³³ reappear at Cnossus—but in ivory,³⁴ a material to some extent interchangeable with ‘porcelain’ in the art of the period. It is not impossible

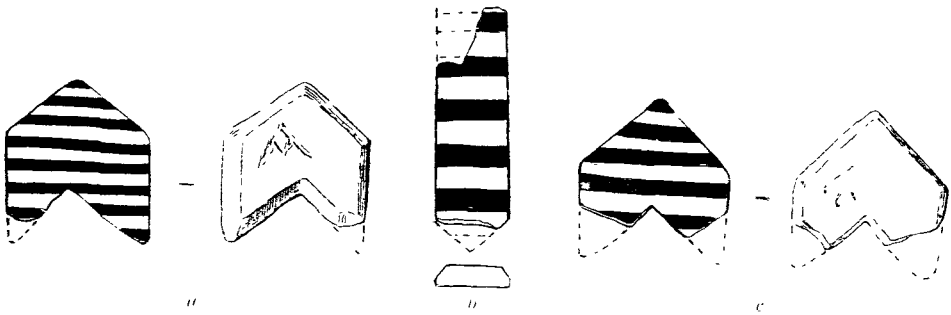


FIG. 3.—FAIENCE INLAYS FROM TOMB AT MYCENAE (1 : 1).

that the art of making faience and of inlaying was acclimatised at Mycenae; but the rarity of such objects there and their abundance at Cnossus, and the close resemblance of the Mycenaean to the Cnossian specimens, are in favour of their direct importation from Crete.

The presence of the incised marks points the same way. While we have abundant evidence of the use of geometrical signs in Crete and in Melos as well as in Egypt, they are still rare on the mainland. Of the few inscribed objects found there, several may be set aside on independent evidence as importations. Here are three definite instances:

(1) Handle and part of rim of a steatite jar bearing three incised characters, found at Mycenae (Tsountas-Manatt, p. 269). Material and form are Cretan, closely resembling Pl. XIV.*d*; consequently the inscription may have been engraved in Crete and proves nothing as to writing at Mycenae.

³² *B.S.A.* vi. 41, vii. 119, ix. 60 ff. Compare his remarks in *Excavations at Phylakopi*, p. 181.

³³ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 242, where one knot is erroneously described as of alabaster.

³⁴ *B.S.A.* ix. p. 7.

(2) Marks scratched on the handles of certain pointed amphorae, four of which were found in the Menidi tomb (Lolling, *Kuppelgrab*, etc., Pl. IX. 1-4), and two subsequently at Mycenae. These jars, which are of a pale non-Mycenaeen clay, were recognised by Prof. Petrie some years ago as belonging to a purely Egyptian class which may be dated to the end of the Eighteenth or the Nineteenth Dynasty. The marks seem to me to have been scratched after the clay was hard. They are probably records of quantity, value, or ownership, affixed at the port of shipment: it is not probable that they were made independently in Argolis and in Attica.

(3) An H-like mark repeated on each of the three handles of a pear-shaped jar found by Dr. Staes in a tomb at Nauplia (Tsountas-Manatt, p. 268). It is decorated with ill-drawn figures of oxen in the style of the later vases from Enkomi in Cyprus and of others (seen at a dealer's) from Rhodes. This style is rare on the mainland, and the vase is likely to have been imported.

The faience and inlay industries of Knossos were originally derived from Egypt. Mr. Evans has pointed out that the resemblance between the inlays of Knossos and Egypt, particularly those of Tel-el-Yahûdiyyeh, is confirmed by the presence of similar and in some cases identical marks on their backs. The inlays from Tel-el-Yahûdiyyeh, of which there is a large collection in the British Museum, decorated a kiosque in the palace of Rameses II., and are therefore of considerably later date than those from Knossos and Mycenae. Nevertheless the unusual shape of the inlays here published (Fig. 3*a* and *c*) can be matched by specimens from this Egyptian site,³⁵ and at least one of our marks, the **A**, is among those which occur there. As Mr. Evans has said, there must have been a common stock of such signs used by inlayers and other craftsmen both in Egypt and in Crete, and it is probable that a numerical value was attached to some of them, that they thus acquired a fixed order, and that the existence of this selection from the host of signs current for various purposes in the Mediterranean ultimately contributed to the formation of the alphabet.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

³⁵ One of this form from Tel-el-Yahûdiyyeh is in the British Museum, another in the York Museum.

DAMOPHON.

MR. A. M. DANIEL's article on the above subject (pp. 41 *seq.*) is so thorough and convincing that it hardly requires further support. But in view of the widespread acceptance of the attribution of the Lycosura statues to a late Roman date, I think a few words in further confirmation of his contention are not out of place.

In spite of the almost unanimous *volte-face* in the opinion of archaeologists since Dr. Doerpfeld expressed his doubts as to the Greek character of the buildings at Lycosura, my own view (expressed in the *Athenaeum*, March 22nd, 1890, and at a public meeting of the American School at Athens, January 6th, 1891) that Damophon's work belongs to the first half of the fourth century B.C. has not been shaken. Of course we must all remember that we have here to deal with the question of probability and not of certainty. Yet within these limits it appears to me that the balance of evidence strongly inclines towards the fourth century B.C.

There is little to add to Mr. Daniel's excellent analysis and comparison of style. Taking merely the treatment of the eyes and brow and the lids in these heads, the material which we have at our disposal, now, would make it almost certain that they could not have been worked later than the fourth century; they certainly do not manifest the characteristic treatment which we find in the second century B.C., or in Hadrianic work. If, moreover, we remember the choice of subjects which this sculptor makes (a point, to my mind, of extreme importance in judging the date of a Greek artist), and if we note how he chooses almost exclusively gods, among whom Asclepius is foremost, remembering further that Asclepius seems to have come into such prominence in the first half of the fourth century, we shall find it hard on these grounds to believe that Damophon is a sculptor of the second century B.C. or of the Hadrianic period.

Another peculiarity of technical treatment seems to me most significant: though the eyebrows and eyelids are treated in the same manner in all three heads, the orb itself is completely worked in the head of Demeter; while in those of Anytus and Artemis it is hollowed out to receive the insertion of some foreign matter. The hair of Artemis is completely modelled in the marble, while that of Demeter was supplemented by the insertion of bronze ornaments. This uncertainty of technique, or rather, this searching after a fixed method for dealing with such statues, seems to me to find its best explanation in the hypothesis that the artist marks the transition from the

gold and ivory or bronze technique in temple statues of the Phidian period to the pure marble technique of the age of Scopas and Praxiteles. And this hypothesis gains in probability when we remember the fact, upon which Brunn long ago laid stress, that Damophon, to whom 'honours are paid by the Eleans, fitted together with the utmost accuracy the image of Zeus at Olympia when the ivory in that image had cracked' (Pausanias, iv. 31. 6). He thus bears a distinct relation to the gold and ivory technique of the fifth century, while, on the other hand, he himself uses the acrolithic technique (marble and gilt wood) and finally marble alone. This succession in the use of materials points to the first half of the fourth century B.C. and not to the Roman period.

But the strongest argument in favour of the earlier date of this artist is derived from the fact that his chief works were to be found at Megalopolis and Messene, which were both founded, or refounded, by Epaminondas about the year 369 B.C.¹ Now Megalopolis went under after the Macedonian period, and it is equally unlikely that Messene should in later ages have been in a condition to order as many works by Damophon as Pausanias thinks fit to mention. In the enumeration which Pausanias makes (*ibid.*) of the statues by Damophon at Messene he mentions the image of the city of Thebes and the statue of Epaminondas; and though he goes on to say that 'the marble images are the works of Damophon the statue of Epaminondas is of iron and is the work of some other artist,' the statue of Thebes remains for Damophon; and from the context it is unlikely that centuries elapsed between the creation of the other works and of the statue of Epaminondas. Thus the Theban supremacy under Epaminondas is distinctly indicated as the period when Damophon lived. Had I space, I should like to enlarge upon the probability, for which there is strong evidence, that this Theban supremacy coincided with the predominance of such mythological figures as Asclepius and Artemis, which hold so large a proportion among the statues made by Damophon.

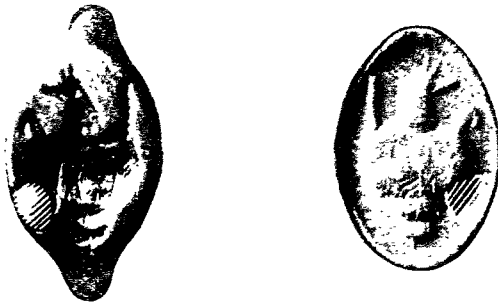
CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

¹ For the foundation of Megalopolis, see Niese, *Hermes*, 1899, *Beiträge zur Gesch. Arkadiens*, pp. 527 *seq.* See also Bury, *J.H.S.* 1898, pp. 15 *seq.*

ANTIQUE RINGS PIERCED WITH GOLD NAILS.

AMONG the silver rings in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum are seven which have a stud or nail of gold driven through the bezel.¹ The intaglio designs on these rings are as follows:²—

(1) Two sphinxes confronted. (2) Ox-head and bird placed opposite on. another on oblong bezel.³ (3) Recumbent lion to r. looking back over its shoulder. Cf. Furtwangler, *Beschreibung der geschn. Steine im Antiq.* No. 152. These three designs are archaic in style. (4) Woman seated to r., holding out dove on l. hand. Cf. a coin of Eryx (Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. VI. 3). On the ring a wreath takes the place of the standing Eros. (5) Design similar to last, but in reverse direction; no wreath.



SILVER RING IN BRIT. MUS. AND IMPRESSION (2:1).

The last two rings are of good style, but poor execution (4th—3rd cent. B.C.). (6) Very much worn; a female figure can be made out. (7) A very curious design, which I am unable to explain. A jackal's head surmounts a vase-like object. Before the head is a curved, behind, a straight handle (?). See Figure.

¹ For other examples, see Dalton, *Cat. of Early Christian Antiquities*, 238; Pollak, *Klassisch-Ant. Goldschmiedearb.*, Pl. xviii. 429. The latter's explanation of the presence of the nail—that it is to protect the design in relief—seems to me quite impossible; *Archaeologia*, 44, Pl. 13. 8, p. 360.

² The descriptions apply to impressions.

³ Furtwangler (*Die Bronzen von Olympia*, 1187, 1187a, p. 187 n.) has apparently confused (1) and (2). In his *Ant. Gemm.* iii. p. 90 he has described them correctly, and rightly considers that the presence of the nail is a sign of superstitious belief.

The bezels of these rings are pierced by gold nails in every variety of position; (1) is pierced exactly in the centre, (2) a little to r. of centre, (3) just above the lion's back, (4) at the top on the r., near the edge, (5) in the middle of the r. side, (6) by two nails placed symmetrically at the top and bottom of the elliptical bezel, (7) on the extreme edge, low down on the l. side. This variety of position would alone suffice to render untenable the theory that the gold stud was intended to adorn the silver ring. The object of the nails in the Homeric *σκήπτρον χρυσείοις ἡλίοισι πεπαρμένον*⁴ was of course decorative, but our rings by no means present a parallel. The haphazard way in which many of the nails are placed is certainly not calculated to improve the appearance of the design.

King (*Antique Gems and Rings*, p. 361 n.) notices the fact that the heads of many antique rings are thus traversed by studs of gold, but he does not attempt to offer any explanation.

It is clear, I think, that the nails must have had some definite meaning, whatever that meaning may have been. A purchaser of to-day would not be likely to accept a ring so 'adorned,' and there is no reason to think that a Greek purchaser would have done so either, had there not been cause to suppose that a distinct advantage would result from the wearing of such an object.

The best way of arriving at a solution of the problem is to examine analogous uses of nails, whether mentioned in literature or observable in actual objects of antiquity.

It will be found that nails are very frequently employed in connection with magical rites.⁵ In such cases the nail is believed either (*a*) to drive home, as it were, the force of the incantation, or (*b*) to be efficacious in curing or averting some evil.

(*a*) It is well known that magical inscriptions are often found on nails. Several such nails may be seen in the British Museum. Nails too are not infrequently seen driven through leaden tablets on which imprecations have been inscribed.⁶ Ovid describes how a hag on the day of the *Feralia* made use of a bronze needle in her magic rites:—

quodque pice adstrinxit, *quod acu traiecit acna*,
obsutum maenae torret in igne caput.⁷

The use of the word *defigere*, in the sense of 'to enchant,' also points to a belief in the magical power of nails.⁸

(*b*) Still more frequent are instances of the employment of nails for the averting or cure of evil. The nail driven by the dictator into the wall of the *cella* of Minerva in the Capitoline temple of Jupiter is said to have stayed a

⁴ *Il.* i. 245 f.

⁵ Cf. O. Jahn, *Berichte d. Kön. Sächs. Gesell.* zu Leipzig, 1855, pp. 106 ff.

⁶ The British Museum possesses such a tablet. Cf. also 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1903, p. 55: Miss Harrison,

Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 141 ff.

⁷ *Fasts* 2. 577 f.

⁸ Cf. Rohde, *Psyche* ii², p. 88 n.

pestilence.⁹ Two curious passages in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* relative to the magical virtues of nails are worth quoting.

(1) *Clavum ferreum defigere in quo loco primum caput fixerit corruens morbo comitiali absolutorium eius mali dicitur* (28. 63).

As a parallel to this may be cited a passage from Thomas Lupton's *Second Book of Notable Things* (1660), p. 40: ¹⁰ 'Three Nails made in the Vigil of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, called Midsummer Eve, and driven in so deep that they cannot be seen, in the place where the party doth fall that have the falling sicknesse, and naming the said party's name while it is doing, doth drive away the disease quite.'

(2) *Prodest . . . praefixisse in limine evulsos sepulcris clavos adversus nocturnas lymphationes* (34. 151.)

It is no doubt true that nails were employed in magic partly because of the iron or bronze of which they were composed; cf. Schol. on *Od.* xi. 48: *κοινή τις παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶν ὑπόληψις ὅτι νεκροὶ καὶ δαίμονες σίδηρον φοβοῦνται*. But I do not think that there can be any doubt after a consideration of the above passages that nails were valued by dealers in magic on account of their piercing powers, apart from the material of which they were formed.¹¹ It must be admitted that the use of *gold* nails, as seen in the case of our rings, cannot be exactly paralleled.

That rings themselves were held to possess magical properties is well known. Rings made from nails that had fastened together a cross were used as charms; cf. Luc. *Philopseud.* 17: *καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐταραττόμην πρὸς αὐτά, νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους οὐδέν τι παράλογον ὄραν μοι δοκῶ, καὶ νῦν μάλιστα ἐξ οὗ μοι τὸν δακτύλιον ὃ Ἀραψ ἔδωκε σιδήρου τοῦ ἐκ τῶν σταυρῶν πεποιημένον*.¹² The *Δίκαιος*, in Aristophanes' *Plutus*,¹³ says to the *Συκοφάντης*:

*οὐδὲν προτιμῶ σου φορῶ γὰρ πριάμενος
τὸν δακτύλιον τονδὶ παρ' Εὐδάμου δραχμῆς.*

'In Berkshire,' says Brand,¹⁴ 'there is a popular superstition that a ring made from a piece of silver collected at the communion is a cure for convulsions and fits of every kind.' Many other beliefs of a similar nature could be cited.

It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the practice of piercing

⁹ Liv. vii. 3; cf. further Preller, *Rom. Mythologie* i³, pp. 258 ff.

¹⁰ Quoted by Brand, *Pop. Ant.* (ed. Hazlitt) iii. p. 255.

¹¹ A *lead* nail found in the Sanctuary of Asclepius in Paros bears the inscription ΠΥΡ. Rubensohn, in *Athen. Mitt.* xxvii. p. 229, suggests that the nail was driven into the wall of the sanctuary as a protection against fire.

¹² With this may be compared a cure for epilepsy mentioned by Brand, *op. cit.* p. 255. 'In Devonshire is a similar custom . . . The ring must be made of three nails or screws which have been used to fasten a coffin, and must be dug out of the churchyard.'

¹³ L. 883 f.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 254.

rings with a nail of gold must have been due to a desire to combine the magic properties of nails and rings. If a nail or a ring by itself had the power of averting the evil eye, much greater must have been the potency of the two together. Herein then, I think, is to be sought the explanation of what, at first sight, is rather a puzzling phenomenon.

F. H. MARSHALL.

A COUNTER-PROTEST.

DR. CHARLES WALDSTEIN, in his article entitled 'The Bronze Statue from Cerigotto and the Study of Style,' which appeared in vol. xxiv. pp. 129-134 of this *Journal*, published a protest against the methods and results of my research.

If I reply to Dr. Waldstein's statements by a counter-protest, I do so only in deference to the high scientific position occupied by this *Journal*, the organ of a Society which has conferred on me the distinction of honorary membership. As to the general question of Dr. Waldstein's scientific work, on which the value of his criticism depends, I have already expressed my opinion in my notice of his 'Argive Heraeum' written for the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, July 1904.

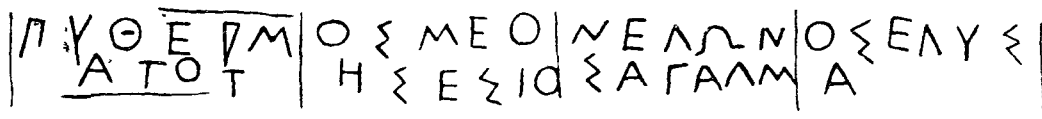
As evidence supporting his view of my work Dr. Waldstein brings forward the assertion that I published in the 50th *Winckelmannsprogramm* an incorrect drawing of the 'Orestes' of the Naples group, and that my whole 'stylistic comparison,' including the hypothesis I suggested about Ageladas, was founded on the mistake in the drawing. Now it is true that the drawing referred to is not quite correct. It was prepared by Herr Max Lübke, as is expressly stated in the text, not from the original, and not from a cast (for there was no cast in Berlin), but from a photograph. Everybody knows how easily faults in proportion can creep into such reproductions. But with this drawing or its faults my remarks on style or my attribution of the type to Ageladas have absolutely no connexion. The sole object of the drawing, as I distinctly stated in that place, is to shew clearly how the general *motif* of the Ligurio bronze is related to the so-called Stephanos type. I laid great stress on the differences in detail, and therefore in proportion, between the bronze on the one hand and the various replicas of the 'Stephanos' type on the other. To suppose that the derivation of the plastic schema (common to the Ligurio bronze and the Stephanos-type) from Ageladas has any connexion with mistakes in the drawing is, to put it mildly, an instance of 'singular *naïveté*.' That my thesis is a necessary consequence from the classification of art tendencies in the fifth century B.C. which I have attempted, Dr. Waldstein will doubtless not admit, but I think that any one who has made a serious attempt to grapple with the problem will agree with me.

A. FURTWÄNGLER.

Munich.

AN IONIAN DEDICATION TO ISIS.

THE inscription of which a facsimile is given below is incised on the base of a bronze statuette which has lately been acquired by the Cairo Museum. The statuette itself represents Isis seated on a throne suckling the child Horus. It is an ordinary Egyptian type and there is nothing Greek about the work except the inscription. Its provenance unfortunately is unknown.



INSCRIPTION ON BASE OF STATUETTE IN CAIRO MUSEUM

The letters run round the four sides of the plinth (as shown in the facsimile), those in front being bordered by two horizontal strokes. In the second line the surface is injured between the τ and the \circ , but nothing appears to be lost. What ἐλύσατο means is not clear: one would naturally take the inscription to be a dedication, in which case the verb might be interpreted as 'offered in fulfilment of a vow'; possibly, however, the words refer to some particular incident, such as the rescue of the sacred image from an enemy. The alphabet is Ionian: so too are the proper names and the genitive-ending $\epsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$. The best known Pythermos of whom there is any record is the Phocæan ambassador who figures in a characteristic episode in Herodotus (i. 152). A Graeco-Egyptian inscription in the Alexandria Museum (Botti, *Cat.* p. 253) mentions another Neilon, the father of a certain Pythogeiton: in this case the family came from Samos. The Pythermos of our inscription was no doubt an Ionian Greek resident in Egypt, perhaps an inhabitant of Naukratis or of the Hellenikon at Memphis. As regards the date of the work, the form of the letters points to the fifth century or the end of the sixth: similar lettering occurs on many of the less early fragments of dedicated pottery at Naukratis. At this period the Greeks in Egypt had probably begun to adopt the Egyptian gods, though without attempting as yet to alter the traditional types.

If scanned according to the archaic spelling, the sentence makes an almost regular verse: did the writer intend it to be metrical?

C. C. EDGAR.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Euripides, der Dichter der griechischen Aufklärung. VON WILHELM NESTLE.
Pp. xiv + 595. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1901.

Though published three years ago, this book has been only recently sent for review. It is an elaborate study of the mind of Euripides, not as poet or dramatist, but as thinker, as the leader of Greek thought away from the conventional anthropomorphic cult into wider and fresher fields of religion and ethics. The discussion of Euripides' theology is not particularly new or illuminating. It is summed up in the phrases, 'Euripides wholly rejected the gods of Greek popular belief . . . he casts aside the entire anthropomorphism of the Greek Olympus, and primarily on the grounds of reason and morals. . . . For Euripides, the divine essence manifested itself as a cosmic moral power [$\Deltaίκη$] immanent in the universe and working according to eternal laws.' More novel, because less often dealt with on so extended a scale, is the discussion of his 'anthropology,' i.e. his psychology, ethics, and social and political philosophy, illustrated very copiously by translations from the dramas. Though there is plenty of literary feeling, literary form is painfully absent, and the volume, though not without interest, is heavy reading. It concludes with over 200 closely printed pages of notes and indices.

Didymos' Kommentar zu Demosthenes, nebst Wörterbuch zu Demosthenes' Aristokratea. Bearbeitet von H. DIELS und W. SCHUBART. [Berliner Klassikertexte, herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung der kgl. Museen zu Berlin, Heft I.] Pp. liii + 95. Berlin: Weidmann, 1904.

The papyrus here edited, as the first of a series of literary texts to be issued by the Berlin Museum, is a second-century roll of about 4 ft. 5 in. in length and 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height, containing (according to its own subscription) the commentary of Didymus on the 9th-12th Philippics of Demosthenes, i.e., according to our nomenclature, the third and fourth Philippics and the speeches on the Epistle of Philip and $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\omega\varsigma$. The scholia are mainly historical in character; if, as one would have expected from the other works of Didymus, he wrote grammatical and lexical notes on Demosthenes, they have been omitted, while the historical notes are evidently given unabridged. A noteworthy feature of them is the abundance of quotations from Philochorus, who is the main historical authority used; there are also citations from Theopompus and other writers. The text is printed (in a new type devised for the Berlin Academy, which many readers will find difficult) in two forms, one a simple transcript, for which Dr. Schubart is mainly responsible, the other a restored text, the work of Professor Diels. The introduction gives a full description of the papyrus and a valuable discussion of the character of Didymus' work; but the historical bearing of the statements contained in it is not examined. Short notes accompany the text, but no full commentary is attempted. Besides the historical value of the scholia (which contain some new facts, but none of special importance, unless it be the ascription of the speech on the Epistle of Philip to Anaximenes of Lampsacus), the MS. possesses considerable textual importance, the *lemmata* being given at length. The result on the whole is conservative, the text used by Didymus agreeing generally with that of our best MSS, and especially with Σ ,

though it confirms the evidence of other papyri to the effect that a servile obedience to any one authority is unsound criticism.

Another Berlin papyrus, already published by Blass in 1882, containing part of a lexicon to the oration against Aristocrates, is reprinted in this volume, as having likewise a Didymean origin. Two specimen photographs of the Didymus MS. are appended. A complete facsimile is published separately (price 6 marks), and the text is reprinted in ordinary type as a volume in the Teubner series. The whole publication does great credit to its editors.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part IV. Edited by B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT. Pp. xii + 306. Eight Plates. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904. Price 25s.

The fourth volume of the Oxyrhynchus papyri belonging to the Egypt Exploration Fund is the most interesting (with the possible exception of the first) yet issued by these indefatigable explorers and editors. For theologians it contains another fragment of a collection of Sayings attributed to our Lord, a scrap of a non-canonical gospel, and valuable texts of considerable portions of the books of Genesis and Hebrews. For classical scholars it has the greater part of a *Παρθένειον*, probably by Pindar, addressed to Aeoladas of Thebes, with a few lines of another ode to the same person; eight columns of a new epitome of Livy (bks. 37–40 and 48–55), containing several new historical statements which need detailed examination by Roman historians; part of an argument to the *Διονυσάλεξανδρος* of Cratinus; a fragment of a history of Sicily: a further portion of the good Thucydides papyrus published in part I; and several other literary texts, known and unknown. Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt have been assisted in dealing with the classical texts by Professor Blass, Mr. Warde Fowler, Professor Kornemann, Professor Reid, and others, and in the theological section by various theologians; and the results are eminently satisfactory, and are presented (as usual) in very convenient form. The non-literary texts are less numerous than usual and have fewer points of special interest; but the literary texts are not, as is so often the case, merely tantalising scraps, but are real additions to our knowledge of classical literature.

Fouilles de Delphes. 1892–1901. Exécutées aux frais du Gouvernement français, sous la direction de M. THÉOPHILE HOMOLLE. Tome II. Topographie et Architecture. Relevés et restaurations de M. ALBERT TOURNAIRE. Tome IV. Monuments figurés—sculpture. Tome V. Monuments figurés—Petits bronzes, terres-cuites, antiquités diverses. Paris: Fontemoing, 1902–1904.

The above title gives some notion of the contents of these first instalments of the French official publication of the excavations at Delphi. In each case only the first fascicule has been issued. In the case of the Architecture this comprises sixteen out of forty promised plates; but two of these are treble and two double; among them are included the general plans and restorations of the site, and restorations of the Treasuries of the Athenians and Cnidians, of the Naxian column with its sphinx, of the Acanthus column with the three caryatids mounted on the top of it—an arrangement since doubted—and the trophy of Aemilius Paulus. The sculpture volume, which consists of fifty plates, is far more complete, and contains reproductions of almost all the more important discoveries, including the architectural sculptures from the early temple of Apollo and from the Treasuries of the Sicyonians, Athenians, and Cnidians. There are also among others photographs of one of the early Argive statues, of the famous bronze charioteer, of Agias, and the rest of the Thessalian statues dedicated with him. It is to be hoped, in view of their exceptional stylistic interest, that the other plates will include views of the head of the charioteer on a larger scale, such as that in the Monuments Piot, and of the head of Agias from the front, in addition to the profile here given. The first instalment

of the bronzes contains twelve out of a total of thirty plates; these contain for the most part early statuettes and decorative bronzes, such as gryphons' heads, and human-headed birds from bowls. No text has as yet been issued, though it is promised for the current year. This, together with the smaller illustrations which it will contain, will doubtless give the authority for the various restorations, which at present have to be taken on trust. The plates throughout are in heliogravure by Dujardin, and are of such excellence as to be fully worthy of his reputation.

Studien über das Bildniss Alexanders des Grossen. [Abhandlungen der philol.-historischen Klasse d. kön. Sachs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften xxi. 3.] By TH. SCHREIBER. Pp. x+312. 13 plates and 36 illustrations. Leipsic: Teubner. 1903. 12 m.

An elaborate analysis of the portraits of Alexander the Great. Thirty-eight presumed portraits are classified under twenty-five types. The author starts from the inscribed term from Tivoli in the Louvre, in which he sees a copy of the head of the Alexander with the lance of Lysippos. He defends the authenticity of the greater part of the inscription on the term. The head in the British Museum he regards as a portrait, in the style of the sculpture of Alexandria. Among the types identified are a young Alexander by Lysippos, an Alexander of Leochares, Alexander Helios by Chares, Alexander Zeus at Olympia, Alexander with the Aegis, Alexander as Hermes, as Ammon, and many others.

Der Weber-Laborde'sche Kopf, und die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon.
Von BRUNO SAUER. Pp. 117 and 3 plates. Berlin: Reimer. 1903.

The author attempts to define with more precision than has hitherto been possible the position of the Laborde head on the Parthenon. His investigation is based on his observation of the fact that in certain early casts of the head there is a depression across the back (now filled up on the original with plaster) which may have been made for the fitting of the head under the projecting cornice of the pediment. His ultimate result appears to be that the head belonged to a figure of Artemis, standing, and holding a torch, in the right-hand half of the East pediment, immediately adjoining the extant figure known as J. Incidentally, he lays great stress (p. 87) on his belief that the left knee is incorrectly joined to the torso J in the Elgin Room. An examination of the original would satisfy him that the correctness of the fit is indisputable. Of the remainder of the Artemis only the left hand with a part of the torch is now preserved.

Greek Sculpture. [Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.] By C. C. EDGAR. Pp. xvi+83. 32 plates. Cairo: Service des Ant. de l'Égypte. 1903. 40 f.

A catalogue of the sculptures, capable of being described as Greek, in the Museum of Cairo. The Introduction discusses the special character of Greek sculpture on Egyptian soil. Two hundred and seventeen objects are described, and one hundred and thirty-six of the most important are well illustrated in collotype plates. The collection contains little that is beautiful, but many curious instances of provincial Greek sculpture, strongly influenced by Egyptian models.

The author employs a peculiar system of numeration. The objects were numbered as met with in the recesses of the Museum. The order of arrangement of the descriptions was necessarily revised, but the numbers first assigned to the sculptures, which should have

been provisional, have been regarded as permanent. Hence the numeration follows no order, and reference must be made to a special table, in order to find the text belonging to an illustration.

Sammlung Petrowicz. Arsaciden-Münzen. Katalog. Verfasst von ALEXANDER RITTER VON PETROWICZ. Large 4to. Pp. x+206. With 25 Photographic Plates and 7 cuts in the text. Vienna. 1904.

The growing importance of the Von Petrowicz collection has long been known to those interested in the Parthian coinage. Its proprietor has now placed all such under a deep obligation by the publication of this fine catalogue. More than 1000 coins are described, and about 400 are illustrated. A considerable proportion of these are unpublished. The book is admirably printed, and the plates are good. The text, which is the work of Ritter von Petrowicz himself, has been compiled with scholarly care, and with a fullness of knowledge that makes the book a notable contribution to the literature of the subject. There is no formal introduction, but all points of difficulty are discussed at length in notes interwoven with the descriptions. The author's arrangement does not differ very materially from that proposed many years ago by Gardner. While declining to accept the reattributions recently suggested by Wroth, he is thoroughly alive to the considerations by which these reattributions were prompted. But he offers another solution of the problem. Eliminating from the Parthian coinage proper all the pieces on which the king's head looks to the right, he assigns these to the princes of the little known Arsacid dynasty that held sway in Armenia before the days of Tigranes the Great. This proposal deserves to be carefully weighed. The hypothesis is one on which evidence as to *provenance* would throw valuable light.

The title of the book suggests that it is only a first instalment. Is it too much to hope that Ritter von Petrowicz will also publish his rich collection of Seleucidae?

Les Monnaies Antiques de l'Italie. Tome I. Fasc. II. (Ombrie, Picenum, Latium Adjectum, Samnium, Frentaniens, Guerre Sociale, Campanie (Cumes)). By ARTHUR SAMBON. Pp. 80. With 78 cuts in the text and a Photographic Plate. Paris: Bureaux du Musée, 1904. 5 f.

The second instalment of Mr. Sambon's *Corpus* has appeared with most commendable promptitude. The omission of any detailed description or discussion of the *aes grave* enables this part of the ground to be covered very rapidly. From the point of view of the general reader, the account of the coinage of the Social War will furnish the chief interest: it is the fullest treatment of the subject that has yet been attempted. The section dealing with Cumae is probably the most important for the numismatist, attention being well drawn to the influence of Syracusan and Neapolitan types. Sambon, by the way, does not accept the current view that the issues of Cumae came to an end *circa* 420 B.C. One may also note his theory as to the significance of Σ on the coins of Aesernia, Neapolis, Suessa, and Compulteria.

Cyrenaika als Gebiet Künftiger Besiedelung. By Dr. G. HILDEBRAND. Pp. xv+384. 4 maps. Bonn: Carl Georgi. 1904.

The sub-title of this treatise, to which Dr. Th. Fischer supplies a preface, does not promise much consideration of the past; but in reality, since the conditions favourable to future colonisation are those which attracted the first colonists, there is a good deal of reference to Hellenic antiquity. The author, after defining what he means by 'Cyrenaika'—i.e.

something more than either the highland of Barea or the territory of ancient Cyrene—goes on to show how favourably all the Libyan projection between the Syrtis and the Gulf of Sollum is situated in respect of the East Mediterranean basin, and how happily endowed. Consideration of the permanent geographical conditions leads to the conclusion that the Cyrenaika must look to the north, not the south; but that it cannot expect to rival in importance either the Nile valley, or the Tripolitan-Tunisian region. In this latter fact lies the secret of the early decline of the great Greek colony which once flourished on its highest plateau. The antiquities of the district are not the author's concern, and he attempts no description of ancient sites, although he has to take account of ancient harbours. He has not himself visited the Cyrenaika, but he supplies a list both of those who have, and of those who have written about it, which would have been the better for a principle of classification.

Kleinasien, Ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte. By JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI. Pp. vii + 245. Illustrated. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1903.

This book owes its origin, like Mr. Anderson's *Studia Pontica*, to international co-operation. At the outset is placed an English chapter by Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, formerly of the British School at Athens, dealing with Binbirkilisse, the well known site, south of Iconium, which Prof. Ramsay and others identify doubtfully with *Bavata*. Here, as the modern name implies, are numerous remains of Byzantine churches. To Mr. Crowfoot's study of these Prof. Strzygowski adds chapters on four types of early church to be seen in Asia Minor: (1) the Basilica proper; (2) the Octagon; (3) the Basilica with cupola, such as the great church at Kaja Kalessi, described by Mr. Headlam in a Supplementary Paper of this *Journal*; (4) the Cruciform church with cupola. Thereafter he deals with the dates of the various types; and finally has a chapter on the significance of Asia Minor in the history of art, as lying between, and sharing characteristics of the East, Hellas, Rome, and Byzantium. The section of this last chapter which deals with the development of western art out of Byzantine is the least satisfactory in the book. Prof. Strzygowski seems more at home among purely architectural questions. The volume brings together much scattered material upon the late Roman and Byzantine antiquities of Asia Minor, and should inspire future explorers to verify its facts and search for new ones. No one ought to enter the country without at least having read Prof. Strzygowski's book—nor indeed without having it actually in his luggage, if the Ottoman custom authorities will allow it to pass.

The Nearer East. By D. G. HOGARTH. [Regions of the World Series.] Pp. xv + 296. London: Heinemann. 1902.

This volume in the 'Regions of the World Series' includes, of course, the home of the Hellenic race and pretty nearly all the area of its ultimate distribution. The limits set by the author to the *Nearer East* are, on the north the line of the Balkan, Black Sea south shore, Caucasus, and Caspian south shore: on the south the point where the Nile ceases to be uninterruptedly navigable, i.e. the First Cataract, and the southern coast of Arabia: on the west, the Adriatic: and on the east the central desert of Persia. The first part of the book is taken up mainly with an attempt to envisage this region as on a relief map; but the result is much less clear and useful than an actual map would be. Then follow a slight chapter on Structure and a fuller one on Climates; and finally there is one on Physical Circumstance, which purports to show the constant geographical and scenic features which affect human life in the particular region. This chapter and that on Communications in Part II. have the most bearing on the ancient history of the Nearer East. The larger portion of Part II. is concerned with the modern distribution, grouping, and

life of man in the region. An ingenious, if not quite convincing, attempt to trace the characteristics of the inhabitants of particular areas to their food and other products, may be recommended to students of antiquity; for these products are still in the main what they formerly were. The author, who has had as much experience of the antiquities as of the modern features of the Nearer East, keeps his eye constantly on the past while describing the present.

The second part of the book however is the only one really readable. Most of the first part will be superseded by a good relief map of the region

Inscriptiones Graecae. Vol. xii. Fasc. iii. Supplementum. Ed. F. HILLER DE GAERTRINGEN. Pp. 269—356. Berlin: Reimer. 1904. 11 m.

This supplement contains additions to the inscriptions from Syme, Telos, Nisyros, Astypalaea, Anaphe, Thera and Therasia, Pholegandros, Melos and Cimelos, as well as one (a dedication to Zeus) from Seutlussa or Teutlussa, which has not hitherto produced any epigraphic remains. Among the numerous excellent illustrations, which now make these volumes so much more trustworthy than the old *Corpus*, those showing the disposition of the inscriptions in the temenos of Artemidorus of Perga in Thera are most noteworthy. There are the usual full indices, including three (grammatical and orthographical peculiarities, authors, and concordances with *C.I.G.* and other publications) which cover the whole volume.

Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt Inschriften. Herausg. von H. COLLITZ u. F. BECHTEL. III. Bd., 2 Hälften, 3 Heft. Die kretischen Inschriften. Bearb. von F. BLASS. Pp. 227—423. Göttingen. 1904. 6 m. 40.

This part of the invaluable '*G.D.I.*' contains more than 250 inscriptions in Cretan dialect from more than 30 sites both in and out of Crete. There is the usual full bibliography and commentary; in the former, however, some omissions are noticeable. Thus, on the famous Gortyna inscription (4991) the *Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques* of Dareste, Haussoullier, and Th. Reinach is not referred to; on No. 5011, Halbherr's and Svoronos' articles in the *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 1897 and *Journ. Internat.* 1898 should have been mentioned; and a reference to Conway's elaborate study of the pre-Hellenic inscriptions of Praesus in *B.S.A.* viii. should have appeared on p. 363.

Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen. By W. SCHULZE. Berlin: 1904. 40 mks.

This large volume of more than 600 pages is chiefly devoted to a study of the origin of gentile names among the Italian peoples. The main theory of the author is that the great majority of these were slightly differentiated praenomina, lengthened by patronymic, diminutive and other suffixes, or after the models of the names prevalent in neighbouring tribes.

The praenomen, he points out, is important in proportion to the importance of the individual at the time. At Rome the family stood first, and the family name always tended to overshadow that which distinguished the members of a family from one another. Official and legal documents indeed refer to a Roman citizen by his praenomen conjoined with one of the other nomina down to the close of the Republic, but this was rather the survival of ancient custom, and of the total number of Roman citizens mentioned by Tacitus two-thirds are described only by nomen, cognomen, or both. Later in the Empire

members of the same family frequently received the same praenomen, and were distinguished only by different cognomina, these having now ceased to be hereditary. The first section of the book is devoted to the various changes undergone in the case of Italian names among neighbouring Celtic, Illyrian, Venetian, and other tribes, and the ways in which these influences reacted on the nomenclature of the peninsula itself. The most striking uses referred to are the Gallic suffixes of -acus, -iacus, and the patronymic -ius; the Illyrian -ocus and -avus, and the Belgian or N. German -inius. From the adjective -iniacus formed from this last are derived modern place names in -nich like Gürznich (Curtiniacus). The second and much the longest section is devoted to a study of Etruscan nomenclature. Although the author admits that the bulk of Etruscan names were probably borrowed from the praenomina of Latin tribes he attributes several peculiarities of Roman custom in this respect to the influence of Etruscan innovations. Thus the Etruscans seldom accurately differentiated the nomen and cognomen, both being often derived from the individual name, and representing the family name of the two parents, according to the present Spanish custom. To the influence of this survival of matriarchy Mr. Schulze is inclined to impute the hereditary nature of Roman cognomina. To Etruscan influences are ascribed endings in -na; -o; many in -torius which cannot well be referred to nouns in -tor expressing the agent, and have many analogous Etruscan forms in -turi or -thru; and several aspirated names like Thalna, Gracchus, Cethegus. In Etruria too cognomina often usurp the place of the gentile name, having become earlier prevalent than in Rome, where they were not officially recognized before the age of Sulla.

The third section discusses the various suffixes used among the Latins themselves, the names derived from the titles of divinities and the prevalence of praenomina and cognomina at different periods, especially among slaves and freedmen. It is throughout insisted that the later names were at first adjectival extensions of the praenomen, as indicated by Greek translations like Δεύκιον τὸν Αἰμιλίου.

The last section is devoted to Italian place names.

This valuable work includes great masses of material and most careful references, chiefly epigraphic. Its usefulness to the student might be enhanced if a full analysis were placed at the head of each sub-section, and some of the long catalogues, which frequently interrupt the argument, were relegated to appendices.

The following may also be noted:—

- S. EITREM, *Die Phaiakenepisode in der Odyssee*. Christiania. 1904. Pp. 35. (An attempt to distribute *Od.* v.-viii. into the separate narratives of which, according to the writer, it was originally composed. It is not maintained, however, that it is possible to show the precise points of junction.)
- P. MAZON, *Essai sur la composition des comédies d'Aristophane*. Paris, 1904. Pp. 181. (An analysis of the structure of each play, in order to deduce therefrom the standard type of an Aristophanic comedy, which suggests conclusions as to the origin of this class of literature.)
- P. MAZON, *Aristophane, La Paix*. Paris, 1904. Pp. 119. (The text is based solely upon V and R, with a preference for the former; the commentary is upon a moderate scale, and gives the editor's views without mentioning rival interpretations.)

For other works received, see list of additions to the Library.

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III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 22 ALBEMARLE STREET.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Hon. Librarian and Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Hon. Librarian, Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M. (Saturdays, 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation from July 20 to August 31 (inclusive).

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified the Librarian may reclaim it.

All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

- (6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.
- (4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

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MR. TALFOURD ELY.

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MRS. S. ARTHUR STRONG, LL.D.

Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the *Librarian* (Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre), at 22 Albemarle Street, W.

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 + **Edinburgh**, The Advocates' Library.
 .. The Sellar and Goodhart Library, *University, Edinburgh*.
Holloway, The Royal Holloway College. *Egham, Surrey*.
Eton, The Boys' Library, Eton College, *Windsor*.
Glasgow, The University Library.
Harrow, The School Library. *Harrow, N.W.*
Hull, The Hull Public Libraries.
Leeds, The Leeds Library, *Commercial Street, Leeds*.
 .. The Public Library.
Liverpool, The Free Library.
London, The Society of Antiquaries. *Burlington House, W.*
 .. The Athenaeum Club. *Pall Mall, S.W.*
 + .. The British Museum. *W.C.*
 .. The Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. *British Museum, W.C.*
 .. The Burlington Fine Arts Club. *Savile Row, W.*
 .. The Chelsea Public Library. *Manresa Road, Chelsea, S.W.*
 .. The Foreign Architectural Book Society, 26. *Bedford Square, W.C.* R. Selden Wornum, Esq.).
 .. The London Library. *St. James's Square, S.W.*
 .. The Oxford and Cambridge Club, c/o Messrs. Harrison and Sons, 59, *Pall Mall, W.*
 .. The Reform Club. *Pall Mall, S.W.*
 .. The Royal Institution. *Albemarle Street, W.*
 .. The Sion College Library. *Victoria Embankment, E.C.*
 .. The Library of St. Paul's School, *West Kensington, W.*
 .. The Library, *Westminster School, S.W.*
Manchester, The Chetham's Library, *Hunts Bank, Manchester*.
 .. The Grammar School.
 .. The John Rylands Library.
 .. The Owens College.
 .. The Whitworth Institute.

- Oxford**, The Library of All Souls College.
 + „ The Bodleian Library.
 „ The Library of Christ Church.
 „ The Junior Library, Corpus Christi College.
 „ The Library of Exeter College.
 „ The Library of Lincoln College.
 „ The Library of New College.
 „ The Library of Oriel College.
 „ The Library of Queen's College.
 „ The Library of St. John's College.
 „ The Library of Trinity College.
 „ The University Galleries.
 „ The Union Society.
 „ The Library of Worcester College.
St. Andrews, The University Library, *St. Andrews N.B.*

COLONIAL.

- Adelaide**, The University Library, *Adelaide, S. Australia.*
Christchurch, The Library of Canterbury College, *Christchurch, N.Z.*
Melbourne, The Public Library, *Melbourne, Victoria* (c/o Messrs. Melville, Mullen and Co.).
Sydney, The Public Library, *Sydney, New South Wales.*
Toronto, The University Library, *Toronto.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

- Albany**, The New York State Library, *Albany, New York, U.S.A.*
Allegheny, The Carnegie Free Library, *Allegheny, Pa., U.S.A.*
Amherst, The Amherst College Library, *Amherst, Mass., U.S.A.*
Berkeley, The University Library, *Berkeley, California, U.S.A.*
Baltimore, The Enoch Pratt Library, *Baltimore, U.S.A.*
 „ The Johns Hopkins Library, *Baltimore, U.S.A.*
 „ The Peabody Institute, *Baltimore, U.S.A.*
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Boston, U.S.A.*
 „ The Public Library, *Boston, U.S.A.*
Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, *Brooklyn, U.S.A.*
Brunswick, The Bowdoin College Library, *Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.*
Bryn Mawr, The Bryn Mawr College Library, *Bryn Mawr, Pa., U.S.A.*
Chicago, The Lewis Institute. *Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.*
 „ The University of Chicago Press, *Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.*
Cincinnati, The Public Library, *Cincinnati, U.S.A.*
 „ The University Library, *Cincinnati, U.S.A.*
Clinton, The Hamilton College Library, *Clinton, New York, U.S.A.*
Colorado, The University of Colorado, *Colorado, U.S.A.*
Detroit, The Public Library, *Detroit, U.S.A.*
Emmitsburg, The Library of St. Mary's College, *Emmitsburg, Maryland, U.S.A.*
Hanover, The Dartmouth College Library, *Hanover, U.S.A.*
Harvard, The Harvard College Library, *Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
Illinois, The Library of the University of Illinois, *Urbana, Illinois, U.S.A.*
Iowa, The State University of Iowa, *Iowa, U.S.A.*
Ithaca, The Cornell University Library, *Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.*
Jersey City, The Free Public Library, *Jersey City, New Jersey, U.S.A.*
Kansas, The University of Kansas, *Lawrence, U.S.A.*
Los Angeles, The Public Library, *Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.*
Lowell, The City Library, *Lowell, Mass. U.S.A.*
Missouri, The University Library of State of Missouri, *Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A.*
Mount Holyoake, The Mount Holyoake College, *South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.*
New York, The Library of the College of the City of New York, *New York, U.S.A.*
 „ The Library of Columbia University, *New York, U.S.A.*

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *New York, U.S.A.*
 „ The Public Library, *New York, U.S.A.*
Philadelphia, The Library Company, *Philadelphia, U.S.A.*
 „ The Library of the University of Pennsylvania, *Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*
Pittsburg, The Carnegie Library, *Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A.*
Poughkeepsie, The Vassar Library, *Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A.*
Rhode Island, The Brown University, *Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.*
Stanford, The Stanford University Library, *California, U.S.A.*
Syracuse, The University Library, *Syracuse, New York, U.S.A.*
Washington, The Library of Congress, *Washington, U.S.A.*
Williamstown, The Williams College Library, *Williamstown, Mass., U.S.A.*
Worcester, The Free Library, *Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.*
Yale, The Library of Yale College, *Newhaven, U.S.A.*

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Budapest, Antikencabinet des Ungar. National-Museums, *Budapest, Hungary.*
Prague, Archäolog.-epigraphisches Seminar, *Universität, Prag, Bohemia* Dr. Wilhelm Klein).
 „ Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Prag, Bohemia.*

FRANCE.

Lille, La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Lille, 3, *Rue Jean Bart, Lille.*
Lyon, La Bibliothèque Universitaire, *Palais St. Pierre, Lyon.*
Nancy, l'Institut d'Archéologie, l'Université, *Nancy.*
Paris, La Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, *Paris.*
 „ La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris, *Paris.*
 „ La Bibliothèque des Musées Nationaux, *Musées du Louvre, Paris.*
 „ La Bibliothèque Nationale, *Rue de Richelieu, Paris.*
 „ La Bibliothèque de l'École Normale Supérieure, 45, *Rue d'Ulm, Paris.*
Rennes, La Bibliothèque de l'Université, *Rennes.*

GERMANY.

Berlin, Königliche Bibliothek, *Berlin.*
 „ Bibliothek der Königlichen Museen, *Berlin.*
Breslau, Königliche und Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Breslau.*
Dresden, Königliche Skulpturensammlung, *Dresden.*
Erlangen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Erlangen.*
Freiburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Freiburg i. Br. Baden* Prof. Steup).
Giessen, Philologisches Seminar, *Giessen.*
Göttingen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Göttingen.*
Greifswald, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Greifswald.*
Halle, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Halle.*
Heidelberg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Heidelberg.*
Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Jena.*
Kiel, Münz- und Kunstsammlung der Universität, *Kiel.*
Königsberg, Königl. und Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Königsberg.*
Marburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Marburg.*
Münster, Königliche Paulinische Bibliothek, *Münster i. W.*
Munich, Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, *München.*
Strassburg, Kunstarchäolog. Institut der Universität, *Strassburg* (Prof. Michaelis).
 „ Universitäts- und Landes-Bibliothek, *Strassburg.*
Tübingen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, *Tübingen, Württemberg.*
Würzburg, Kunstgeschichtliches Museum der Universität, *Würzburg, Bavaria.*

GREECE.

Athens, The American School of Classical Studies, *Athens.*

ITALY.

Rome, The American School of Classical Studies, 5, *Via Vicenza, Rome*
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, *Torino, Italy*.

NORWAY.

Christiania, Universitets-Bibliothek, *Christiania, Norway*.

SWEDEN.

Stockholm, Kongl. Biblioteket, *Stockholm, Sweden*.

SWITZERLAND.

Freiburg, Universitäts- Bibliothek, *Freiburg, Switzerland*.

Lausanne, L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, *Rue Valentin 44, Lausanne*
 (Dr. H. Meylan-Faure).

Winterthur, La Bibliothèque Publique, *Winterthur, Switzerland*. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.

† Libraries claiming copies under the Copyright Act.

LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE
 JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

American Journal of Archæology (Miss Mary H. Buckingham, *Wellesley Hills, Mass., U.S.A.*).

Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 14, *Rue des Ursulines, Bruxelles*.

Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo*.

Annual of the British School at *Athens*.

Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (B. G. Teubner, *Leipzig*).

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).

Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).

Ephemeris Archaeologica, *Athens*.

Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. Archæol. Instituts, Corneliusstrasse No. 2, II., *Berlin*.

Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archæologischen Institutes, Turkenstrasse, 4, *Vienna*.

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, *Hanover Square*.

Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*

Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Svoronos, Musée National, *Athens*).

Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, published by the French School at *Rome*.

Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archæol. Instituts, *Athens*.

Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archæol. Instituts, *Rome*.

Mnemosyne (ed. Mr. E. J. Brill, *Leiden, Holland*).

Neue Jahrbücher (ed. Dr. J. Ilberg), *Waldstrasse 56, Leipzig*.

Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street*.

Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum (ed. Dietrich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, *Gottingen*).

Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society, *Athens*.

Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllagos, *Constantinople*.

Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.

Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45, *Rue d'Ulm*).

Revue des Études Grecques, Publication Trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.

Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society and Journal of Philology.

SESSION 1903-1904.

THE First General Meeting was held on November 3rd, when Mr. E. Norman Gardiner read a paper which was illustrated by lantern slides on 'Athletic Scenes in Greek Art representing the Armed Race,' the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford being in the chair. This interesting paper was practically a section of Mr. Gardiner's longer article, 'Notes on the Greek Footrace' which appeared subsequently in the *Journal (J.H.S. xxiii. p. 261)*. Among the points brought out were the concurrence of the vase paintings with the evidence furnished by the excavations at Olympia, Delphi, and Epidaurus; the methods of starting and turning; and the semi-humorous character of the armed footrace at lesser local festivals. In the discussion which followed the paper, Professor Percy Gardner, Professor Ernest Gardner, and the lecturer took part.

A special General Meeting was held at Burlington House on November 24th, 1904, when Dr. Evans gave an account of his most recent excavations in Crete. Professor Butler occupied the chair, and Dr. Evans lectured to a large and interested audience.

As the result of the last season's excavations we are now able not only to recognise an earlier and a later Palace at Knossos, but to distinguish successive periods in the development of each. Taking the earlier Palace first, over the twenty-five feet of neolithic deposits lies a stratum belonging to an early civilisation, over which in their turn have been found traces of a far more highly developed mode of life showing points of contact with the twelfth dynasty of Egypt and belonging to the middle of the third millennium before our era. The magnificent polychrome vases of the 'Middle Minoan' period belong to this epoch.

Of the later Palace the most recent elements may be dated approximately at 1500 B.C., but a remarkable series of discoveries has shown that approximately three hundred years before this date, and probably at the time of some great disturbance within the Palace, portions of certain

magazines and a whole series of stone receptacles with their contents had been purposely closed by building paved floors above them.

Several of these repositories belonging to this penultimate Period contained quantities of gold-foil and remains of cypress wood chests that had been inlaid with plaques of crystal and faience and doubtless once contained treasure. The two most spacious and important of these repositories were filled with relics of a sanctuary including faience figures of a Snake Goddess and Votaries, exquisite inlays and reliefs of the same material, tablets showing a new intermediate form of script and clay sealings that had belonged to priestly documents now perished. It was remarkable that several of these bore religious symbols in the shape either of a plain cross or of a Crux gammata or 'Swastika.' But the great surprise of the excavation was the discovery of what seems to have been the central object of cult in the shape of a marble cross of orthodox Greek shape. Dr. Evans referred to other pre-Christian survivals of this symbol which seemed to fit on to this Minoan Cult. In the same way the Minoan idea of the dove as divine intermediary had also showed itself very persistent. These remains belonged to what appeared to have been an extensive sanctuary in the West Wing of the Palace including the pillars incised with the double axes. It was becoming more and more probable that the early rulers of Knossos were Priest Kings like those of Anatolia, —a conclusion altogether in harmony with the tradition that made Minos the Cretan Moses and 'companion' of Zeus.

Other interesting finds of the last season were passed in review. The theatre brought to light near the N.W. angle of the Palace might actually represent the traditional Choros of Ariadne, indeed a wall painting from a neighbouring part of the Palace showed brilliantly attired women dancing in a walled enclosure.

A *dépendance* of the Palace on the N.E., also recently excavated, showed a marvellously preserved royal Villa with flights of stairs and remains of upper storeys, the principal hall of which afforded an extraordinary anticipation of the later basilica.

The Second General Meeting was held on February 23rd, the Provost of Oriel in the chair.

Dr. L. R. Farnell read a paper on the early Apolline cults of Lycia and Attica, and the light which they throw on questions of ethnography. He began by explaining that the only derivation of the epithet *Λύκειος* possible on etymological grounds was its formation from *λύκος*, a wolf. Descending from the north, the worship of the wolf-god reached Attica and the Peloponnesus, whence in very early times (before the fourteenth century B.C., if the *Ruka* of Rameses II. are Hellenic Lykioi) Hellenic settlers following a route, which included both Crete and Rhodes, landed in S.W. Asia Minor. They brought with them the worship of the wolf-god; they called the temenos of his temple *ἡ Λυκεία*, and themselves and their

territory *Λύκιοι* and *Λυκία*. In the second portion of his paper, Dr. Farnell discussed the early Attic cults of Apollo. Although in Athens in later times the worship of Apollo Patroos became the test of political enfranchisement, Apollo was not a primitive Attic deity. His worship was an Ionian importation reaching Attica through the instrumentality of the Ionians of the Tetrapolis, who, probably in Mycenaean times, had colonised Delos and later won predominance in Athens.

In the discussion which followed Professor E. A. Gardner, Sir Henry Howorth, Mr. A. G. Bather, and Mr. G. F. Hill, took part.

Before the meeting terminated Mr. A. H. Smith exhibited lantern slides of the Hermes after Alcamenes recently discovered by the German excavators at Pergamon. A short discussion followed on the effect which this discovery must have on our ideas of the style of Alcamenes.

The Third General Meeting was held on May 3rd, Mr. Talfourd Ely in the chair.

Professor W. Ridgeway read a paper on the origin of the Greek drama, in which he combated successively most of the accepted beliefs that have grown up round this perennially interesting topic. He first deprecated the idea that the drama was originally a Dorian institution. On linguistic grounds there was nothing essentially Doric in the choruses of the Attic drama, and it was, he contended, unlikely that the Athenians would borrow for sacred purposes the dialect of a people whom they would not allow to worship in their temples. His next point was that scholars were in error in attributing the origin of the drama to the worship of Dionysus, who was, he demonstrated, somewhat of a *parvenu* in Attic religious belief. The dances associated with his cult belonged to the Pangaeian district in Thrace, but in Greece proper, long before his southward journey, there were mimetic dances, particularly at Sicyon and Tegea, held not in worship of Dionysus, but in honour of the dead. In this connection, Professor Ridgeway maintained that the *θυμέλη* was not, as generally believed, the altar of Dionysus, but the funeral mound of the illustrious dead. The only drama proper to Dionysus was the Satyric, which arose when in later times there was superadded to a trilogy in honour of a dead hero a drama connected with the worship of Dionysus, in which his fellow countrymen and votaries the Satyri formed the chorus.

In conclusion, Professor Ridgeway justified the famous Horatian line on Thespis by the theory that the poet was implying the detachment of what had been hitherto a local religious usage from its particular shrine and its adoption into a great form of literature, which became henceforward independent of local association and capable of representation anywhere.

In the subsequent discussion, Professor Ernest Gardner, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Sir Henry Howorth took part. Professor Ridgeway in his reply admitted the part played by the worship of Dionysus in the

development of the drama, but pointed out that his paper was mainly concerned with its origin.

The Annual Meeting was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 28th, 1904, the President, Sir Richard Jebb, M.P., occupying the chair.

The Hon. Secretary (Mr. George Macmillan) read the following report on behalf of the Council :—

The progress of the Society during the past year has been good in all departments, though not specially eventful.

Four General Meetings have been held, and have been well attended. In November Dr. Arthur Evans gave an account, illustrated by lantern slides, of his last season's work at Knossos. In January Professor W. M. Ramsay laid before the Society a new scheme of exploration in Asia Minor. In February Dr. L. R. Farnell read a paper on some local cults in Attica, and in May Professor Ridgeway read a paper on 'The Origin of Greek Tragedy,' which aroused great interest, and led to a good discussion.

A further grant of £100 has been made to the Cretan Exploration Fund. Dr. Evans has continued his work at Knossos, and has opened a series of tombs with interesting contents, and among them one of such importance as seems to justify a royal attribution. He has more recently come on a new range of buildings, attached to the Palace, which, from their contents, he believes to have been the magazines of the arsenal. Together with inscribed tablets related to the store of weapons, he has found a collection of the arrow-heads to which the tablets refer. At Palaikastro, where the excavations of the British School at Athens are also assisted by the Cretan Exploration Fund, have been found parts of a Doric inscription with a ritual hymn to Zeus, which seems to locate the sanctuary to the Dictæan Zeus at this spot. More fine pottery has been found, and also two ivory statuettes of exquisite workmanship. The British School has also been continuing its former excavations at Praesos where sufficient architectural fragments have been found to suggest the restoration of the temple; and also an incomplete Eteocretan inscription. Other members of the School have been exploring in Laconia and Messenia, and in Melos, while Mr. Wace has catalogued the sculptures and Mr. Tod the inscriptions in the Museum at Sparta.

It was announced in the course of the year that a Joint Committee was being formed for establishing at Athens a memorial of the late Mr. Penrose. The Committee was to consist of representatives of the British School at Athens, and the Royal Institute of British Architects, and other leading scholars, English and foreign. Lady Evans and the Hon. Sec. were appointed to represent the Society on this Committee. It was ultimately decided to build a new Library, to bear Mr. Penrose's name, for the School at Athens, and the work is now in progress.

The Council have been occupied with the arrangements for the celebration of the 25th Anniversary of the foundation of the Society, which is to take place on July 5. Unfortunately, only a few of the foreign Honorary Members will be able to attend, but it is hoped that the attendance of ordinary members will be sufficient to mark the importance of the occasion. The Council decided, in connection with the celebration, to raise the number of foreign Honorary Members to forty, which will henceforth be regarded as the limit, and the following have been appointed to make up the number—

Professor Maxime Collignon, Professor Hermann Diels, Professor Theodor Gomperz, Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, Professor W. W. Goodwin, Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer, Professor Georg Loeschcke, Signor Paolo Orsi, M. Georges Perrot, Professor Karl Robert, M. Valerios Stais, M. Ch. Tsountas, M. Henri Weil, Professor John Williams White, Professor T. D. Seymour.

A diploma for presentation to Honorary Members has been designed by a special Committee.

In the early part of 1904 Mr. Baker-Penoyre, the Librarian of the Society, who also holds the post of Secretary to the British Schools at Athens and Rome, being free of other engagements, offered his entire services to the three bodies. It has for some time past been felt by the Hon. Sec., Mr. Macmillan, that with the increasing pressure of other engagements, he could not much longer fulfil all the duties of the post. It did not seem likely that any other member could be found to take his place, and the Council have therefore decided, after full consideration, to nominate Mr. Baker-Penoyre as Secretary to the Society at a salary of £80 a year, in addition to the £60 a year which he was already receiving as Librarian. It is believed that in his new capacity Mr. Penoyre will be able to render very important service to the Society, and his appointment, which members are to-day invited to confirm, will enable Mr. Macmillan to retain his post as Hon. Secretary, while relieving him of its more arduous obligations. In order to meet the additional charge upon the Society's resources, it is proposed that as from January 1, 1905, the entrance fee shall be raised from one guinea to two guineas. Considering all the privileges now offered to members in the extension of the library, and of the photographic collection, and in view of the increasing demands made upon the Society for assistance in all fields of archaeological research, the additional entrance fee seems to be justified in any case, and the Council therefore trust that members will ratify their proposal.

The Council record, with regret, the death, last autumn, of Mr. William Riseley, who had faithfully filled the office of Assistant Secretary to the Society since 1880, and showed a constant devotion to its interests, which was heartily appreciated by members. Mr. Riseley had also assisted successive Hon. Treasurers with the accounts of the Society. On his

death it was thought best to divide his work, and Mr. George Garnett was appointed Assistant Treasurer, while for a time the post of Assistant Secretary was filled by Mr. Samuel Ludbrook. Now, however, that it is proposed to appoint Mr. Baker-Penoyre paid Secretary to the Society Mr. Ludbrook's appointment comes to an end.

The volume on the Excavations of the British School at Athens, at Phylakopi, in the island of Melos, to which allusion has been made in previous Reports, has now been issued at the price of 20s. to members, and 30s. to the general public. The cost of the publication—about £450—is considerably more than was anticipated, but its archæological importance cannot be doubted, and it is hoped that enough copies will be sold to members and others to ensure the Society against actual loss. The Council trust that members will realise the importance of standing by the Society in this undertaking in order to encourage similar enterprises in the future. The publication of the results of excavations is at least as helpful to archæological research as the excavations themselves, and yet the Society is not in a position to undertake it entirely out of its ordinary revenue, and must therefore rely upon the willingness of its members to assist by purchasing such extra volumes at cost price.

The same remark applies to such enterprises as the issue of the facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes, undertaken at the joint cost of the Society and of the Archæological Institute of America. About 140 copies have now been disposed of, but there is still a deficit of about £220, and it is hoped that in the coming year this may be made good by a further sale of copies to members and libraries.

The unexpected though welcome increase in the membership of the Society last year has exhausted the stock of Volume XXIII of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Much as they regretted the additional expenditure at a time when the resources of the Society have been somewhat heavily taxed, the Council felt that they had no alternative but to reprint a hundred copies at a cost of about £120. Not only were some 25 copies due to members, but the inability to supply complete sets would have discouraged new libraries from subscribing and materially diminished the value of the existing stock. With Volume XXIV, 1250 copies of the *Journal* will be printed instead of 1100 as heretofore.

Finance.

The Cash Account submitted to the meeting shows the money's actually received and expended during the financial year. Thus ordinary receipts during the year were £1350, against £1079 during the financial year 1902-3. The receipts from subscriptions, including arrears, amount to £872 against £659, and the receipts from libraries £147 against £202, Entrance fees to the value of £99 have been received, Life Subscriptions

amounting to £126, and for lantern slides and photographs £58 have also been received.

The ordinary expenditure for the year, including grants, amounts to £1217. Payments for rent and insurance stand as before. Salaries have risen from £68 to £88. Sundry printing, postage, and stationery show an increase of £50—£125 against £72. The cost of purchases for the Library amounts to £50 as against £89, but there is an additional item of £55 for printing the Catalogue. The lantern slides and photographs account shows £53 against £35. The net cost of the *Journal* Vol. XXIII amounts to £511 against £454. The usual grants of £100 and of £25 have been made respectively to the British Schools at Athens and Rome, and as already stated £100 to the Cretan Exploration Fund.

Outside the ordinary expenditure, further sums of £53 and of £61 have been paid respectively for the publication of the volume on Phylakopi and of the Aristophanes Facsimile. In the case of the Aristophanes the greater part of this outlay has arisen from the purchase of certain books which formed part of the consideration named by the authorities of the Marcian Library at Venice for permission to reproduce the MS. In regard to the 'Excavations at Phylakopi,' it should be added that the printing, paper, binding, and other incidental expenses, amounting to about £250, though recorded in the separate account, have not yet been met. On the other hand about £134 have been recovered by the sale of this volume to members and others, and £31 have been received during the year from further sales of the Aristophanes Facsimile. The balance at the Bank on May 31 was £243 19s., and the petty cash in hand was £16 os. 5d.

The Council desire to call attention to the manner of presenting the accounts. It has been the custom hitherto to charge the accounts of each financial year (ending May 31) with the cost of the two numbers of the *Journal* issued in the spring and autumn of the preceding year. No account has been taken of the cost of the number issued in the current spring, nothing having been paid on it, though the liability has been incurred. In the same way other outstanding liabilities have not appeared in the accounts.

The Council are not entirely satisfied with this arrangement. They think that a more satisfactory plan would be to debit the financial year with the cost (paid or incurred) of the two numbers of the *Journal* actually issued in it, and so with all other charges paid or incurred during the year.

If this change is to be made, it will involve charging in the first year against the accumulated funds of the Society the number of the *Journal* hitherto in arrear. At the same time it will be necessary to credit the succeeding financial year, through a suspense account, with the unexpired portion (seven-twelfths) of the subscriptions, payable in the

preceding January. Such a dealing with the accounts will render possible the presentation of a proper Balance Sheet, showing the position of the Society on May 31 in each year. The Council propose to make the change next year, but do not wish to do it without giving previous notice.

They have, however, for their own information had accounts drawn up in the proposed form for the current year. After allowing for the third number of the Journal, and other outstanding liabilities, as explained above, and making a low valuation of stock of publications on hand, the Library, and other assets, the Society shows a surplus on May 31, 1904, of £1910 17s. 11d.

The Library.

The Library records shew that 338 visits were paid to the Library in the course of the year, as against 250 for the year 1902-3, and 343 for the year 1901-2. In addition to books consulted in the Library, 311 volumes were borrowed, the figures for the preceding years being 211 and 247. This large increase of books borrowed is the satisfactory result of the issue of the Library Catalogue in print. Accessions to the Catalogue are now regularly printed in supplementary pages of the *Journal*.

141 works (157 volumes) have been added to the Library. Among accessions of special interest or importance are:—

Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque dans la Grèce*; Dorpfeld (W.), *Troja und Ilion*; Furtwängler (A.), *Die Antiken Gemmen*; Homolle (T.), *Fouilles de Delphes*; the Society's publication of the excavations of the British School at Athens at Phylakopi; and a quantity of monographs belonging to the late Dr. Murray, the generous and valued donation of Mrs. Murray.

The following periodicals have been added to the Library:—

Annales du service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (with the *Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes*); *Archiv für Religions-Wissenschaft*, *Gazette Archéologique*, and the publications of the New Palaeographical Society.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Committee of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, and the Trustees of the British Museum for the gift of books to the Library. The following authors have presented copies of their works:—Mrs. Burton Brown, Dr. R. Caton, Mr. J. M. Edmonds, Dr. E. Freshfield, Professor A. Furtwängler, Mr. G. F. Hill, M. A. Sambon, Mr. R. Phené Spiers, and Mr. John Ward. Miscellaneous donations of books have been received from Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. A. P. Whately, the Hon. Secretary, the Hon. Librarian, and the Librarian.

The following publishers have presented books:—Messrs. Bertelsmann, Kohlhammer, Macmillan, Methuen, Weidmann.

While it is gratifying to record copious accessions to the Library, the plan adopted by the Librarian of keeping the books in subject order on shelves correspondingly labelled becomes, for reasons of space, increasingly difficult to follow, but the question of the accommodation of books in the Society's all too limited premises in Albemarle Street has the serious attention of the Council.

The Collections of Negatives, Photographs, and Slides.

The plan set forth in the last report, by which numbered photographic prints of uniform size, corresponding to the 6,000 negatives now in the Society's possession, are rendered easy of access in the Library, has been carried out with satisfactory results. This collection forms the basis of all the Society's work in this department, and by its means 465 photographic enlargements and 512 lantern slides were sold to members, and the large number of 1,224 slides lent during the course of the year. About 600 negatives and prints have been added to the collection, with a proportionate increase in the collection of slides. Expression was given in last year's Report to the need of a single and comprehensive catalogue, on a scientific plan, of all the slides in the Society's possession, including the valuable pre-Hellenic material collected and arranged by Mr. J. L. Myres, the hon. Keeper of the Collections, of which a separate catalogue appeared last year. The Council have now entrusted the Librarian with this important work, which will appear in the forthcoming volume of the *Journal*. Acknowledgment of the valuable donations he has received will be made in that issue.

It should be understood that the catalogue of slides will also serve to indicate the ground more completely covered by the Society's collection of negatives, which from their constant and rapid increase it has been found impossible to catalogue in detail.

A small selection of the photographic material now available for members will be on view at the Anniversary Meeting of next week. It represents probably the largest, and certainly the most economical collection of the kind in existence, and should prove at once a real help to all purposes of teaching and research, and a marked addition to the privileges of membership which the Society affords.

Conclusion.

Among members lost by death during the year, special mention is due to Dr. A. S. Murray, the Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities

at the British Museum, who had long taken an active interest in the Society, first as a member of Council and latterly as a Vice-President. The death of Professor Ulrich Köhler, one of the original Honorary Members of the Society, should also be recorded.

During the past year 86 new members have been elected, while 45 have been lost by death or resignation. The present number of members is 863, and there are 152 subscribing Libraries.

On the whole the Society has decidedly improved its position during the year. The number of new members, though not so large as the Council had hoped might come in during this festival year, is still very encouraging. The loss of 46 members includes—besides deaths and actual resignations, and four subscribing members who have been transferred to the list of Honorary Members—a considerable number who were so far in arrear with their subscriptions that their removal from the list became necessary. It is hoped that the Anniversary Meeting of next week may, by drawing attention to the excellent work which has been done by the Society during its first twenty-five years, give a further stimulus to its growth, and thus enable it to meet more effectively the ever-increasing demands made upon its resources for the promotion of Hellenic Studies in every department.

In moving the adoption of the Report, the President said that in view of the Commemorative Meeting to be held that day week (the full report of which appears below) he would defer many of his remarks to the later occasion. He congratulated the Society on the work of the Session and referred in sympathetic terms to the loss the Society had sustained by the death of Dr. A. S. Murray, Sir Chas. Nicholson, and Canon Ainger.

Professor George Ramsay seconded the adoption of the Report, which was carried unanimously.

The former President and Vice-Presidents were re-elected, and Mr. Cecil Smith was elected Vice-President to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Dr. Murray. Mr. G. G. A. Murray and Mr. A. S. Hunt were elected to vacancies on the Council.

On the motion of the Hon. Treasurer, seconded by Mr. F. W. Percival, it was unanimously resolved :—

“ That all members elected on and after January 1st, 1905, be called upon to pay an entrance fee of two guineas.”

A vote of thanks to the auditors was passed unanimously on the motion of Sir John Evans seconded by Mr. Arthur H. Smith.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman proposed by Professor Lewis Campbell closed the proceedings.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1895.	31 May, 1896.	31 May, 1897.	31 May, 1898.	31 May, 1899.	31 May, 1900.	31 May, 1901.	31 May, 1902.	31 May, 1903.	31 May, 1904.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Subscriptions. Current	678	645	617	613	598	634	636	628	646	672
Arrears	14	9	4	13	18	9	10	13	13	205
Life Compositions	50	63	15	...	32	63	78	78	94	126
Libraries	122	117	126	118	122	163	179	185	202	147
Entrance Fees .....	..	..	..	..	..	33	45	52	50	100
Dividends	43	43	43	43	43	43	42	42	42	42
Special Receipts—										
Mr. D. G. Hogarth (Alex- andria Grant Refunded)	..	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Loan and sale of Lantern Slides	2	7	5	..	4	3	30	19	26	..
Clichés .....	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Library Receipts .....	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	2	1	..
Royalty on and Sales of Photographs	1	1	..	2	..	2	1	..	2	..
Donations .....	..	..	3	..	3	8	14	3	3	2
	910	915	816	789	820	960	1,037	1,022	1,079	1,294

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1895.	31 May, 1895.	31 May, 1897.	31 May, 1898.	31 May, 1899.	31 May, 1900.	31 May, 1901.	31 May, 1902.	31 May, 1903.	31 May, 1904.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Rent	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80
Insurance	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	16
Salaries	49	47	52	50	60	60	60	60	69	89
Library	96	39	94	93	61	73	74	82	89	50
Cost of Catalogue .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	55
Sundry Printing, Postage, and Stationery, etc.	49	46	29	45	32	58	61	41	72	137
Lantern Slides Account .....	..	..	..	24	..	13	29	17	35	} 2
Photographs Account .....	..	..	..	..	26	1	15	..	..
Cost of Journal (less sales)	441	394	346	516	536	390	382	367	454	511
Grants	225	100	180	125	150	200	200	200	250	225
Facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	210	30
“Excavations at Phylakopi” .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	156	140
Commission and Postage per Bank .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..
Egypt Exploration Fund—1,100 copies of Mr. Hogarth's Report	..	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	955	744	796	948	960	890	916	865	1,432	1,335

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOS ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1903 TO MAY 31, 1904.

	£	s	d	£	s	d		
To Cost of Slides and Photographs for Sale	...	34	19	3	...	63	0	11
" Hire	...	18	10	0	...	6	2	11
" Reference Collection	...	17	0	0	...	0	4	0
"	1	11	2
By Receipts from Sales			
" Hire			
" Sale of Catalogues			
Balance			
						£70	19	0

"EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI" ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1903 TO MAY 31, 1904

	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Expended previous to June 1, 1903	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
To Printing 500 Copies. R. Clay & Sons	...	226	9	1	...	155	16	6	...
" Paper	...	17	0	5	...	29	7	3	...
" Illustrations	...	11	1	3	...	134	19	9	...
" Prospectuses, Advertising, &c.	...	25	8	0	...	164	7	0	...
" Editing	...	25	0	0	...	296	8	3	...
By Sales, per Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 29 Copies	...				...
" Hellenic Society, 135 Copies	...				...
Balance against at May 31, 1904	...				...
						£460	15	3	...

"ARISTOPHANES FACSIMILE" ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1903 TO MAY 31, 1904.

	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
To Balance against at June 1, 1903	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
" Oxford Press, Purchase of Books	...	54	12	7	...	192	15	0	...
" Binding	...	6	1	0	...	31	4	0	...
" Packing Case	...	0	8	4	...	222	12	11	...
By Sale of 5 Copies	...				...
Balance against at May 31, 1904	...				...
						£253	16	11	...

MEETING
IN CELEBRATION OF THE
TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT

SIR RICHARD C. JEBB, M.P.

WE have come here to-day in order to commemorate the twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. It was on the 16th of June, 1879, that the Inaugural Meeting was held. Of the 112 members who had then been enrolled, only 27 survive. But all who wish to read the story of our Society from its birth, will find it traced in the admirable narrative which has been prepared for this occasion by Mr. George Macmillan, who has been our Honorary Secretary from the beginning, and who indeed is one of a small group with whom the very idea of the Society originated. In addressing you to-day, it will be my endeavour briefly to indicate the general conditions under which our Society came into being; the aims which were set before it; and the principal aspects of the work which it has undertaken. But there is one thing which should be said at the outset. The success which our Society has gradually and steadily won has been due to the sustained interest taken in it, and the ungrudging work done for it, by a number of its members. Some of these have passed away: let us think of them also; let us associate their memories with that collective acknowledgment which we gratefully render to-day for long years of untiring and unselfish co-operation.

The time
of origin.

If one should attempt to characterise that moment in the British study of things Hellenic at which this Society arose, it might perhaps be described as a time when British scholars were beginning to feel that an exclusively literary study of Greek antiquity was no longer all-sufficing. That feeling implied no disparagement of the literary study, but only a desire that it should be supplemented. The claim of Archaeology, in the largest sense, was coming to be more generally recognised. Travel in

Greek lands was far less frequent then than it is now. But those who went thither brought back a clearer perception of the degree in which classical studies could be vitalised and widened by a first-hand acquaintance with the scenes and with the monuments of Hellenic history and life. Such was the moment at which the project of this Society took shape. And it was a fortunate circumstance that the man to whom the founders turned as to a leader, the man around whom their plans and efforts centred, was one singularly well-fitted to direct and to inspire the new movement.

Charles Newton was then in his 63rd year. Some two decades had passed since his discoveries at Cnidus, at Branchidae, and at Halicarnassus. Since 1861 he had been Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, whose treasures he had so signally augmented,—especially by those sculptures from the Mausoleum which are for the art of Scopas almost what the Elgin marbles are for the school of Pheidias. He was recognised as holding the foremost place among students of classical archaeology in this country, and his name was known everywhere. But Newton was never a specialist in the narrower sense. It was Greek antiquity as a whole that fascinated him. ‘I am a historian first,’ he said, ‘and secondly an archaeologist.’ The monuments interested him on the side of history even more than on that of mythology or of art. His early training had been under eminent masters of the Greek language and literature. At Shrewsbury he had been the pupil of Samuel Butler; at Christ Church, of his life-long friend Liddell; and there he had felt also the influence of Dean Gaisford. But, though he was well versed in the literature, it had no dominant charm for him; it was an aid to knowing antiquity, but only one of the aids. He used the literary documents along with the others; but perhaps nothing written by a master of poetry or of prose appealed to him quite so much as an inscription which seemed to bring him into close touch with the daily realities of ancient life. That faculty of keen observation which marked his later work was already noticed by an undergraduate contemporary, who described it as ‘his intense and curious way of looking at things.’ That was the phrase of John Ruskin. To-day, when we look back over 25 years, it will not be amiss to recall the words with which Newton began his address to the Inaugural Meeting of our Society on June 16, 1879:—

Sir Charles
Newton.

‘I have been called upon to take the chair at this first meeting of the Society which professes to have for its object the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Now by Hellenic Studies we do not mean merely the study of Greek texts, grammars, and lexicons. It is generally acknowledged that, besides the printed texts of the ancient Greek authors, and the commentaries of the scholiasts on these texts, many other sources of Hellenic Study are opening up every day. The monuments of the Greeks, their architecture, sculpture, and other material remains, deserve our study not less than the texts of the classics, and we must bear in mind that the history of the Hellenic language itself may be traced for at least twenty-five centuries, and that between the Greek speech of the present day, and the first utterances of the early Greek poets, there is a connection which, though not obvious to the common observer, may be as clearly demonstrated by science as the connection between the flora of the geologist and the living flora of the botanist to-day. In order to trace out this connection, we must not regard the language of the ancient Greeks

alone; we must study the Byzantine literature, as well as the Greek language still current in the mouths of the peasants, and we must also study their existing manners and customs. The space of time, therefore, over which our Hellenic studies may range, may be computed as about twenty-five centuries, or perhaps something more. After much consideration I have come to the conclusion that our proper geographical limitation is that which has been followed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* of Böckh. In that great work he includes Greek inscriptions wherever they may be found, not only in Hellas itself, but outside the Mediterranean, and beyond the Pillars of Hercules. And therefore I think that as we study Greek inscriptions wherever they are found, whether in Greece, Italy, Sicily, or elsewhere, so we may study the Greek monuments and language wherever these are to be met with.

Charles Newton was almost invariably in the chair at our meetings during the earlier years of the Society. It would be difficult to overestimate the advantage which our Society, while it was still an experiment, derived from his guidance and from his prestige. I can certainly testify to the abiding impression left on my own mind by his devotion to his chosen studies. His manner was self-contained, and the reverse of demonstrative; no one was less rhetorical; a taste which was almost irritably fastidious made it difficult for him to open his mind to others if there was anything in his surroundings that jarred on him. His teaching, whether written or spoken, was mainly esoteric, addressed to the expert, or at least to the serious student, and, unlike most enthusiasts, he positively recoiled from exciting popular interest. But the enthusiasm was there,—a severe enthusiasm; a life of the imagination so inward, that he might have seemed unimaginative; a sacred fire, little seen, but never dying down,—nor ever blown about by any wavering of purpose, or by the breath of any common ambition. The root of his interest in our Society, for which he did so much, was his belief that it might be a valuable instrument for encouraging classical archaeology in England,—or, as he would rather have said, for encouraging the complete study of Greek antiquity. It was one of his chief satisfactions, in the last years of his life, that our Society had already done a good deal for this object, and had the hope of doing more.

Bishop
Lightfoot.

Mention is due also to another notable personality connected with our earlier history. Naturally we had all wished that Newton should be our first President, but he declined, and the choice fell, at his suggestion, on Dr. Joseph Barber Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, who held the post till his death in 1890. That great scholar, so well known by his editions of St. Paul's Epistles and by other works, had a keen interest in historical studies; at Cambridge he founded the history scholarships which bear his name. In 1884, on the only occasion when he was able to preside at our Annual Meeting, he suggested that the Society might promote the investigation of monastic and other libraries in the East. Much has since been done in that direction, largely by Greeks, who have many advantages for such a work; and it now seems to be thought improbable that anything of first-rate importance still lurks undiscovered in such libraries. Bishop Lightfoot also urged that our Society might usefully map out work to be undertaken by young scholars; a function, it may be observed, which has in some measure been performed by the British School at Athens. As

one who had the honour of Dr. Lightfoot's friendship—I had been his pupil at College—I may add, from personal knowledge, that he took the warmest interest in the growing prosperity of the Society, and in particular looked with eager hope to the part which it had begun to bear in promoting exploration.

In considering the results which immediately followed from the foundation of the Society, there is one which I should be disposed to place in the front ; though it has long been so much a matter of course that younger men may find it rather difficult to realise that things ever were otherwise. I mean the influence of the Society in bringing Oxford and Cambridge into closer touch with the British Museum. It has long been the good fortune of the Museum to secure in its several departments the services of young men who, coming thither with a good liberal education, and often after a distinguished career at the University, develop into experts of the first rank, men whose work as specialists is known at every centre of research in the world. In this sense, the staff of the Museum represents one aspect, at least, of a great University—an aspect which is very prominent in the Continental, and especially in the German, conception of what a University should be. Well, forty years ago the majority of scholars at the English Universities were barely conscious of this aspect of the British Museum. They thought of it chiefly or solely as a great treasure-house. If they happened to be in London, with an hour to spare, they might pay it a casual visit. But perhaps few of them reflected, if they had ever known, that in various special departments of learning, work was being done by scholars within those walls of a kind compared with which much of the work done at our Universities was comparatively elementary. The establishment of the Hellenic Society, however, at once began to make a difference. From the very outset down to this moment, officials of the Museum, experts of distinction in their several provinces, have been among the most active members of the Society, alike in the business of the Council, in the reading of papers, in the discussions, and in the work of conducting the *Journal*. The list of those who are now or were formerly on the staff of the Museum includes Charles Newton, his successor Alexander Stuart Murray, whose loss we have lately had to deplore, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, Mr. Sidney Colvin, Prof. Percy Gardner, Mr. Cecil Smith, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Hamilton Smith, Mr. H. B. Walters, and Mr. G. F. Hill. This close co-operation between the scholars of the Museum and scholars elsewhere has been, and is, invaluable : it has directly contributed, I venture to say, to raise the British conception of what advanced study means.

There is another general result, flowing from the creation of this Society, to which I would briefly refer ; it might be regarded as in some sort complementary to that just noticed. This is necessarily an age of high specialisation in every department of study. In regard to the studies of classical philology, there is some danger lest the inevitable tendency to subdivision of labour should discourage the attempt to take larger views. Some of the essential benefits which humane studies

{ The
Universi-
ties
and the
British
Museum.

Influence
of the
Society
as a centre.

should confer are apt to be missed, if the student, animated by a laudable wish to advance knowledge at some particular point, becomes absorbed in the details of technical treatment. It may fairly be claimed for the Hellenic Society that, while it promotes advanced work in special branches, it also tends to supply an offset to the disadvantages of high specialisation. By the largeness of its outlook, by its comprehensive aims, it invites its members to survey the field of Hellenic study as a whole. It provides a centre at which the expert in one branch of the vast subject meets experts in other branches,—not as he might meet them in books, but in living intercourse. That such intercourse has a liberalising and a stimulating effect, cannot be questioned; and its value is enhanced by the conditions of advanced research in our day.

These, then, are two at least of the general results which have ensued on the foundation of our Society. Let me now say a few words as to the principal forms which its activities have taken.

Meetings
and disc-
ussions.

General Meetings of the Society have been held, as a rule, four times a year, for the reading of papers and for discussion; in addition to these, an Annual Meeting has been held in June, at which the Council's report for the past year has been presented, and the officers for the coming year have been elected. Extra meetings have also been held on special occasions. The papers read at our Meetings have usually appeared afterwards in the *Journal*. Though the attendance has seldom been large, the discussions have often been of much value. And they have had one general characteristic, which deserves a word of notice. It has been the idea of the Society, from the first, to bring together, not only professional students and specialists, but all who take an intelligent interest in Hellenic things. And it has frequently occurred that interesting contributions have been made to our discussions by members whose point of view has not been that of the professional Hellenist, but who have been able to bring light from other fields of study and experience. This has been a real gain; and it is one which could not have been secured by any Society constituted on a narrower basis.

The
Journal.

Then there is the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, that continuous record of mature work produced by our members. At the Inaugural Meeting in 1879, Charles Newton, towards the close of his address, foreshadowed our *Journal*. Having directed our attention to the monastic libraries in the Levant,—the subject to which Lightfoot returned five years later,—he said :—

After that, we might follow up these researches by publishing some of the more remarkable documents which might thus be brought to light. And with a view to such publication we hope to issue periodically a journal, something on the plan of the *Annuaire* of the French *Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques*, which is yearly published in the form of a well-grown 8vo volume. We cannot hope that our publication at the outset will emulate in bulk the French *Annuaire*. We must first ascertain what amount of annual subscriptions we can reckon on, and regulate the cost of our publications accordingly; but let us hope that, if such a journal is once begun, it

will be vigorously maintained and nourished, and not allowed to dwindle away into atrophy, as has been the fate of so many learned periodicals in this country, though undertaken under promising auspices.'

The first volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* was published in 1880; the twenty-third volume has recently appeared. Our Society has reason to be well satisfied with the position to which its organ has attained both at home and abroad. Few periodicals of the kind are more frequently cited in works dealing with classical archaeology. There are now no fewer than 150 Libraries which subscribe to it. Much of the material contained in it has been entirely new, consisting of papers giving the results of explorations which the Society has aided. The *Journal* has also given illustrations of previously unpublished vases or other works of art in the British Museum or elsewhere. Foreign scholars have in several instances been contributors to its pages. The Society owes a very special debt to those of its members who are, or have been, editors of the *Journal*.

Apart from the *Journal*, the Society has occasionally published special pieces of work under the title of Supplemental Papers. The first of these was the Report on the excavations at Megalopolis by members of the British School at Athens, brought out in 1892. The latest is the report on the excavations conducted by members of the same school at Phylacopi in the island of Melos. The Society has also contributed to palaeography by Facsimiles of two important manuscripts. The Facsimile of the Laurentian codex of Sophocles was brought out by us in 1885. That of the codex Venetus of Aristophanes appeared in 1903. It was undertaken by our Society in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America, whose late President, Prof. John Williams White, we are glad to have with us to-day.

Another province of the Society's activity has been the encouragement of exploration and discovery in the Hellenic lands. It may be observed in the first place, that a close connexion has always existed between our Society and the British School at Athens. Our Council was the body to which the first proposal for establishing such a School was addressed in 1882; but at the moment it was not thought advisable to move in the matter. About a year later, the project took a practical shape; and in October 1886, the British School at Athens was opened. Since that time the Society has been a regular contributor to the funds of the School, and has been represented on its Managing Committee. The successive Directors of the School—Mr. Penrose, Prof. Ernest Gardner, Mr. Cecil Smith, Mr. Hogarth, Mr. Bosanquet—have been Members of our Council, as the successive Honorary Secretaries of the School also have been. Accounts of the work done by the School have often been given by the Director at our meetings or published in our *Journal*. The School now publishes an Annual of its own; but this valuable periodical has not interfered with the prosperity of the *Journal*, which is still, of course, available, when desired, for communications relating to the work of the School.

Other
publica-
tions.

The
British
School
at
Athens.

In every respect the co-operation between the Society and the School has been cordial, intimate, and beneficial to both.

Aid to
explora-
tion.

There is also another mode in which our Society has promoted discovery ; viz., by helping to establish and to support special funds. Thus within the last twelve years we have been able to assist in this manner the work of distinguished explorers in Asia Minor, Cyprus, Crete, Samos, Egypt, Aetolia, and elsewhere. In return, the Society has more than once had the privilege of receiving the earliest account of new discoveries. A case of

A recent
discovery
in Crete.

this kind has just occurred ; and it is of such exceptional interest that I very gladly comply with a wish which has been conveyed to me from the discoverer that I should mention it to-day. On June 16, Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, the Director of the British School at Athens, wrote to Mr. Macmillan, sending him the principal fragments of a ritual hymn to the Dictæan Zeus, lately found at Palaikastro in Eastern Crete ; and two or three days ago Mr. Macmillan kindly sent me these fragments. Before speaking of the hymn, a word must be said of the shrine to whose cult it pertained. Mr. Bosanquet has found some remains of a temple of the Dictæan Zeus, which existed in classical times on the site of Palaikastro. These remains consist of a fragment of cornice ; two fragments of marble sculptures ; and numerous fragments of votive offerings, ranging in date from the sixth (or perhaps seventh) century onwards. Among these are many miniature shields, and pieces of one large shield, resembling those found in the cave of Zeus on Ida. Shields were the attribute of the Cretan Curetes. The story was that these armed guardians and nurses, to whose care the infant Zeus was entrusted by his mother Rhea, danced around him in the mountain cave, making a noise by clashing their arms, so that the child's cries might not betray his hiding-place to his father Cronus. This temple of the Dictæan temple is undoubtedly that mentioned in a well-known inscription published by Dittenberger (*Sylloge*, vol. ii. No. 929). It contains the award given by arbitrators in a dispute between the town of Itanos, on the east coast of Crete, and the town of Hierapetra. The latter had destroyed Praisos, and annexed its lands, taking over, along with them, an old claim which was the subject of the dispute. The Praisians had claimed certain land as belonging to the temple of the Dictæan Zeus ; the Itanians asserted that it was their own : and the Magnesian arbitrators decided in favour of Itanos. The identification of this temple-site, combined with the inscription, gives a clue to the topography of the region.

Hymn
to the
Dictæan
Zeus.

The hymn to Zeus was engraved on a slab of grey marble, 20 inches wide, and probably about 40 inches high. Parts of two copies exist, one cut on the face of the slab, and the other on the back. The copy which appears on the face is much the better, though it certainly is by no means free from mistakes. It is more compactly engraved than the other, and did not reach to the bottom of the slab. The copy on the back is incomplete. The first verses of the hymn are wanting in it, though lines had been ruled for them. The stonemason who engraved the back made blunders so many and so strange that it might be doubted whether he

knew Greek. It may have been because his work was so unintelligible that the authorities caused a second copy to be engraved by a more competent hand on the other side of the slab. Nevertheless the illiterate copy happens in one instance to correct an error in the better copy; and in some other cases it supplies gaps. As to the contents, I will briefly give such results as I obtain from a first inspection, but these must be taken as subject to revision in some details; and they may also be supplemented hereafter, for, in a letter which I received from him only a few hours ago, Mr. Bosanquet says that there is a hope of finding more fragments of the hymn next season. Some words in the fragments already found are obscure; but for the present I refrain from conjectures.

The hymn begins with an invocation of Zeus—'Ἰὼ μέγιστε κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι Κρόνεια, etc.—where the word κοῦρε, in reference to Zeus, serves to suggest the Κούρητες. The general sense of the following words (where some points are doubtful) is, 'Thou hast come to Dicte' (the neighbouring mountain, with the sacred cave of Zeus). The last words of the invocation are—'approach and rejoice in the song.' The verses down to this point form a refrain, which is repeated after every stanza of the hymn. The stanzas seem to have been six in number, each being extremely short—only two or three verses. The first stanza is intact; in sense it fits on to *μολπῇ*, 'song,' the last word of the refrain, and may be rendered,— 'the song which we sound to thee, blended with the notes of harps and flutes, and chant as we stand around thy well-fenced altar.' For the remaining stanzas, the fragments afford only occasional glimpses of the sense in a few words or phrases. The second stanza alluded to persons who at Dicte had 'received the immortal child from Rhea,' and there was a mention of their 'shields': these were, of course, the Curetes. The third stanza is lost, save a corrupt word or words on the back of the slab. The fourth stanza spoke of justice (*Δίκη*) and 'Peace, friendly to prosperity' (*φίλολβος Εἰρήνη*); the fifth, of flocks, and the fruits of the earth. In the sixth, we hear of 'cities,' 'sea-borne ships,' and Themis. Thus we can form at least a general idea of the contents. This short ritual hymn, after invoking Zeus, referred, as was obligatory, to the Curetes. Then it spoke of the blessings associated with, or hoped from, the presence of Zeus at his Dictæan shrine—blessings which, under his favour, are given by Peace; flocks thrive; the earth yields her fruits in season; ships bring merchandise to cities where Themis bears sway. The last words might recall Pindar's reference to Aegina, that prosperous seat of commerce, where, as he says, 'Themis, assessor of Zeus, is worshipped' (*Ol.* viii. 22). It may be observed that the liturgical character of the hymn is strongly marked by the fact that the prelude, which recurs after each stanza as a refrain, is at least as long as the stanza itself. One other remark I would add. Mr. Bosanquet asks tentatively whether the Curetes are the speakers: I think we must reply in the negative. In Crete, so far as we know, the Curetes were always the daimonic watchers over the infant god; their name was not, in the Cretan cult, transferred to priests of the Idaean or Dictæan Zeus. This point is

illustrated by the fragment of nineteen verses from a chorus in the *Curetes* of Euripides (No. 473 Nauck²). The speaker there is the leader of a chorus of priests, vowed to the mystic rites of the Idaean Zeus and of Dionysus Zagreus; he wears white robes; he must not be present at a birth or at a funeral; he must not eat flesh. He uplifts torches to the Mountain Mother (Rhea-Cybele); and he is 'the initiated votary of the *Curetes*' (Κουρήτων βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὁσιωθεῖς). It was probably by a chorus of such priests that the newly-found hymn was sung at the altar of the Dictæan Zeus. The hymn itself may well be old; the characters on the slab are late. Besides the hymn to Zeus, Mr. Bosanquet has found an Eteocretan inscription engraved on a stele. It is mutilated; but there are parts of about twelve lines. The Greek characters form some strikingly non-Hellenic groups of syllables or words; some of which occur also in an Eteocretan text which Mr. Bosanquet found three years ago. I have just heard from him also that in Laconia Mr. Forster has identified the site of Thalamai, and has found an inscription referring to the remarkable oracular cult of Ino-Pasiphae. Mr. Bosanquet hopes that they may be able to excavate there before long.

Prospects
of the
Society

I have digressed for a little from the central subject of this address, you will, I trust, pardon the digression on the ground that it serves to exemplify some of those gains to our knowledge of Hellas which this Society has assisted in winning. Our past, it will be conceded, has not been unfruitful. Have we a future? Well, we can at least say that the omens are favourable. Before the inaugural meeting in June, 1879, the number of members enrolled was, as I have said, 112. In the first year that number rose to 300. To-day it is 850. But that number will not satisfy anyone who considers all the advantages which such a Society as this offers to those who care for Greek things, whether they be professional students or teachers, or cultivated amateurs. One of these advantages, as to which I have hitherto said nothing, is so important that it demands a brief notice; I mean the Library. Such an adjunct was contemplated from our earliest days. Our first Library Committee was appointed in 1881; rules were framed in 1882, and thenceforward members could borrow books. But a new epoch in the history of our Library dates from 1896, when our present Honorary Librarian, Mr. Hamilton Smith, accepted the post. With him Mr. Baker Penoyre is now associated as official Librarian. Since 1897 an annual grant of £75 has been made to the Library. It now contains about 2,600 volumes bearing on Hellenic studies, with a complete printed catalogue. There can be few special libraries in this country, equally comprehensive and formed with equal care, from which books can be borrowed on such easy terms. Many of the drawings and plans used for the *Journal* have been deposited in the Library. There are also some 6,000 photographs, which have been carefully classified. A very large collection of lantern-slides, also classified, is at the disposal of members who can obtain the use of them on moderate terms for purposes of lecturing. So large has been the demand for these slides that, though

The
Library.

considerable sums have been spent on them, the department is practically self-supporting; and it has undoubtedly done good service to the study of classical archaeology throughout the country. I believe that if these and the other advantages which our Society offers were more widely known, we might confidently look for an increase in the number of our members,—not rapid, perhaps, but steady. Our most recent experience, indeed, warrants such a hope.

Quite apart from any question as to the place which Greek ought to hold in our educational system, it may probably be said that the interest in Hellenic studies—regarded in that large and liberal sense which our Society has always advocated—was never keener or more intelligent than it is at the present day. Every year the Greek lands receive large numbers of cultivated visitors from this country, and of these there can be few who do not return with a quickened zest for those studies to which our Society is dedicated. The British Museum, with which we have such close ties, possesses a collection of classical antiquities in every kind not surpassed, if it be equalled, by any in the world. A central Society with such a record as ours may then reasonably look forward to an increasing number of adherents

Present
vigour of
Hellenic
studies.

The retrospect to which this commemoration has invited us teaches that the distinctive character stamped on this Society at its foundation has also been the paramount cause of its prosperity. That character is largeness of conception, comprehensiveness of aim. The study of Hellas, ancient, medieval, and modern, embraces the widest range of interests, appeals to the most various tastes, calls into play the greatest diversity of mental faculties. It has been the idea and the endeavour of our Society, while promoting research in each part, at the same time to express and to illustrate the unity of the whole. In that idea, in that endeavour, it will persevere. May it continue to prosper and to grow. May it become, in the hands of our successors, an organ even more effectual for the advancement of those noble studies than it has been in the hands of those who saw its birth, who watched over its youth, and who to-day can rejoice in the vigour of its maturity.

Con-
clusion.

I would ask leave to express, in the name of the Society, the peculiar gratification which it gives us to see our Honorary Members represented here on this occasion. In too many cases, indeed, those whom we had hoped to welcome have been prevented from coming by official duties or by reasons of health. But we are fortunate in the presence of two distinguished scholars from the United States whom we have had the honour of inscribing on our roll.

We welcome Prof. Gildersleeve, who has long adorned the Chair of Greek in the Johns Hopkins University, a scholar known throughout and beyond the English-speaking world by his edition of Pindar and by other valuable works. We welcome also Prof. John Williams White, who, besides filling with distinction a Chair of Greek at Harvard, has also been

President of the Archaeological Institute of America, which he represents at our commemoration to-day. We trust that each of these our Honorary Members will do us the favour of addressing us to-day. And first I invite Professor Gildersleeve to speak.

PROFESSOR GILDERSLEEVE—

The announcement that I was expected to make one of the addresses on this interesting and important occasion came to me as a surprise and I have had no time to make adequate preparation for so conspicuous a function. Still I cannot withhold my tribute, however poorly expressed, from the work of the Society which has honoured me with its membership, my tribute of admiration for all that has been accomplished by these lovers of Hellenic art in all its forms. Assuredly the work of this Society is one of which the authors and the furtherers may justly be proud and this day must be a day of supreme satisfaction to those who initiated the movement and have survived to see the noble fruition. True, every scholar must know in a general way the importance of the undertaking and the magnitude of the results. Yet the review of what has been accomplished in what is after all a short time in the history of a learned society fills the heart of every Hellenist not only with admiration but with hope; and in the present popular estimate of Hellenic studies hope is not the last thing needed. Some brave hearts there are that have lost hope but I am sure that no Hellenist can read the record of these twenty-five years of faithful work, of splendid achievement, of noble liberality without renewed confidence in the future of Hellenic studies, without catching something of the fervent spirit that has gone forth conquering and to conquer a larger place for Hellenism in the life of the people.

The work of this society initiated as it was to counteract the effect of too narrow a devotion to the letter has been from the beginning largely archaeological, increasingly archaeological and it does not become one who is no archaeologist to characterize what has been achieved on that side. But this practical protest against the limitations of classical study has not led to any severance of the archaeological from the literary and the philological; and to me the great significance of these studies seems to be the triumphant maintenance of the unity that at one time appeared to be imperilled by the modern spirit of specialization. I believe in specialization. I believe with one of my masters, Ritschl, that there is nothing like a certain one-sidedness for breeding true enthusiasm. I believe in the spiritual rights of minute research. But the special line of work must send out its branches to every part of the system. It must be a channel and not a blind ditch; and early in my youth—now more than half a century ago—I fell under the domination of that great master of Hellenic philology, Boeckh, who belonged to what may be called the Kosmos period, the period when we believed in a science of antiquity and not merely in a cycle of studies; and among the heroes of that

time it is a pleasure to recall the countenance of Welcker as it was lighted up by the vision of Hellenic beauty, which he taught us also to see. No true pupil of such men can ever lose that vision, no matter how arid the details with which he may have to do in his daily quest. The connexion between literature and art—so conspicuous in the Pergamene school of grammarians—ought ever to be kept in view and whatever danger there may be in pursuing the analogies of literary and plastic art, whatever danger there may be in the expression of literary criticism in terms of archaeology and archaeological criticism in terms of literature, that danger is naught in comparison with cold divorce.

But while the published work of the Society has been largely archaeological, many of the literary and philological articles of the *Journal*, vie in importance and interest with the archaeological, and as a lover of Pindar I was glad to note that your secretary laid especial stress on the admirable essay on Pindar, the masterly work of your President. No one can be a better judge of Pindar than he who has won high fame by his emulation of Pindaric art in Pindar's own language. But even the humbler students of Pindar, the sacristans of the temple of song, those who love to study all the detail of the poet's wonderful art, will find in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* much that will throw light on some of the recesses of the odes and will share my appreciation of the papers on the 'Cult of the Ass' and the 'Religious significance of the Bee'—I must trust my memory for the titles¹—the Ass and the Bee, which by the way stand for two perennial types of Pindaric commentators, the Ass which represents the ὕβριν ὀρθάν κινωδάλων, the extravagant fancy at which Apollo may well be amused, and the Bee, which suggests not only the unwearied search for honey but the portentous readiness to sting.

But time would fail me, if I should attempt to recall all the help that I have received personally from the literary and philological articles in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, if I should attempt to express all the gratitude I feel for the contributions that have been made by the Society to the apparatus of the interpreters of literary art.

My own lot has been cast among the pioneers of Hellenic Study in America. I look back on half a century of effort and compare the times of the crude beginnings, with the recent increase in the number of trained students, of special investigators. I can not shut my eyes to the fact that there is a serious diminution in the number of those who do what people are pleased to call studying Greek. But the cubic contents of Greek in America are much greater than they ever were. And in the last twenty-five years—a period coinciding with the life of the Hellenic Society—archaeological study, despite our remoteness from the scene of exploration, has kept pace with strictly philological study. How rapid the advance has been I have personal reasons to recall. It is nearly twenty-five years since I projected the *American Journal of Philology*—the first of a numerous brood of American journals devoted to philological

¹ 'Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age,' by A. B. Cook, *J.H.S.* xiv. 81; 'The Bee in Greek Mythology,' by A. B. Cook, *J.H.S.* xv. 1.

studies—and conceiving philology in its widest sense I intended to make it a playground for archaeology as well. But the *American Journal of Archaeology* followed in so short a time that the hospitality freely extended seemed absurdly inadequate. However, the offer was for all that the expression of my faith in the unity of classical work, the faith in which I was bred, to which I hope to be true to the end. But there is one aspect of that unity on which I wish to dwell in closing. Americans of the older states feel their kindred with the dwellers in the old home, but in many American veins runs a mixed blood, an alien blood; and the training of American scholars has in the main been conducted by other than English teachers. Indeed, as matters stand to-day, our line of spiritual descent is German rather than English. For my own humble part, though a pupil of German masters, I have always striven to uphold the standard of a cosmopolitan culture; and I regret that so much that is valuable in English scholarship has lost its hold on men born to the same speech and influenced by the same historical traditions. In the domain of archaeology—a new domain—English and Americans meet on common ground and the Society of Hellenic Studies may serve not only to promote the cause of Hellenism among English-speaking peoples but also to bring about more and more cordial relations between those who are working to the same end on different sides of the water. The honour you have done American scholarship to-day is an earnest of that brotherly cooperation—that fraternal interdependence, which will, I trust, characterize the work of the next quarter of a century, and may I not add in the faith of a Hellenist, all the centuries to come?

The next speaker was Mr. GENNADIUS, formerly Minister of Greece in London. In calling on him to address the meeting, the President referred to the active part which Mr. Gennadius had taken in the foundation of the Society, of which he is now an Honorary Member, and to the value of his sympathetic aid in the earlier years of its existence.

MR. GENNADIUS—

It is particularly gratifying to be able to address you on this occasion, celebrating, as we now are, a career of success such as we did not anticipate, and could hardly have hoped for, when more than twenty-five years ago, in the summer of 1877, the idea of this Society was conceived in the chambers of the Greek Legation in Pall Mall. The rapidity of its growth, the excellence of its work, its present vigour and wide activity, the position to which it has attained among learned bodies, have exceeded by far the expectations we then formed, and now justify our hopes for the future.

This success is all the more notable as it synchronises with the recrudescency of efforts to circumscribe Greek studies in the University curriculum. And although such attempts are nothing new, having periodically recurred ever since the revival of letters, the attack is now reinforced by the prevalence of more alluring material considerations.

Without entering upon this vexed question, I would merely draw your attention to the fact that the value of Hellenic studies, the powerful influence which they exercise on civilization, their practical utility no less than their captivating charm, have been amply demonstrated by the progress and the prosperity of this Society. And I venture to hope that it is not the outcome of any egotism of mine, as a Greek, if to this I add the belief that its success is also due, in a measure, to the whole-hearted appreciation and support which we received from Greeks everywhere, and from the Greek Government itself. But if we are now able to rejoice with just pride over the abundant harvest of twenty-five years' work, it is mainly because of our well-founded conviction, at the outset, that the most-highly cultured intellects in this country would be found eager to cooperate in the cultivation of Greek literature and archaeology, for their own sake.

We did not stop to make the prudential inquiry if it was likely to prove a materially profitable undertaking. On the contrary, several generous donors readily came to our assistance; and we, all of us, devoted our efforts to what is essentially a work of love. But more especially, I think I shall have all those who watched the progress of the Society with me in saying, that no one has given a more brilliant example of unremitting effort and unsparing labour, than my valued friend Mr. Macmillan, with whom I had the pleasure of being associated from the very outset. Without his truly Hellenic enthusiasm our progress would have been but slow, if, indeed, we had not remained stationary.

Well then, we have some grounds for satisfaction with an undertaking which, aiming at no material gain, has yielded such rich fruit. We believe that it has merited well of this great country in which Greek learning—for its own sake, and for the inestimable moral and intellectual advantages it brings with it—has been held in high esteem during thirteen consecutive centuries: from the time when the great Greek Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus first planted it on English soil, to this day, when we claim as our President one of the foremost interpreters of that learning in Europe.

It may be affirmed, without exaggeration, that the spirit of freedom which has at all times inspired the Church in England, the conception of a liberty coordinate with law, which runs through the political history of this country, the peculiar charm of unaffected simplicity and unconscious grandeur which is so prominent in the best type of English literature—all this is due to the fact that your foremost churchmen, and statesmen, and men of letters baptized, and purified, and qualified themselves for their great task in the invigorating and inspiring waters of Greek learning. They schooled themselves in that language which, in the grand words of Gibbon, 'gave a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy.' They grounded their political faith upon the history of a country in which the duties and rights of citizenship were first understood and practised. They formed their taste after the masterpieces of the human mind, which have been achieved once and for all time, never to be surpassed hardly ever to be equalled. In one word, they imbued

themselves with the culture of a people who first clearly conceived and defined that which constitutes a perfect gentleman—not a magnate, or a high official, or the titled, the rich, the powerful, but the *καλὸς κἀγαθός*

And they were careful to derive the full benefit of such search after perfection by going to the very source, by securing it at first hand and unalloyed. If demonstration were needed of the oft-repeated fallacy, that all which is of any use or advantage in Greek may be had through translations, conclusive proof has lately been forthcoming from a quarter beyond doubt—from the unconscious avowal of one of the greatest minds of our time. No one who has experienced the stirring and ennobling effect of the Greek verse of Homer can have perused the strange observations of Herbert Spencer on the *Iliad*—to which he had access only through a translation—without a smile mingled with a sense of regret, on reflecting how much more perfect, how much more penetrating might have been the stupendous labours of the great English philosopher, if only he had been able to come into personal contact, so to say, with Plato and Aristotle, with whose teaching he appears to have thought he could well dispense. One is forcibly reminded of Dr. Arnold's deeply suggestive, though humorously couched saying, that he felt sure he would have understood Coleridge's philosophy better, if it were expressed in Attic Greek. Had Spencer been acquainted with Greek, his work would have been, in a way, more humane.

For it is this, above all, that Greek culture gives. It does not merely instruct and civilize ; it humanizes. And those who, during the Renaissance, were enchanted and enthralled by the New Learning, justly styled the vehicle, which enabled them to emerge from material civilization to intellectual and ethical regeneration, *Literæ Humaniores*—the Humanities.

All must admit the immense benefits which the development of natural science and mechanics have conferred upon the world. But undivided attention to material profit may threaten a community with the advent of a coarseness, all the more difficult to stave off, because it is so resourceful. Therefore they are not far wrong who think that a society entirely estranged from Greek culture must soon degenerate in intellectual power.

Of course, Greek being the choicest intellectual food, is fit only for those who are endowed with delicate and discriminating palates. But it is they who become the salt of the earth, when, at the outset of their career, they make the choice of Herakles; and, instead of the animal contentment of the legendary professor of Louvain, they elect what is most perfect, beautiful, and ennobling, by submitting to that intellectual discipline which, in its subtlety, is beyond all price, and which teaches the one great rule of Greek life—a life *ἐν σωφροσύνῃ καὶ εὐφροσύνῃ*, in soberness of mind and in gracious enjoyment.

It is thus that the twenty-five years' work of this Society, by promoting Hellenic studies, and by encouraging archaeological research, has contributed powerfully to the maintenance and spread of the best traditions of British scholarship. Its flourishing condition is the strongest evidence of the value and vitality of Greek literature, the best guarantee that the standard of culture in this country will not be lowered. It behoves those

who are proud to be members of such a body to see that they who come after us find the the lamp burning, and have their onward path illuminated by the light that has no eve.

PROFESSOR JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE—

I have just had the pleasure of reading a second time the interesting Introductory Address on 'Hellenic Studies' delivered by Mr. Newton at the Inaugural Meeting of this Society, held on June 16, 1879. I first read Mr. Newton's address twenty-five years ago, when it was published in Macmillan's Magazine. It sets forth admirably the principles which had already been briefly stated in that 'Rule' of this Society which declares the Society's objects, and it is a singularly catholic interpretation of the phrase 'Hellenic Studies.'

By this term we do not mean simply the study of Greek texts. The interpretation of the masterpieces of Greek literature must ever remain the chief interest of Hellenists, but besides this, and necessary indeed to the proper understanding of these texts, is the study of the monuments of the Greeks, their architecture, sculpture, fictile art,—all the visible, tangible forms to which their creative imagination gave expression. There is, in short, now a science properly named 'Classical Archaeology.' Nor should investigation be confined within narrow geographical limits. Exploration should be made of every region to which the restless spirit of the Greeks carried them, and there made settlement. The field of study, then, is not simply the mainland of Greece, but that larger Greek world which extended from Africa far into the North, and from the Orient to the Pillars of Hercules. Nor should the time over which our survey extends be limited by the term 'Classical.' The period covers more than thirty centuries—first from the earliest traces of Greek life in the Aegean Sea to the downfall of Paganism; then from the establishment of Christianity to the taking of Constantinople in 1453; and finally the Neo-Hellenic period. With reference to the language, we understand much better to-day than we did twenty-five years ago how important is the study of the Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic periods in the interpretation of the Classical Literature, and as to the monuments, a new world has been revealed during the past quarter of a century by the marvellous results of the excavations that are gradually giving definite form to the shadowy outlines of the prehistoric period.

Such is the catholic interpretation of the term Hellenic Studies, embodied in that rule of this Society which states its objects. You determined, moreover, that this study should not be pursued simply with the aid of existing materials: provision was made by which these materials were to be increased by the active efforts of members of this Society—new inscriptions were to be collected, search for manuscripts was to be made in the monasteries of the Levant, treasures of ancient art that had been lost were to be recovered. Exploration and excavation were to reveal new means through which might be secured a broader and truer understanding of Greek literature, institutions, and civilization.

The discrepancy between promise and performance, between the confident hopes of youth and the achieved results of mature years, is one of the melancholy facts of life, whether of individuals or of organizations. But this Society has no reason to grieve. It stated its objects broadly and comprehensively, but it has accomplished them in right good measure. The clear evidence of this fact is recorded in your *Journal*.

Your first presiding officer expressed the hope that a journal might be established, and that it might be vigorously maintained and nourished, and not allowed to dwindle away into atrophy. With great wisdom you established your *Journal* at once, and Mr. Newton's hope has been abundantly realized. An attentive reader of your *Journal* is impressed by two facts: by the high quality and importance of the investigations which it records, an excellence that has been steadily maintained from the beginning, and by the number and value of its illustrations; and again, by the wide range which these investigations have covered. Your contributors have left no field in the fair domain of Hellenic studies unexplored. Literature, language, inscriptions, manuscripts, history, geography, topography, antiquities, architecture, sculpture, vases, gems, coins,—all these are themes which here have original and profitable discussion. It has been said that the quality and importance of a scholar's contributions may be gauged by the frequency with which he is quoted in the subsequent literature of his subject. I know, indeed, of a wager that has been laid that no important book on a theme within the range of Classical Studies will appear within the next five years in which a certain brilliant classical scholar of the Continent will not be quoted! Judged by this standard your *Journal* is of conspicuous excellence. These twenty-three volumes and four supplementary papers are of great and permanent value.

It is not possible now to dwell on these investigations in detail. There is one subject, however, on which I should like to say a word. You propose as one of your objects to collect facsimiles, transcripts, and photographs of Greek manuscripts, and Bishop Lightfoot in 1884, repeating a suggestion that had been made by Mr. Newton, urged the Society to undertake the investigation by competent scholars of monastic and other libraries in the East.

As to the libraries, less has been accomplished than we could have wished, and much, I am sure, remains to be done. A Russian writer in the Proceedings of the Palestine Association for 1899 expresses the opinion with confidence that there are treasures in the Imperial Library in Constantinople which the Turks have never allowed any unbeliever to see. The political relations of England with Turkey and the influence that you could gently exert on the Greek patriarchs make the task of investigating the libraries of the Levant the appropriate work of Englishmen. Throughout the world scholars would be grateful to this Society, if it should give special training in Greek palaeography to competent young scholars at your universities and in your School in Rome, and then should send them, with proper credentials, into the East. What they might accomplish in their reports is indicated by the work of the young Italian philologists during

the past fifteen years who have given such admirable detailed accounts of the Greek manuscripts in Italian libraries. Whether the monasteries in the East contain hitherto unknown manuscripts of Greek authors of the Classical period is uncertain, but one may be hopeful, just as the sands of Egypt have yielded unexpected treasures. You would render a rare service if thus you should discover and publish, let me say, a comedy of Menander! The results, even if they should not be of this magnitude, would still be important. That the facts should be made completely known is one of the still unsatisfied demands of our Science.

Your Society has employed the camera to advantage, and has gradually secured a large and useful collection of photographs and lantern-slides. Furthermore, in 1885 it reproduced in facsimile the celebrated manuscript of Sophocles preserved in the Laurentian Library. This was an important contribution to knowledge, welcome to all Classical scholars, but especially to those in America, for—alas!—we have no Greek manuscripts of Classical authors in America, and though we are perforce travellers, it is still a long way from Boston or New York to Florence. Again, in 1903, you united with the Archaeological Institute of America in reproducing, in facsimile, Bessarion's manuscript of seven plays of Aristophanes now preserved in St. Mark's Library. I recall this fact with special pleasure, because it brought the Institute into close relations with the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in accomplishing an important task. The whole edition of the facsimile of Sophocles was distributed long ago among the libraries of the world, and about two-thirds of the two hundred copies of the facsimile of Aristophanes have already been demanded. This clearly demonstrates that these undertakings were useful.

The art of photography has thus contributed to the needs of Classical scholars, but we have not yet realized, I think, how serviceable a handmaid of our studies it may become. You will permit me, I know, briefly to relate a few facts within my personal experience in order that I may more clearly prefer a suggestion. Scholars are now agreed that the authoritative interpretation of an author must rest upon a thorough personal knowledge of existing diplomatic materials. This is fundamental. We may not all become expert palaeographers, but we must know the manuscripts of our author, and we must know them at first hand. To acquire this knowledge is not an unpleasant task. One wanders to many cities of many men. The collating rooms are generally pleasant places, and the keepers of the manuscripts are learned and helpful. In my study of the manuscripts of Aristophanes I have worked in many libraries in Europe, and I have always been courteously received. Then, to take the book in hand, to make search for the facts which reveal its age and provenance, to study the handwriting, the material on which it is written, and the manner in which it is put together, and turning here and there to read it in places where one's previous study of other manuscripts has left one in uncertainty and doubt, all these are pleasant things to do. And the agreeable surprise of a happy discovery is always possible; and one never knows in making search among the treasures of a library, its manuscripts and its catalogues,

old and new, what fact of historical importance may be brought to light.

For example, in a noteworthy passage in the 'Aves' of Aristophanes the chief character of the play genially declares that he will not make known his plan for the amelioration of the sad condition of the Birds unless they enter into the compact with him that a certain Panaetius once made with his wife, 'that *μαχαιοποιός*,' he calls him. Now Panaetius, we know, was a cook, and to call a cook a *μαχαιοποιός* was apparently a contradiction in terms. A *μαχαιοποιός* was a 'cutler' on a grand scale; he had a great establishment managed by slaves, and was himself a gentleman of leisure. So the word in this passage has proved to be a *vox molesta* to the modern editors, and the very last of them, a learned Dutchman, declares that Aristophanes could not have used it here, although he is unable to suggest the word the poet did use. The vulgate of the Alexandrine scholium on the passages gives no help, since it says merely that Aristophanes applies this epithet to Panaetius as *τὸν μαχαίρας ἐργαζόμενον*. But the great Venice manuscript varies the reading of the note by a single letter, and has *τὸν μαχαίραις ἐργαζόμενον*. The cook Panaetius, then, was a 'performer with knives,' and Aristophanes was punning.

Again, I had read through the 'Acharnenses' during the past winter in one of the Palatine manuscripts, and had come to the last verse of the play. But there appeared to be another verse, a line that looked as if it were part of the play, but it read *νικόλαος ὀνταρμάρος τυγχάνει γραφεύς*. That fixes the date of the manuscript, and, if I am not mistaken, adds a new scribe to our list.

Finally, among the treasures of the Vatican Library are the manuscripts that were brought to Rome from Urbino by the command of Alexander VII. They include two manuscripts of Aristophanes. But in an 'Indice Vecchio' of these books that is still preserved among the Latin manuscripts of this collection, and must have been made either in the time of the great Federigo or in that of his son, a third manuscript of Aristophanes is entered, a 'codex pulcherrimus' containing eleven plays. In the margin is a significant entry: *habuit Petrus Florentinus Cartularius quem misit Florentiam stampandum*. This manuscript must have been the Codex Ravennas, and the record fully confirms the brilliant suggestion made by Mr. W. G. Clark in the third volume of the *Journal of Philology*, that the Ravenna manuscript was undoubtedly the source of the last two plays in the first Juntine edition of Aristophanes published early in 1516.

Such inspection of the manuscripts is pleasant, but it is preliminary to one's real work—the arduous labour of collation, a long and often difficult task. Those who have collated the manuscript of Aristophanes which the Society and the Institute have reproduced in facsimile will understand perfectly what I mean: the handwritings are bad, the script employs many abbreviations, the folio is often crowded, the scholia are apparently put upon the margin without regard to the order of the text. Bessarion himself found the book so perplexing that he had one of his table companions

copy it in a manuscript that is still preserved in St. Mark's library, and it is sufficiently apparent that some modern scholars who went to Venice in the last century to study the book, gave it up and used the copy, with all its errors. It requires strength and resolution to continue this work day after day under the conditions imposed by the place. The hours are short, and one is tempted to work too rapidly; the place is sometimes uncomfortable—the Vatican collating-room, for example, is so cold in January as to give one a new conception of the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory—and the man who collates grows weary, in spite of himself, and like Homer may fall to nodding, with consequences that are disastrous.

Here photography lends a helping hand. The libraries, under restrictions that are not rigorous, permit any individual to have such parts of their manuscripts photographed as he may desire for his own use. It is thus feasible to secure reproductions in facsimile of *all* existing manuscript material, for example, of a Greek play, and a scholar has the sense of unusual command of materials, if within the four walls of his own library he has reproductions of manuscripts so widely separated as are Copenhagen and Rome, Venice and Paris. Comparison and repeated inspection of the manuscripts are now possible.

Two restrictions make this method somewhat difficult. It is irksome to be obliged to return to the library, when one has already sufficiently studied and noted the palaeographical features of the manuscript, in order merely to make search for a photographer, to give him his directions, and to see that he does his work properly; and furthermore, the probable amount of his bill may be deterrent. Happily the last consideration is about to lose its force, for some genius has recently discovered a process by which—through the use of a prism, that reverses the image—it is now possible to photograph directly upon the paper without the intervention of a negative. The process is simple, rapid, and inexpensive, and the result is very satisfactory. The process is sure to come into common use.

One of the declared objects of this Society is to collect facsimiles, transcripts, and photographs of manuscripts. Could you not enlarge this function, enter into relations with the libraries of Europe, and undertake to reproduce for your members, under conditions which could be easily established and simply stated, such parts of Greek manuscripts preserved in these libraries as they might desire? I know of no other organization that is so well circumstanced with reference both to geographical and to other considerations to accomplish this useful work as is the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

I am here to-day, Sir, by personal invitation and also as the representative of the Archaeological Institute of America. It is a pleasing coincidence that the Institute was founded on May 17, 1879. Thus the two Societies, whose objects are practically the same, were founded within a month one of the other. The Institute desires me to express to you its hearty congratulations on what you have accomplished in the promotion

of Hellenic Studies, and its best and confident wishes for your future success. And it sends you an Address. This Address is expressed in elegant Latin, but I will not read it, for fear that my barbarous pronunciation of that language would not be intelligible to the members of your Society. But we hope that you will make this Address a part of your permanent records of this meeting.

But this is not all. The Institute does not send you greetings to-day simply as one learned Society might address another. '*Qui consanguinei idem sentiunt, his consanguinei sunt!*' We do not forget that the ties which unite us are also those of blood and of a common language. We salute you as brothers. And we remember, and our pulses quicken as we remember, that during the past twenty-five years everywhere the bond has been drawn closer that unites men of the English-speaking race.

I cannot take my seat without saying a word that is personal to myself. I became a member of this Society in 1879. For twenty-five years I have served in the ranks, in the sense that I have been a diligent reader of your *Journal*, for you will persist in holding all your meetings in London, and refuse to come occasionally to New York or Boston. I am told that after twenty-five years' service in the ranks, I am to be promoted, and hereafter am to be one of your Forty Immortals. I beg to express to your Society, Sir, through you, my profound appreciation of the great honour and distinction which it has conferred upon me.

MR. CECIL SMITH—

I feel that I owe an apology for appearing in the place of a speaker who would have been so much more fitted to address this Society, and the more so because I have only at the last moment been asked to take the place of Sir E. Maunde Thompson, who has been unfortunately prevented by illness from being present. The Hon. Secretary has asked me to speak as the representative of the British Museum, and I have much pleasure in testifying to the extreme cordiality of the relations which have always obtained between the Museum and the Society. I feel strongly that the mainspring of this good feeling had its origin first and foremost in Mr. George Macmillan, who for ten years combined in his person the Hon. Secretaryship both of the Hellenic Society and of the affiliated Institution—the British School at Athens. The fact that Mr. Macmillan has always, by his tact and courtesy, maintained excellent relations between these Institutions and the Museum, has always been the guarantee and safeguard of the existing harmony between them. It would be easy to talk of what the British Museum owes to the Hellenic Society. The advantage to Museum officials of the opportunities which it has given them of coming into closer touch with scholars, both English and Foreign, will be obvious to everyone; as well as the benefit, which every Museum official will appreciate, of securing a ready publication and discussion of the work in which they are engaged. Occasions have even arisen when a more material obligation has been incurred, as for instance when the Museum obtained important

acquisitions from the Cyprus Exploration Fund, an enterprise which was in a large measure due to the Hellenic Society ; and many more instances might be quoted.

If we turn to the credit side on the other hand, it is more difficult to decide how much the Society owes to the British Museum. The Museum, it must be remembered, is a Government institution, and the English Government is notoriously parsimonious in its encouragement of scientific and literary undertakings. The keynote of the English character is individualism ; if one looks back at the roll of great English names of those who were the pioneers of archaeological research, Gell, Leake, Cockerell, Fellows, and even in our own time Bent, the story is one of individual effort and enterprise, working independently and alone, often without even the recognition of their contemporaries. The Hellenic Society was formed, among other objects, to co-ordinate and organize these individual efforts, and to give them collectively the increased strength of unity. One cannot but wonder what the result would have been if these great Englishmen of the past had had a Society like this to fall back upon for encouragement and material aid ; there can be little doubt that the splendid results which they achieved would have been even more brilliant and important than they were.

The English Government, unlike that of France and Germany, believes in individualism : and offers the individual the broad and liberal encouragement of leaving him discreetly alone. But if the Museum has unfortunately been unable to give the Society financial support, it at least has always provided it with members, among whom have ranked some of the most active and eminent on the list. I will only refer here to two, my predecessors in the office of Keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities, Newton—one of the links, now alas all gone, which bound the old School of Archaeology to the new, to whose broad sympathy and ripe enthusiasm the Society owes so much, and who was able, as perhaps none other in those early days, twenty-five years ago, to invest archaeology and those aims which the Society cherishes with wider prestige in the public eye—and Murray, who has recently been removed from our ranks while still in the plenitude of his activity, by a tragically sudden death which we all deplore. These two names represent at once the most eminent of the Museum coadjutors of the Society, and the two whom we have lost ; but happily the relations, I hope I may say, between these bodies were never more cordial than now. Societies may come and go, but the Museum is and must remain the permanent and abiding centre of Greek archaeology in this country. I will only add the fervent wish that as long as the Museum endures the Hellenic Society may continue and flourish.

PROF. PERCY GARDNER—

I have been asked, as Editor of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for many years after its establishment, to speak on this occasion, but there is the less need that I should long occupy your time, because two of the

matters which I should have wished to bring forward have been more ably treated by others. In Mr. Macmillan's excellent history of the Society you will find all the facts in regard to the earlier volumes of the *Hellenic Journal*, and I need not trouble you with comments on those facts. It was also in my mind to say a few words as to the relations of our Society to Sir C. Newton. For many years before it was founded Newton had stood almost alone as a champion of the study of Greek monuments ; and the Society arose just in time to take from his shoulders a burden which was becoming too heavy for them. But our President has sketched with so skilful a hand the position and work of Newton, that I have nothing to say, unless I may add, as an appendix to what Mr. Cecil Smith has said as to the parsimony of English governments in the endowment of learning, that nothing in Sir C. Newton's career was more admirable than the way in which he extorted from successive governments the funds required for his great excavations. Such things can be done only by remarkable personalities.

My connexion with the *Hellenic Journal* lasted seventeen years, and I may be allowed to say that there is nothing in my life on which I look back with greater satisfaction. I do not grudge one hour which I have given to the *Journal*. No doubt as editor I made many mistakes, but the contributors were kind enough to believe that these were the results of ignorance rather than of malice, and with nearly all of them I remained on the best of terms.

There is an extraordinary interest in watching the start of a new Journal. Wind and wave often carry it in directions quite foreign to the intentions of the founders. In the *Hellenic Journal* will be found the record of much work which was scarcely anticipated by the Editors. Mr. Ramsay's work in Asia Minor, which has been continued by many of our members, was a new and fruitful departure. So is Mr. Evans' work at Knossos. The *Journal* contains much good work in the field of really Hellenic literature, history, and art ; yet perhaps its contributions to the Greek origins and the record of pre-Hellenic Greece have been even more remarkable. In a Darwinian age the search into origins has a strong attraction, and one cannot regret a tendency which has done so much to make known what one may call the prolegomena to Greek history and antiquities.

Mr. Smith has spoken of the help which this Society renders to the British Museum. May I say, as a representative of the University of Oxford, how great is the advantage which our Universities derive from this and other learned societies of London. London is the great home of the learned societies ; they strengthen the Universities just where they are weak, in the direction of research, and especially research in the studies relating to man. At the present time there could scarcely be a more useful way of spending one's life than in furthering and organizing the learned societies. And since it is most important that their connexion with Oxford and Cambridge should be maintained and strengthened, I would venture on a practical suggestion. It is increasingly difficult for

Oxford and Cambridge men to find time to attend the constantly multiplying meetings of the societies to which they belong in London. Would it be possible to arrange that the Council meetings of all the historical and archaeological societies should be held on one day in the week? If so we could try to keep that day free for them.

My friend Mr. Macmillan has asked me if I have any suggestion to make as to the future of this Society. Though I am scarcely yet entitled to play the part of Nestor, I will put into a few words what seems to me a likely forecast of our future. The past twenty-five years have been, for Hellenic Studies, a time of remarkable discoveries. The classical excavations at Olympia, the Acropolis of Athens, Delphi, and on other sites scarcely less interesting have opened endless vistas, while the influx of papyri from Egypt has done much to give a new impulse to our study of Greek literature. Unless Herculaneum is attacked, in which case it is difficult to assign a limit to our hopes, it is very unlikely that the next twenty-five years will shew us such a brilliant series of discoveries. To periods of discovery, periods of the organization of the results of discovery naturally succeed. The library of the Society has grown steadily, and the series of photographs and lantern slides has constantly increased to meet an increasing demand. Here certainly is a field which we can hold, and in which we can develop our activities. We can be more and more useful to students of ancient Hellenic life in all its phases.

And there can be no doubt that we are approaching a crisis. The learning of Greek is in most countries receding before the advance of such studies as seem to have a more immediate bearing on daily life. The stress will soon be on us in England. Let us meet it by trying to deepen and to widen Hellenic culture everywhere, and in particular in our Universities and Schools. It is largely for that purpose that our Society exists. And much is being done. At Cambridge the new arrangements for the Classical Tripos lay more emphasis on a broad culture. At Oxford there is less movement, partly because the excellence of the present classical training makes the teachers very nervous about change, for fear they should risk what they already possess. Yet on some sides that training is undoubtedly defective. Finally, in our schools there is some movement, conservative as is the English public school. And I have hope that America, whence in these days we borrow so many interesting inventions, intends to have the start of us in introducing into the public schools the rudiments of archaeology, and initiating a vigorous attempt to give reality and interest to the study of ancient life. It is in this very practical and educational direction that some of our energy must be expended in future years, though I hope that we shall not neglect that promotion and organization of research and discovery for which we have done much in the last quarter of a century, and which must of course always be our highest object.

SECOND LIST OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

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The Photographic Collection consists of the following sections:—

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the owner's collection. Among further developments contemplated are a section on epigraphy and a more comprehensive treatment of the lesser arts.

Attention is drawn to the prices of enlargements (see p 4) and the very large choice of subjects available. Specimens of these were exhibited at the meeting of the Classical Association at Oxford in June, and at the Commemorative Meeting of the Society at Burlington House in July. The fine series of enlargements (price 3s., unmounted, and 4s. 6d., mounted, to members) from negatives by Messrs. Stillman, Leaf, Elsey Smith, and Thatcher Clarke, can still be procured from the Autotype Co., 74 New Oxford Street, W.C., but most of the subjects are now included in the Society's own series. The accompanying catalogue of over 1,500 slides indicates the field more fully covered by the collection of 4,000 negatives, a detailed catalogue of which has been judged unnecessary. Members resident in London can make themselves further acquainted with the resources of this collection by consulting the prints taken from it (see below, *Collection of Reference Prints*). Country members desiring to know what negatives the Society has on any particular subject are invited to consult the Librarian.

The Reference Collection of Photographic Prints, from the negatives described above, is now accessible for consultation in the Library. The prints are now arranged in subject order in boxes, on substantial card mounts of uniform size, with adequate labels and index-cards: they thus form *inter alia* an illustrated catalogue of slides for the convenience of intending borrowers. In the same way members may select the subjects of which they desire enlargements.

The Loan Collection of Lantern Slides has been in working order for some years, and has now been recatalogued on a system which allows for indefinite expansion. The opportunity has been taken to remove some 300 of the older and poorer slides, and add about 500 from newer materials. The catalogue, which now appears, embraces and supersedes the original catalogue and its two supplements. As is now the case with accessions to the Library, subsequent additions will be catalogued annually in the Journal.

Short classified lists of slides, selected from the main catalogue, have been printed, which should prove useful for elementary lectures: these may be had on application to the Librarian. They have the advantage that they can, *if ordered intact*, be briefly quoted as the 'Greece,' 'Athens,' 'Parthenon,' 'Olympia,' 'Theatre,' or 'Sculpture' sets. For more advanced courses a selection made by the lecturer from the main catalogue is necessarily more satisfactory.

Acknowledgments.—The Council has recently tendered a hearty vote of thanks to Mr J. L. Myres, late hon. keeper of the photographic collections. The system on which the new catalogue of slides is based is one of many advantages which the collections have derived from his supervision during the past seven years. Special acknowledgments are also due for large and valuable gift

of negatives which form the basis of the collection, to Miss Harrison, Mrs. Strong, Mr. H. Awdry, Mr. L. Dyer, Dr. A. J. Evans, Professor Ernest Gardner, Dr. W. Leaf, Mr. A. H. Smith, Mr. Elsey Smith, and successive directors of the British School in Athens, and Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. The Librarian's slides and negatives, which have previously been loaned occasionally for the benefit of the Photographic Department, have been made over to the Society and are incorporated in the new catalogue.

Smaller accessions of value have also been received from Principal Bodington, Professor R. Burrows, Dr. R. Caton, Mr. J. Christie, Rev. W. Compton, Rev. Prebendary Covington, Mr. J. Crace, Mr. R. O. de Gex, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Mr. J. H. Hopkinson, Mr. C. Gutch, Mr. H. Leaf, Mr. W. Loring, Mr. J. G. Milne, Rev. T. A. Moxon, Mr. J. A. R. Munro, Professor W. M. Ramsay, Mr. S. C. Kaines Smith, Mr. R. Phené Spiers, and Mr. Wrench.

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<i>Ath. Mitth.</i>	<i>Mittheilungen des Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.</i>
<i>Arch. Zeit.</i>	<i>Archäologische Zeitung.</i>
B C.H.	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
Baumeister.	Baumeister, <i>Denkmäler.</i>
B.M.	British Museum.
B.S.A.	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
Collignon.	Collignon, <i>Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque.</i>
Gardner.	E. A. Gardner, <i>A Handbook of Greek Sculpture.</i>
Gerh. A. V.	Gerhard, <i>Auserlesene Vasenbilder.</i>
J.H.S.	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
<i>Jahrb.</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des K. Deutschen Arch. Instituts.</i>
Ohnefalsch Richter.	Ohnefalsch Richter, <i>Kypros, the Bible, and Homer.</i>
<i>Mon. d. I.</i>	<i>Monumenti inediti dell' Istituto Archeologico.</i>
Mich.	Michaelis, <i>Der Parthenon.</i>
Mon. Ant.	<i>Monumenti Antichi.</i>
<i>Ol.</i>	Olympia : Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung. Edd. E. Curtius and F. Adler.
Perrot and Chipiez.	Perrot and Chipiez. <i>Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité.</i>
<i>Phylakopi.</i>	Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos. Soc. for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Supp. Papers, No. 4.
Rayet and Collignon.	Rayet and Collignon, <i>Hist. de la Céramique grecque.</i>
Schuchhardt.	Schuchhardt, <i>Schliemann's Excavations</i> (Eng. Tr.).
Tsountas and Manatt.	Tsountas and Manatt. <i>The Mycenaean Age.</i> 1897.
<i>Wien. Vor.</i>	<i>Wiener Vorlegeblätter.</i>

TOPOGRAPHY, ARCHITECTURE, AND EXCAVATIONS.

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For objects of art, worship, &c., from Crete, cf. 'PREHELLENIC ANTIQUITIES' (pp. civ-cviii).

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NORTHERN AND CENTRAL GREECE AND ADJACENT ISLANDS.

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- 4593 Delphi, general view of sacred way near the Temple of Apollo.
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 5492 „ „ „ Caryatides, upper portions. (*Delphes*, iv. pl. 20.)
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755	„ „ Print. W. end in 1749. (Dalton.)
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For Sculptures from the Parthenon, see Phidias and the Parthenon (pp. cxi, cxii) in the Sculpture

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- 257 Dipylon, Street of tombs, view shewing the stele of Dexileos
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- 4575 „ wall of Themistokles.
- 389 Tower of the Winds.
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- 414 Stoa of Hadrian, W. end.
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ATTICA.

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 1016 „ from N.E., with Pentelicus.
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- 673 Daou, general view of church with Pentelicus behind. (*B.S.A.* ix., pl. 14.)
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 1526 Daphni, Court of the Convent.
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- 1750 Icaria, ruined church.
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 1951 ,, Acroterion from Byzantine Church.
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5735 Map of the Peloponnesus (orographical).

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MAGNA GRAECIA.

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- 5187 Agrigentum, Temple of Castor and Pollux (partly reconstructed).
 5189 „ Temple of Concord.
 4180 „ Temple of Concord. W. front.
 4177 „ Temple of Juno. N. side.
 5197 Segesta, distant view of the unfinished temple outside city.
 4188 Selinus, Temple F., foundation for paving.
 843 Syracuse, plan.
 1482 „ general view from Euryalus.
 5945 „ curved paved way within Euryalus.
 5976 „ last camp of the Athenians and mouth of harbour.
 5972 „ Epipolæ, N. cliffs, sheer without *débris*.
 5973 „ „ S. cliffs, gentle slope with *débris* of Dionysius' city.
 5191 „ quarries or Latomie.
 1490 „ another view of preceding.
 5974 „ Dascon, the marsh.
 5192 „ columns of the Olympieum.
 4284 „ theatre.
 5948 „ amphitheatre.
 5975 „ Cathedral, formerly Temple of Artemis.
 5194 „ Gothic doorway.
 5193 Taormina, the theatre, stage buildings with Castello behind.
 5686 „ the town, Castello and Mola.
 3459 Cyclops rocks.

Unplaced.

- 5586 Nîmes, Maison Carrée.

PREHELLENIC ANTIQUITIES.

This section covers those objects of Prehellenic art, worship, &c., which have been, or are liable to be, removed to Museums.

For sites, architecture, and excavations see the topographical series (pp. lxxxix-ciii) under the headings Troy, Crete, Mycenae, Tiryns &c.

Art of the Later Stone and early Bronze Age.

- 2564 Neolithic celt with magical inscription. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi. fig. 5.)
- 2728 „ figurines from Knossos and Cycladic figures for comparison, outlined drawing. (*Mon.* 1901, 146.)
- 2726 Copper implements from Cyprus.
- 2725 „ „ from Central Europe for comparison. (Much, *Kupferze.*², figs. 1-14.)
- 2722-4 Bronze Age pottery from Cyprus. (three slides.)
- 2730 Bronze Age tomb from Cyprus, with Mycenaean importations.
- 815 Syros and Siphnos: pottery, selected types. (Εφ. Αρχ. 1899, pl. 8.)
- 816 „ implements, etc. (Εφ. Αρχ. 1899, Pl. 10, 11.)
- 2570 Keros: marble figures. Ath. Nat. Mus. (*Ath. Mitt.* 1884, pl. 6.)
- 2732 Amorgos: marble figures, Ashmolean Mus.
- 2733 „ marble bowls, &c., Ashmolean Mus.

MYCENAEAN ART.

For convenience of arrangement many earlier works of art are here included.

Vases.

Successive Classes of Vases from Phylakopi.

- 7040 Dark-faced pottery with incised lines. (Cf. *Phylakopi*, pl. 4.)
- 7014 Pre-Mycenaean geometric pottery with designs in lustrous paint. (Cf. *Phylakopi*, pl. 7.)
- 7005 Pre-Mycenaean geometric beaked jugs. (Cf. *Phylakopi*, plates 8, 9.)
- 5049 Mycenaean beaked jugs. Cf. *Phylakopi*, pl. 14.)
- 7008 Various early Mycenaean Vases. Cf. *Phylakopi*, pl. 19.)
- 7027 Vase with flowers in black and red. (*Phylakopi*, pl. 23, 7.)
- 7031 b Vase with flowers in black and red. (*Phylakopi*, pl. 23, 5.)
- 5054 Later local Mycenaean pottery. (*Phylakopi*, pl. 25, 4.)
- 5056 Imported Mycenaean pottery. (*Phylakopi*, pl. 31, 1.)

Other Pre-Mycenaean and Mycenaean Vases.

- 2734 Knossos: Kamarais vases. (*J.H.S.* xxi. pls. 6, 7.)
- 5217 „ „ „
- 5215 „ Vases of earliest period of later palace. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 91, fig. 51.)
- 5521 „ Large jar with Papyrus in relief. (Cf. *B.S.A.* ix. p. 139.)
- 1465 Palaikastro: Kamarais Vases. (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 305, fig. 5.)
- 1462-4 „ Painted 'fillers.' (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 311.)
- 1467 „ Painted 'gourd vase,' cuttlefish design.
- 1466 „ Painted jug with floral design.

- 2705 Kamáttis pottery. (Mariani, *Mon. Ant.* vi. pl. 9.)
 458 Selected types of early pottery from Troy. (Baumeister, 2003-23.)
 463 Selected types of Mycenaean vases. (Baumeister, 2062, &c.)
 891 „ „ „ „ from Karpathos and Kalymnos. (*J.H.S.* viii. pl. 83.)
 2558 Painted jug with marine subject. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi. fig. 436.)
 5205 Pointed vase with aquatic decoration from Zakro. (*J.H.S.* xxii. pl. 22, 1.)
 2561 Vases with naturalistic painting from Thera. (Perrot and Chipiez, vi. pl. 20.)
 3511 Painted jug: octopus design. Marseilles Mus.
 2559 Conventionalised floral design on vase from shaft-grave. (Perrot and Chipiez vi. pl. 21.)
 489 Later style: 'Warrior Vase' from Mycenae: obv. (Schuchhardt, fig. 284.)
 713 „ „ 'Warrior Vase' rev. (*id.* fig. 285.)
 703 „ „ Warrior, horse, and dog. fragment from Tiryns.
 2536 Sub-Mycenaean vases from Lapathus in Cyprus. (Ohnefalsch Richter, pl. 18. 1.)
 2711 „ „ „ Tell-es-Safi in Philistia. (Palestine Exploration Fund, 1899, 324.)

Fresco Painting.

- 343 Bull-taming scene: Tiryns.
 831 Façade of a temple: Knossos. (*J.H.S.* xxi. pl. 5.)
 832 Restoration of preceding. (*J.H.S.* xxi. p. 193.)
 3802 Cupbearer: Knossos. (*Monthly Review*, March 1901. p. 124. fig. 6.)
 3803 Figure of a girl: Knossos. (*B.S.A.* vii. fig. 17.)
 5530 Dolphins: Knossos.
 70007^a Flying fish: Melos. (*Philokopi*, pl. 3.)
 3512 Figures with asses' heads: Mycenae. (*J.H.S.* xiv. p. 81.)
 3513 Reconstruction of ceiling: spirals. (*J.H.S.* xiv. pl. 12.)

Sculpture and Modelling.

- 2585 2 views of a statuette from Campos. (Tsountas, *Μυκ. Πολ.* pl. 1.)
 3804 Upper part of human figure in relief: Knossos. (*B.S.A.* vii. fig. 6.)
 3806 Head of bull: Knossos. (*Monthly Rev.* 1901. 126, fig. 7.)
 5218 Ivory figure and heads: Knossos. (*B.S.A.* viii., parts of pls. 2, 3.)
 2720 Ivory heads with helmets, from a drawing: Spata. (Reichel, *Hom. W.* fig. 38, 39.)
 344 Stele from 'Shaft-grave': spirals, chariot and armed man. (Schuchhardt, fig. 146.)
 3516 Carved disc of Sarobina: Berlin.

Gems.

- 2710 Miscellaneous selection. (*B.M. Cat of Gems*, pl. 1.)
 2571 „ „ (Perrot and Chipiez. vi. pl. 16.)
 839 „ „ ('*Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1888. pl. 10.)
 3856 Gems illustrating Mycenaean dress and worship.
 833 Male deity and lions. (*J.H.S.* xxi. p. 163.)
 5872 Female deity with lions and male worshipper.
 3515 Gems with animal figures. (*J.H.S.* xiv. 106-153.)
 3853 „ „ „
 3818 Cretan seal-stones, prismatic, with pictographic signs.
 3510 Designs on Cretan seal-stones and Egyptian scarabs compared. (Evans, *J.H.S.* xvi. p. 327.)

Gold.

- 346 Gold Mask from 'Shaft-graves'. (Schl. *Mus.* fig. 474.)
 345 Diadems. (Schuchhardt, fig. 153.)
 3517 Portion of a diadem. (Schuchhardt, fig. 149.)
 3518 Gold breastplate, outline sketch of the spiralic design on. (Cf. Schuchhardt, fig. 256.)
 347^b Disc with octopod design. (Schuchhardt, fig. 190.)
 347^a „ „ design of wavy band. (Schuchhardt, fig. 189.)
 2562 Four discs with designs of leaf, butterfly octopus and spiral. (Perrot and Chipiez. vi. fig. 546.)

- 200 Engraved gold ring: group of female figures. (Schl. *Myc.* fig. 550.)
 883 " " Scenes of fighting and hunting. (Schl. *Myc.* figs. 334, 335.)
 830 " " Pillar-worship scene. (*J.H.S.* xxi. p. 170.)
 3521 Gold cup with fluted ornament. (Schl. *Myc.* fig. 342.)
 496 " with doves on handles, the 'Cup of Nestor.' (Schuchhardt, fig. 240.)
 3601 " from Vaphio: bull-taming scenes. (Gardner, fig. 1.)
 335 Interior of gold cup with spiral decoration, from Aegina. (*J.H.S.* xiii. p. 196.)
 336 Gold pendant from Aegina. (*J.H.S.* xiii. p. 197.)
 3912 Small gold shrine and goddess. (Schl. *Myc.* fig. 423.)
 216 Jewellery worn by Mme. Schliemann.
 3906 Gold ornaments of Mycenaean style found in second city of Troy. (Schuchhardt, p. 65.)
 190 'Priam's Treasure,' from Second City of Troy.

Silver.

- 876 Fragment of a silver bowl with siege scene. (Eφ. Παχ. 1891, pl. 2. 2.)
 1079 Silver cow's head. (Schl. *Myc.* fig. 327.)

Terracottas.

- 5208 Terracotta idol: Knossos. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 99. fig. 56.)
 5207 Terracotta 'sella gestatoria': Knossos. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 31. fig. 15*a*.)
 5204 Early shrine, painted terracotta pillars and doves: Knossos. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 29. fig. 14.)

Inlaid Daggers.

- 481 Lion-hunt scene. (Cf. Schuchhardt, fig. 227.)
 699 Cats hunting water birds. Obv. and rev. (*Ath. Mitt.* vii. 8.)
 5891 Part of the obv. of above on a larger scale.

Miscellaneous Mycenaean Objects.

- 235 Design of frieze of glass-paste and alabaster: Tiryns. (Collignon, fig. 26.)
 5201 Small porphyry frieze of similar design: Knossos. (*B.S.A.* vii. p. 55.)
 5212 Tablets of porcelain mosaics (houses and towers): Knossos. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 15. fig. 3.)
 5213 " " " (warriors, animals, &c.): Knossos. (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 21. fig. 10.)
 5206 Stone weight from Knossos. (*B.S.A.* vii. p. 42.)
 1460 Steatite lampstand from Palaikastro.
 1459 Steatite lamp on stand from Palaikastro.
 7033*a* The steatite 'fishermen' lampstand. (Cf. *Phylakop.* pl. 22.)
 3522 Draughtboard from Enkomi, from a drawing. (*J.H.S.* xvi. p. 289, 290.)
 3805 Gaming board from Knossos. (*B.S.A.* vii. fig. 25.)
 3807 Clay tablets with linear script. (*B.S.A.* vi. pl. 1.)
 2708 Spearhead, knife, axe, from Mycenae. (*Μυκ. Πολ.* pl. 7.)
 455 Axe-head from Mycenae. (*Μυκ. Πολ.* pl. 7.)
 2707 Swords from Mycenae. (Tsountas, *Μυκ. Πολ.* pl. 7.)
 3523 Fibulae, etc. from tombs in lower town at Mycenae.
 2706 Fibulae from Mycenae. (Tsountas, *Μυκ. Πολ.* pl. 7.)
 1461 Shells from houses at Palaikastro.

Egyptian Contact with Aegean Civilisation.

- 3524 Nubian pots with spirals.
 3525 Nubian pot: design of boat, groups of men, and stags.
 2730 Aegean vases (kamárais type from Kahun). (*J.H.S.* xi. pl. 14.)
 3510 Designs from Cretan seal-stones and Egyptian scarabs compared. (*J.H.S.* xiv. 327.)
 3526 Cartouche of King Khyan, from Knossos. (*B.S.A.* vii. fig. 21.)
 5133 Vase from Mycenae, with cartouche of Amenhetep III.
 5139 Upper part of an ape in relief, with cartouche of Amenhetep II.
 2731 Egyptian statuette from Knossos. (*Et. Égypt. Fond. Report*, 1899—1900, p. 60 ff.)

- 834 Egyptian lions and solar disc: outline drawing. Cf. Cretan seal-stones. (*J.H.S.* xxi. p. 162.)
 1010 Gryphons, Egyptian (Aa-hotep) and Mycenaean. (Schuchhardt, fig. 186.)
 1006 Egyptian fresco painting (from original). Cats-hunting. B.M. No. 170.
 3527 „ „ „ bull. (Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. 3.)
 1004 „ „ „ bull and lion (unpublished).
 3528 „ „ „ calf. (Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. 4.)
 3529 Spiral ornament on columns, photographed *in situ*. (Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. 10.)
 3530 Spiralic design of Nefer-hotep ceiling: drawing. (Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'art égyptien*, 81.)
 3531 Egyptian spiralic design, outline drawing. (*id.* 83.)
 3532-3 Egyptian spiral and lotus pattern, outline drawing. (*id.* 85, 86.)
 2709 Kefti vases: from Rekhmara tomb, outline drawing.
 3534 „ „ single example, outline drawing (*id.* 100.)

EARLY IRON AGE.

Vases of the Geometrical Period Classified under Local Styles.

- 705 Argolis: Tiryns: man, horse, and fish. (Schuchhardt, fig. 131.)
 811 „ Troezen. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 86, figs. 46, 47.)
 725 Attica: large 'Dipylon' crater, shewing funeral procession. (Baumeister, 2071.)
 879 „ Design from Dipylon vase, beasts devouring a man. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1885, pl. 8.)
 776 „ „ „ „ choric dance. (*Jahrb.* 1887, pl. 3.)
 2718 „ „ „ „ Warriors.
 808 Boeotia. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 81, figs. 35, 35a.)
 809 Boeotia: (a) horse and duck, (b) lions. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 82, figs. 37, 37a.)
 2696 „ the same: side (a) only. (*B.C.H.* xxii. 574, fig. 1.)
 2702 „ vase with panel and friezes in relief. (*B.C.H.* xxii. pl. 4.)
 804 Crete: Anopolis. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 37, fig. 17.)
 806 „ Anopolis. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 41, figs. 26, 27.)
 805 „ Cnossos. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 39, fig. 21.)
 807 „ Cnossos. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 42, figs. 29-31.)
 2698 Eretria. (*B.C.H.* xxii. 279, fig. 2.)
 810 Laconia: Amyklaion. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 84, figs. 41, 42.)
 803 Melos. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 34, figs. 11, 12.)
 801 Thera. (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 31, figs. 6, 7.)
 802 „ (*Jahrb.* 1899, p. 32, figs. 8, 9.)

Vases of the Orientalising Period Classified under Local Styles.

- 2699 Aegina: gryphon-headed oenochoe, outline drawing. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 28.)
 897 „ Herakles and Geryon, whole vase and design. (*J.H.S.* v. p. 176.)
 885 Attica: Early Attic: Warriors, etc. (Baumeister, 2079.)
 2695 „ Early Attic vase with design of Siren. (*B.C.H.* xxii. 283, fig. 4.)
 3537 „ Early Attic: Herakles and Nessos: Gorgons. (*Int. Denk.* 57.)
 5013 „ Early Attic' (Ath. Nat. Mus. Nos. 902, 1080.)
 2735 Corinth: 'proto-Corinthian' fragments. Ashm. Mus.
 854 „ Design from the Macmillan lekythos. (*J.H.S.* xi. pl. 2.)
 2703 „ orientalisng lekythos and pyxis. (Rayet and Collignon, pl. 5.)
 983 „ votive tablets. (*id.* pl. 6.)
 744 Cyrene: Arcesilas vase: silphium-weighing. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 43.)
 114 „ 'Cadmus' and 'Prometheus' vases. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, pl. 12.)
 2535 Cyprus: Graeco-Phoenician vase. (Helbig, *Epos*², fig. 20.)
 2694 Eretria. (*B.C.H.* xxii. 281, fig. 3.)
 2701 Melos: boys on horses. (Rayet and Collignon, pl. 2.)
 601 „ warriors in combat. (Baumeister, 2086.)
 602 „ Apollo and Artemis. (*id.* p. 53.)
 474 „ bearded head. (Baumeister, 240.)
 5875 „ amphora. (*J.H.S.* xxii. p. 69.)
 5876 „ panel picture, Dionysus and Ariadne (?) (*J.H.S.* xxii. pl. 5.)

- 5877 Melos : spiralic designs from Rheneian Vases. (*J.H.S.* xxii. p. 53, fig. 7.)
 5878 „ spiralic designs from Rheneian Vases. (*J.H.S.* xxii. p. 55, fig. 8.)
 5879 „ small bowl with 'Melian' decoration. (*J.H.S.* xxii. p. 71.)
 877 Naukratis : Polemarchos amphora. (*Naukratis*, i. pl. 4.)
 3538 „ selected fragments. (*Naukratis*, i. pl. 5.)
 2697 Phanagoria : Hermitage. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 30.)
 777 Rhodes : plate : Gorgon. (*J.H.S.* vi. pl. 59.)
 456 „ „ Euphorbus, Menelaus, Hector. B.M.
 2700 „ oenochoe. Louvre. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 26.)
 143 Uncertain : Aristonophos vase. (*Mon. d. I.* ix. 4.)

Miscellaneous Works of Art (Geometrical and Orientalising) of the Early Iron Age.

- 1025 Boeotia : gold band : lotos ornament. (*Ep. 'Apx.* 1892, pl. 12.)
 2533 „ Cypro-Mycenaean vase handle : bulls, demons with vases. (Ohnefalsch Richter, clvii. 4.)
 2534 Cyprus : portions of iron sword from Tamassos. (*id.* cxxxvii. 7.)
 2537 „ Graeco-Phoenician shield boss from Amathus. (*id.* cxlii. 5.)
 812 Egypt : bronze bowl of eighteenth dynasty, photo from original. (*Jahrb.* 1898, pl. 2.)
 706 'Phoenician Bowl' : Cyprus : siege scene : drawing. (Helbig, *Epos*², pl. 1.)
 341 „ „ Praeneste. Egyptian subjects : drawing. (*Mon. d. I.* x. pl. 32, fig. 1.)
 513 „ „ Cyprus : (Egyptian) photo and drawing. (*Jahrb.* 1898, figs. 7, 7a.)
 340 „ „ Cyprus : gryphons and lions. drawing (Clermont Ganneau, *L'Imag. Phén.* pl. 4.)
 760 Archaic Terracotta statuette with geometric ornaments. (Perrot and Chipiez, vii, fig. 28.)
 35 Archaic bronze from Olympia. Priam redeeming Hector. (*Aufs. E. Curtius gew.* pl. 4.)
 3602-3 „ „ „ „ Herakles and Triton compared with same subject on a Mycenaean gem. (Gardner, figs. 2-3.)
 2674 Painted marble fragments from Olympia. (*Ol.* pl. 113.)
 2675 Painted terracotta from Treasury of Gela, Olympia. (*Ol.* pl. 117.)

SCULPTURE.

Notes on the Section on Sculpture.

— denotes that the photograph is taken direct from the original or from an adequate photographic reproduction.

† denotes that the photograph is from a cast.

Where, for any reason, the photograph is from a drawing or engraving the fact is noted in the text.

In some cases doubtful attributions of works of art to particular sculptors have been adopted for convenience of cataloguing.

EARLY PERIOD—480 B.C.

Development of the Male Figure.

- 3258 Colossus * of Naxos, *in situ*.
 4634 „ „ of Delos, *in situ*, upper half front view.
 5545 „ „ „ „ the same, back view.
 3294 Early 'Apollo.' Archaic male head * in Ath. Nat. Mus. (Cf. *B.C.H.* 1886, pl. 5.)
 3615 „ „ „ Apollo of Thera.* (Gardner, fig. 15.)
 3618 „ „ „ Cretan Statue.* (Gardner, fig. 18.)
 3620 „ „ „ Apollo of Tenea.* (Gardner, fig. 20.)
 3623 „ „ „ Apollo of Orchomenos.* (Gardner, fig. 23.)
 3624 „ „ „ Apollo from Ptoos * in Boeotia. (Gardner, fig. 24.)
 3625 „ „ „ Apollo from Ptoos — shewing Aeginetan influence. (Gardner, fig. 25.)

Development of the Female Figure.

- 3614 'Artemis' of Delos, * figure dedicated by Nicandra. (Gardner, fig. 14.)
 3611 'Hera' of Samos.* (Gardner, fig. 11.)
 3618 Nikè of Archermus.* (Gardner, fig. 13.)
 725 Miscellaneous illustrations of the early type of Winged Nikè.
 5822 Hera of Samos,† Nikè of Archermus,† and dedication of Nicandra.†

See also the series of female figures from the Acropolis below.

Archaic Statues from the Acropolis.

- 3 Poros pediment. Heracles and Triton (drawing). (*Ath. Mitth.* xv. pl. 2.)
 3627 „ „ „ Typhon.* (Gardner, fig. 27.)
 320 „ „ „ Head of Typhon.*

A chronological arrangement of the Archaic female statues is here attempted.

- 3612 Archaic female statue * with fruit. (Gardner, fig. 12.)
 654 „ „ „ „ Two views. (Rhomaides, pls. 7, 8.)
 1936 „ „ „ „ (Cf. Collignon, I, fig. 173.)
 3630 „ „ „ „ * in Doric Chiton, full face. (Gardner, fig. 30.)
 4420 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ profile view.
 741 „ „ „ „ with inset. of Antenor (outline drawing) (*Jahrb.* ii. p. 141.)
 3628 „ „ „ „ * (Gardner, fig. 28.)
 653 „ „ „ „ „ upper portion of preceding, profile view.

- 557 Archaic female statue * (Cf. Collignon, I, fig. 171.)
 3629 " " " " (Gardner, fig. 29.)
 3637 " " " " shewing Doric influence. (Gardner, fig. 37.)
 5599 " " " " * Profile view of preceding.
 3631 " " " " * Head, two views. (Gardner, fig. 31.)
 3638 Head of an ephēbus, * three-quarter face to l-ft. (Gardner, fig. 38.)
 1721 " " " " * full face.
 420 " " " " * three-quarter face to right.
 619 Athena, central figure of the Pre-Persian Temple in the time of Peisistratus.
 3632 Figure carrying calf.* (Gardner, fig. 32.)
 618 " " " " * another view of preceding.
 3670 'Mourning' Athene. Relief (Gardner, fig. 70.)

Early Reliefs.

- 3633 Athens, Stelē of Aristion." (Gardner, fig. 33.)
 96 " Stelē of Aristion.* Stelē of Alkēnor."
 1752 " Warrior's Stelē and fragments": from Ikaria.
 3670 " 'Mourning' Athene." Relief. (Gardner, fig. 70.)
 4159 Cyzicus, Remains of a heraldic group of lions and bulls* (B.S.A. viii. pl. 4, 2a.)
 4166 " Archaic relief of Heracles." (B.S.A. viii. pl. 4.)
 5494 Delphi, Metope Heracles and Cerynean stag.* (Delphes, iv. pl. 41.)
 5495 " " Heracles and Cygnus.* (Delphes, iv. pl. 42.)
 5496 " " Dioscuri and Orpheus.* Dioscuri and Idas.* (Delphes, iv. pl. 4.)
 719 " Fragment of Relief.* Nude Athlete (?).
 3609 Ephesus, Sculptured Column * from the early temple of Artemis. (Gardner, fig. 9.)
 3617 Pharsalian Relief.* (Gardner, fig. 17.)
 3621 Selinus, Metope* from first Temple. Perseus and Medusa. (Gardner, fig. 21.)
 759 " " * from first Temple. Heracles and Cerceops.
 3622 " " * from second Temple. Europa on Bull. (Gardner, fig. 22.)
 168 Sparta, Archaic sculptured base.* 'Menelaus and Helen.'
 551 " Funerary relief of seated figures.† (Ath. Mitth. ii. pl. 22.)
 3619 " " " " " " (Gardner, fig. 19.)
 266 " " " " " " lower portion.
 3616 Thasos. Relief to Apollo and Nymphs." (Gardner, fig. 16.)
 3619a Xanthos, Harpy Tomb, North Side." B.M. 94. 2. } (Gardner, fig. 10.)
 3619b " Harpy Tomb, West Side." B.M. 94. 1. }
 670 " Harpy Tomb, South Side." B.M. 94. 4.
 672 " View of the Harpy Tomb *in situ*.

Unlabeled.

- 3608 Seated statue of Chares from Branchidae." B.M. 14. (Gardner, fig. 8.)

The Tyrannicides.

- 3634 Relief on chair at Broomhall.† (Gardner, fig. 34.)
 3287 Group on the shield of Athena on a Panathenaic Amphora.
 3635 The two figures from Naples"; side by side and taken from the front. (Gardner, fig. 35.)
 3636 Aristogiton.* The figure at Naples in profile with the Hellenistic head. (Gardner, fig. 36.)
 742 Head of Archaic female statue† possibly by Antenor compared with Head of Harmodius.†
 (Jahrb. ii. pl. 16.)

Aeginetan Sculptures.

- 3640 Aegina. The W. Pediment, in Thorwaldsen's order, from a drawing. (Gardner, fig. 40.)
 5896 " " " " " Central group (Cf. Furtw. und Ulrichs, *Denkmäler*, pl. 2.)
 3641 " E. Pediment. Figure bending forward." (Gardner, fig. 41.)
 3642 " " " Dying Warrior." (Gardner, fig. 42.)
 3643 " Bronze Head * in Aeginetan style from the Acropolis. (Gardner, fig. 43.)

SCULPTURE OF THE FINEST PERIOD.

Fifth Century.

Contemporaries of Pheidias.

5743	Alcámenes.	Hermes." Cf. <i>Ath. Mitth.</i> 1904, pl. 18.)
5753	"	Head of Hermes." Cf. <i>Ath. Mitth.</i> 1904, pl. 19.)
4843	Calamis.	Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo." B.M.
5657	"	Apollo from the theatre at Athens." Choiseul-Gouffier type.
3650	Myron.	Discobolos.* Lanciotti copy. (Gardner, fig. 50.)
1261	"	" † 2 views of a figure of the same type.
3651	"	Marsyas.* Lateran. (Gardner, fig. 51.)
1018	"	" " B.M. Bronze.
1307	"	Diomedes.† Munich.
3674	Polycleitus.	Doryphoros." Naples. (Gardner, fig. 74.)
1050	"	Diadumenos.* Ath. Nat. Mus.
3675	"	" * of Vaison. B.M. (Gardner, fig. 75.)
1308	"	" " Farnese Copy in B.M.
835	"	" * Madrid. (Furtw. <i>Meist.</i> fig. 98.)
1133	"	'Hera,' head of.* (<i>J.H.S.</i> xxi. pl. 3.)
3676	"	Amazon.* (Gardner, fig. 76.)
3679	"	Head from Heraeum at Argos.* Gardner, fig. 79.)
913	"	Statue of youthful Pan.* Leyden.

Pheidias and the Parthenon.

For views and architecture of the Parthenon cf. 'Acropolis' (pp. cxv, xcvi) in the topographical series.

726	Sectional restoration of E. end of Parthenon (Niemann), shewing disposition of sculptures.	
900	Diagram, shewing positions of sculptures.	
4789	Metope.*	Centaur and Lapith. (Mich. iii. 26, B.M. 315) earliest style.
4780a	" *	" " " " Mich. iii. 2, B.M. 305) middle style.
4781	" "	" " " " (Mich. iii. 4, B.M. 307) " "
4793	" "	" " " " (Mich. iv. 32, B.M. 321) " "
4782	" *	" " " " (Mich. iii. 3, B.M. 306.) " "
4785	" "	" " " " (Mich. iii. 7, B.M. 310) finest style.
3656	" "	" " " " (Mich. iii. 27, B.M. 316) " "
3657	" "	" " " " (Mich. iii. 28, B.M. 317.) " "
3658	East Pediment.	(Carrey's drawing.) (Gardner, fig. 58.)
990	" "	Centre. The Mæand Puteal. (Schneider, <i>Geburt der Athena</i> pl. 1.)
976	" "	" " R.F. Vase. Birth of Athena.
5817	" "	North end. (Carrey's drawing.)
5813	" "	" " Sauer's drawing. (<i>Ath. Mitth.</i> xvi. pl. 3.)
4799	" "	" " View in Elgin Room.*
7180	" "	" " Nikè.*
3663	" "	" " The 'Fates.'* (Gardner, fig. 63.)
4809	" "	" " Selene † and horse.*
7122	" "	" " Horse of Selene.*
1161	" "	South end. (Carrey's drawing.)
4797	" "	" " View in Elgin Room."
757	" "	" " 'Demeter and Persephone.'*
4805	" "	" " Horses of Helios, Theseus.*
3661	" "	" " 'Theseus.'* (Gardner, fig. 61.)
201	" "	" " Horses of Helios."
3659	West Pediment.	(Carrey's drawing.) (Gardner, fig. 59.)
753	" "	restored by Schwerzek.
215	" "	Central Fragments. (<i>Ath. Mitth.</i> xvi. pl. 3.)
4800	" "	North end. (View in Elgin Room.)
5819	" "	" " (Carrey's drawing.)

4811	West Pediment.	North end.	Cecrops and daughter."
5157	"	"	the same," from the side, <i>in situ</i> .
3662	"	"	Ilissos."
5829	"	South end.	(Carrey's drawing, fac-simile.
3660	"	"	De Laborde Head.† (Gardner, fig. 60.)
1064	The Frieze."		Photographed <i>in situ</i> .
979	"	"	Diagram shewing order of Panathenaic procession.
208	East Frieze.		Hermes to Ares." (Mich. xiv. 24-27.)
209	"	"	Zeus, Hera, and Iris." (Mich. xiv. 28-31.)
210	"	"	Head of Iris.†
4707	"	"	Central group," (Mich. xiv. 32-35.)
4798	"	"	Athene and Hephaestus." (Mich. xiv. 36, 37.)
3665	"	"	Poseidon, Dionysos, Demeter.† (Mich. xiv. 38-49.) (Gardner, fig. 65.)
219	"	"	Aphrodite, Eros, Eilers"†. (Mich. xiv. 41-46.)
4712	"	"	Maidens.† (Mich. xiv. 49-56.)
4714	North Frieze.		Cattle.† (Mich. xii. 3-6.)
4715	"	"	Sheep.† (Mich. xii. 8-12.)
207	"	"	Pitcher Carriers.† (Mich. xii. 13, 16-19.)
522	"	"	Chariot group,*† (Mich. xii. 45-47.) (Cf. <i>J.H.S.</i> xiii. p. 97, fig. 5.)
4721	"	"	Chariot group.† (Mich. xii. 54-58.)
4754	"	"	Horsemen." (Mich. xiii. 110-114.)
203	"	"	" (Mich. xiii. 115-118.)
3664	"	"	" (Gardner, fig. 64.)
4738	"	"	Youths and horses. (Mich. xiii. 130-134.)
202	West Frieze.		Horsemen." (Mich. ix. 2, 3.)
4748	"	"	Horsemen. Youth.† (Mich. ix. 11, 12.)
4745	"	"	Horse and man.† (Mich. ix. 15.)
4749	"	"	Horse. Youths.† (Mich. ix. 22-24.)
1314	Athena Parthenos.		The Varvakeion copy." Side view.
3652	"	"	" " " " Front view (Gardner, fig. 52.)
3659	"	"	The Lenormant copy.† (Gardner, fig. 53.)
685	"	"	Medallion: Head of Athena Parthenos (Hermitage).
689	"	"	Head of Parthenos on Athenian coin (obverse only).
3207	"	"	Other coins of Athens shewing this type.

Other Works of Pheidias.

3654	Olympian Zeus.	Coin of Elis.	Seated Zeus Nikephoros. (Gardner, fig. 54.)
3655	"	"	Head of Zeus. (Gardner, fig. 55.)
837	Lemnian Athena*†.	Dresden statue with cast of Bologna head.	(Furt. <i>Mus.</i> 5p. 2)
838	Lemnian Athena.	Bologna head of Athena".	
5677	Amazon" after Pheidias.		Gardner, fig. 77.

Sculpture from Olympia.

3648	Temple of Zeus.	Metope.	Heracles and Bull." (Gardner, fig. 48.)
3649	"	"	Heracles and Atlas." (Gardner, fig. 49.)
1979	"	"	Heracles and Augean Stable."
1011	"	"	Athens from same metope."
577	"	"	Heracles and Nemean lion."
1848	"	"	Head of Athena from same metope."
576	"	"	Profile view of preceding."
3644, 5	"	"	Pediment: restored. (Gardner, figs. 44, 45.)
1332	"	"	E. Pediment: 3 restorations compared.
1977	"	"	View in Museum.
1841	"	"	Head of Cladeus".
3647	"	"	Agad Scen." (Gardner, fig. 47.)
3646	"	W. Pediment.	Apollo". (Gardner, fig. 46.)
1335	"	"	Head of Apollo, profile.

- 1342 Temple of Zeus. W. Pediment. Head of Phithous. (Cf. *Ol.* pl. 27, 2.)
 1348 „ „ „ Group of Lapith woman and Centaur. (Cf. *Ol.* pl. 32.)
 1340 „ „ „ Head of young Lapith attacked by Centaur. (Cf. *Ol.* 28, 2.)
 1336 „ „ „ Figure in left angle. (*Ol.* pl. 33, 1.)
 1341 „ „ „ A full face view of preceding.

For the Herms of Proxiteles, cf. 'Proxiteles' below.

- 5897 Nikè of Paeonius, full face.
 3680 „ „ * three-quarter face.
 1983 „ „ „ restored
 5641 „ „ „ base of the statue, *in situ*.
 3192 Head of Aphrodite (fourth century). (Cf. *Ol.* pl. 54.)
 1352 Bronze head of boxer (of Hellenistic age).

Miscellaneous Fifth Century Sculpture.

- 5952 Bronze charioteer from Delphi.
 5953 Head of the Delphi charioteer.
 3584 Running maiden.*
 3666, 7 Theseum Metopes from drawings. Theseus and Geryon. Theseus and Bull. (Gardner, figs. 66, 67.)
 1344 Fragments from the sculptures at Rhamnus. (Εφ' Ἀρχ. 1891, pl. 8.)
 422 Temple at Phigaleia. General view of Metopes* and frieze. S. side B.M.
 3673 „ „ „ The frieze, S. side. Herakles slab. B.M. (Gardner, fig. 73.)
 370 Selinus. Metope from later Temple. Zeus and Hera.
 5831 Standing discobolus.
 4821 Temple of Nikè Apteros at Athens. Frieze. B.M.
 4859 b „ „ „ „ Balustrade. Victories with Bull.
 3668 „ „ „ „ „ Victory loosing sandal.
 1780 Temple of Apollo at Delos. Boreas group. Ath. Nat. Mus. (Cf. Collignon II, fig. 91.)
 1751 „ „ „ „ Sculptured fragments.
 3669 Caryatid from Erechtheion. B.M. 407. (Gardner, fig. 69.)
 5497 Capital with female figures from Delphi. (*Delphes*, iv, pl. 60.)
 4833 Nereid Monument. View in Nereid room shewing friezes* and two Nereids.
 4924 „ „ „ Slab from large frieze. Cf. Collignon II, fig. 103.)
 1740 Plutus of Cephisodotus. (Peiraeus.)
 3678 Amazon. The Mattei figure. (Gardner, fig. 78.)

Fourth Century.

Praxiteles, Originals and Copies.

- 3682 Hermes. (Gardner, fig. 82.)
 3683 „ head of. (Gardner, fig. 83.)
 376 „ „ * another view.
 943 „ Head of the infant Dionysus.†
 3684 Cnidian Aphrodite.† Vatican copy without drapery. (Gardner, fig. 84.)
 3194 „ „ The Berlin head*, full face and profile.
 3193 „ „ The Petworth head* (3 views).
 3193 b „ „ Full face view of Petworth head.* (Cf. Furt. *Meist.* pl. 17.)
 3685 Young Satyr.* (Gardner, fig. 85.)
 1312 „ „ torso† in the Louvre.

Works conveniently considered under the name of Praxiteles.

- 951 Hermes from Andros.*
 3681 The Eirene and Ploutos of Cephisodotus. (Gardner, fig. 81.)
 4504 Aphrodite Pourtales.* Bronze statuette. (B.M.)
 3192 Head of Aphrodite from Olympia. (Cf. *Ol.* pl. 54.)
 4505 Hypnos, Bronze head* in B.M. (Murray, *Bronzes*, pl. facing p. 72.)
 767 „ „ † 2 views of preceding.

- 1354 Hypnos, Statue in Madrid from a drawing.
 885 Apollo*. 2 views of a head in the collection Baraccò. (Helbig 49-494.)
 1327 Artemis. Statuette from Cyprus. Vienna (Klein, *Proc.* p. 317.)
 3305 " Torso of Eros." Naples, Mus. Borbon. No. 201.
 1365 Praxitelean modification of Westmacott athlete.*
 938 The Aberdeen Head in B.M.*
 3723 'Eubuleus,' head of* from Eleusis. (Gardner, fig. 123.)
 3686 Mantinean basis.* Slab of Apollo and Marsyas. (Gardner, fig. 86.)
 568 " " " Slab of three Muses, one seated on a rock.
 569 " " " Slab of three Muses, one holding lyre in extended arm.

Scopas, presumably originals.

- 3659 The heads from Tegea.† (Gardner, fig. 89.)
 1376 The fragments from Tegea.†
 578^a The unhelmeted head.*
 1821 The helmeted head.*
 578^b Head of the boat.*

Works conveniently considered under the name of Scopas.

- 855 Meleager.* Vatican and Medici heads, 2 views of each.
 1353 Head of an athlete.* Ath. Nat. Mus.
 1343 Head of youthful Heracles from Genzano B.M.
 3299 Head of a young Triton.
 3701 'Themis'.* Head. Ath. Nat. Mus. (Gardner, fig. 101.)
 1316 Apollo Musegetes.* B.M. 1795.
 888 Head of Apollo.* (Helbig, *Collect. Baraccò*, 49, 50.)
 937 Marble bearded head.* Palazzo Giustiniani-Recanati, Venice.
 3703 Niobe and youngest daughter.* (Gardner, fig. 103.)
 3704 Niobid.* Chiaramonti. (Gardner, fig. 104.)
 3705 Son of Niobe.* (Gardner, fig. 105.)
 3699 Demeter* of Cnidus. B.M. (Gardner, fig. 99.)
 447 Head of Demeter of Cnidus.
 3702 Temple of Diana, Ephesus. Sculptured drum. Alcestis.* (Gardner, fig. 102.)

The Mausoleum.

- 5951 Oldfield's restoration of the Mausoleum. (P. Gardner, *Sculptured tombs*, fig. 79.)
 5950 Pullan's restoration. (P. Gardner, *Sculptured tombs*, fig. 78.)
 3690 Mausolos.* B.M. (Gardner, fig. 90.)
 4829 Artemisia.* B.M.
 3691 The Amazon frieze. B.M. Slab* with Amazon turning round on her horse. (Gardner, fig. 91.)
 537 " " " Helmeted warrior.* (Cf. Mitchell, *Hist. of Sculpture*, fig. 200.)
 540 " " " Two warriors attacking a fallen Amazon.*
 536 " " " Youthful warrior kneeling defending himself with shield.*
 538 " " " Head* of preceding.
 948 " " " Head of an Amazon.*
 3692 The Chariot frieze. B.M. Charioteer.* (Gardner, fig. 92.)
 539 " " " Upper half* of preceding on larger scale.
 1362 Heroic head* from S. side of Mausoleum. B.M.

Lysippos.

- 1093 Statue of Hagias.* (*B. U. H.* 1899, pl. 11.)
 5599 " " " Profile view of the head. (*Dolphins*, iv, pl. 64.)
 3693 The Apoxyomenus*. (Gardner, fig. 98.)
 1363 Heads of Apoxyomenus (Vatican copy) and Alexander (Louvre copy) compared.
 3707 Head of Alexander.* B.M. (Gardner, fig. 107.)

534 Youthful head full face." A Replica of the head of the Lysippean youth with raised foot in B.M.

535 Profile view of preceding.

Sidonian Sarcophagi.

- 946 Alexander Sarcophagus. General view shewing the hunting scene.
 7124 " " Figure of Alexander in the hunting scene.
 7125 " " Head of Alexander in the hunting scene.
 7175 " " General view shewing battle scene.
 3706 " " Battle scene." (Gardner, fig. 106.
 5673 " " left hand portion of preceding on larger scale."
 761 Sarcophagus of mourning women. Long side.
 762 " " " Second long side."

Miscellaneous Fourth Century Sculpture.

- 3695 Asclepius from Epidaurus." (Gardner, fig. 55.)
 3687 Amazon from Epidaurus." (Gardner, fig. 87.)
 3700 Head of Asclepius" from Melos. B.M. 550. (Gardner, fig. 100.)
 4814 Dionysus* from Monument of Thrasyllus. B.M. 482.
 382 Head of a Faun." Munich Glypt. No. 102. (Cf. *Furt. Meist.*, fig. 156.)
 84 Persephone" from Cnidus. B.M. 1302.
 3453 Monumental lion" from Cnidus. B.M. 1350.
 62 Mourning Figure from Tomb. (*Subscript Coll.*, pl. 15.)
 3688 Ganymede after Leochares." (Gardner, fig. 88.)
 3696 Heads by Damophon." (Gardner, fig. 96.)
 3697 Drapery by Damophon." (Gardner, fig. 97.)
 5495 Head of an old man." (*Delphes*, iv. pl. 73)

Fifth and Fourth Century Reliefs.

In the series of Attic Grave Reliefs a chronological order has been attempted.

- 552a Grave Relief. Man and Woman.
 323 " " of Menecratea and Meneas. (Conze, *Grabreliefs*, i. pl. 50.)
 631b " " of Aripheades. (Conze, pl. 139.)
 1015 " " Hegilla and Philagrus. (Conze, i. pl. 105.)
 1026 " " of Nikè.
 553a " " Girl with doll, bird, and dog. (Conze, pl. 157.)
 553b " " seated goddess, woman.
 632b " " of Mynnion. (Conze, ii. pl. 176.)
 3438 " " from the Ilissus. (Conze, ii. pl. 211, no. 1055.)
 3694 " " Dexileos. (Gardner, fig. 94.)
 61 " " (Conze, i. pl. 78.)
 724 " " of Pamphile and Demetria. (Conze, i. pl. 40.)
 2042 " " Boy with lekythos, *in situ*.
 321 " " of Aristion (a youth). (*Arch. Zeit.* 1871, p. 23, no. 50.)
 634 " " of Phaidimus. (Conze, ii. pl. 187.)
 259 " " of Aristomache. (Conze, ii. pl. 154.)
 3693 " " of Hegeso. (Gardner, fig. 93.)
 4573 " " The same *in situ*.
 5886 " " Mother, nurse, child. (*J.H.S.* xiv. pl. 11.)
 1027 " " of Selino. (Conze, i. pl. 76.)
 3439 " " of Corallion. (Conze, i. pl. 98.)
 3461 " " funeral banquet, boat in foreground.
 638b Attic Marble Lekythos* of Aristonike. (Conze, *Grabreliefs*, ii. no. 456.)
 635a " " of Mys and Meles. (Brueckner, *Griech. Grabrel.* p. 12, L.)
 638a " " of Nikostrata. (Conze, i. pl. 90.)
 846 " " Athlete balancing ball.

- 574b Votive Relief to Asclepius." (*Ann. d. I.* 1873, pl. MN.)
 55 " " " " (*Ath. Mitth.* ii. pl. 15.)
 54 " " " " (*Ath. Mitth.* ii. pl. 16.)
 322 " " " " (*B.C.H.* ii. pl. 9.)
 5888 " " " " † Fitzwilliam Mus. Cambridge.
 5824 " " " "
 3671 Reliefs to Eleusinian deities." Demeter, Persephone, Triptolemus. (Gardner, fig. 71.)
 1393 " " " " Demeter, Persephone, Triptolemus. (*Ath. Mitth.* xx. pl. 6.)
 5885 " " " " Demeter and Persephone. (*Ath. Mitth.* xx. pl. 5.)
 899 Votive relief " to Hera and Athena as heading of treaty between Samos and Athens.
 (*C.I.A.* iv. ii. no. 13. Collignon, II. fig. 56.)
 611 Votive relief " to Pan and Nymphs. (*Subsœrent Coll.* pl. 28.)
 1754 Relief with votive wreath.

LATER SCULPTURE.

The School of Pergamon.

The Attalid Dedications.

- 3712 Fallen Giant " and Amazon." Gardner, fig. 112.
 3713 Fighting Persian." (Gardner, fig. 113.)
 3292 Kneeling wounded warrior." Ath. Nat. Mus.
 3711 'Dying Gladiator.'" (Gardner, fig. 111.)

The Altar of Eumenes.

- 3714 Zeus contending with the Giants." (Gardner, fig. 114.)
 3715 Athene, Victory, Giant." (Gardner, fig. 115.)
 5959 Dionysus." (Cf. Collignon, II. fig. 268.)
 5950 Chariot horses.* (Cf. Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, fig. 23.)
 1065 Torso of a Giant.†
 1066 Fragments† of Giant and serpent on the staircase wall.
 1063 Zeus and Giants.†
 988 Athena, Nike, Giant, Ge.†
 1003 Parthenos, Bootes, Nyx.†
 991 Hecate, Ares, Artemis.†
 1068 Selene, Helios.†
 1009 Phoibe, Asteria.†
- } a set of *restored* casts.

The School of Rhodes.

- 3716 Laocoon.* (Gardner, fig. 116.)
 5957 Laocoon, head of.* (Cf. Furtw. und Ulrichs, *Denkmäler*, p. 113.)
 3717 " " The Farnese Bull." (Gardner, fig. 117.)

Other Works of the Pergamene Tradition.

- 772 'Thusnelda.'" Loggia dei Lanzi. Florence.
 962 'Paetus and Arria.'" "
 4879 Head of Gaul.* B.M.
 3295 Arrotino.* Uffizi.
 3718 Borghese Warrior." (Gardner, fig. 118.)
 771 Dying Alexander." "

The Gods in Hellenistic Art.

- 3719 Apollo Belvedere " (Gardner, fig. 119.)
 91 " Pourtales." B.M.
 3293 " Belvedere, Apollo Pourtales, the heads for comparison.
 3721 Aphrodite of Melos.* (Gardner, fig. 121.)
 5874 " " " " side view.

- 3727 Aphrodite, 'Venus Genetrix.' * Louvre. (Gardner, fig. 127.)
 3724 „ 'Venus dei Medici.' * Uffizi. Gardner, fig. 124.)
 1365 „ „ from Epidauros. (Cf. Collignon, II. fig. 242.)
 769 Ares. * Ludovisi-Buoncompagni Museum.
 89 „ and Aphrodite. * Uffizi.
 3720 Artemis of Versailles. * (Gardner, fig. 120)
 242 Athene * from Epidauros.
 3583 Dionysus. Head in Ath. Nat. Mus. The so-called Christos.
 1793 Eros, * Head of, from Paphos : side view. *J.H.S.* ix. pl. 10.)
 3297 Hera, Farnese : two views.
 3725 Heracles, Farnese. * (Gardner, fig. 125.)
 3588 Hermes of Cythera : upper part before reconstruction. (Cf. *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 206. fig. 3.
 3589 „ „ „ lower fragments before reconstruction. (Cf. *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 206 fig. 1.)
 5161 „ „ „ the completed figure. ('*Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1902, pl. 7.)
 5162 „ „ „ the head. („ „ „ pl. 10.)
 3722 Nike of Samothrace. * (Gardner, fig. 122.)
 3435 Pan. * (Cf. *Ath. Mitt.* v. pl. 12.)
 94 Paniscus * of M. Cossutius Ceido. B.M.
 1326 Posidon (Lateran).
 448 Zeus. * The Otricoli head.

Genre Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age.

- 90 Silenos with young Dionysos. *
 1730 Satyr * from Lamia. Ath. Nat. Mus. 239.
 92 Bust of laughing Satyr. *
 3590 Crouching figure of a boy * from Cythera. (Cf. *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 208 fig. 5.)
 3709 Boy struggling with goose after Boethos. * (Gardner, fig. 109.)
 4011 Boy nursing goose, marble figure. *
 597 Silver statuette : Boy nursing goose. * (*J.H.S.* vi. pl. A.)
 7127 Actor wearing a comic mask. * B.M. Græco-Roman basement.

Hellenistic and other Late Reliefs.

- 338 Walls and vine. * (Schreiber, pl. 41.)
 3703 Dionysos visiting Icaros. * B.M. (Gardner, fig. 108.)
 3289 Girl dancing. * (*Rev. Arch.* N.S. 1867, pl. 2.)
 5825 „ „ * (Heydemann, *Verhüllte Tänzerin*, p. 9. no. S. 2.)
 1001. Bacchante with kid. * B.M.
 4503 Row of tragic masks. * Ath. Nat. Mus.
 4920 Bacchic Thiasos. * B.M.
 4854 Apotheosis of Homer. * B.M.
 3442 Indo-Greek Relief * from Malakand Pass.
 3443 „ „ „ „ „

Miscellanea Hellenistica.

- 3710 Antioch * after Eutychides. (Gardner, fig. 110.)
 4164 Seated female figure * from Cyzicus, *in situ*.
 1732 Head of a sleeping Maenad. * Athens.
 5958 Medusa Rondanini. (Furtw. und Ulrichs, *Denkmäler*, pl. 13
 768 Nile. * Vatican.
 3728 Orestes and Electra. * (Gardner, fig. 128.)

Examples of Archaism in Sculpture

- 765 Spinario. Capitoline Museum.
 7181 Head of an athlete, full face. * B.M. No. 43.
 7182 Profile view of preceding.
 3280a Artemis. * Naples.

- 3280*b* Athena Promachus.~ Naples.
 1137 Herm at Chatsworth.* (*J.H.S.* xxi. pl. 8.)
 3726 Relief on vase by Sosibius from a drawing. (Gardner, fig. 126.)

PORTRAITS (ALL PERIODS .

- 5873 Aeschylus.+ (Haigh, *Greek Theatre*.²)
 2707 Alexander, head of. B.M. (Gardner, fig. 107.)
 1126 „ „ *at Chatsworth. (*J.H.S.* xxi. pl. 9.)
 4677 „ „ *at Blenheim.
 1367 „ youthful figure.* Munich.
 697 Anaxarchus.~ Mus. Cap.
 3730 Antinous.~ Relief. (Gardner, fig. 130.)
 1084 Aristotle? (Baumeister, fig. 135.)
 3290 Demosthenes,~ head of. Ath. Nat. Mus.
 4502 Euripides.*
 5954 Homer. Schwerin. (Cf. Furtw. und Ulrichs. *Denkmäler*, pl. 48.)
 3672 Pericles.* (Gardner, fig. 72.)
 698 Pythagoras.* Mus. Cap.
 5956 Socrates. Mus. Albani. (Cf. Furtw. and Ulrichs. *Denkmäler*, pl. 45.)
 4501 Sophocles.~ Lateran Museum.

 5955 Agrippa. Louvre. (Cf. Furtw. and Ulrichs. *Denkmäler*, pl. 49 (a))
 3729 Julius Caesar.* B.M. (Gardner, fig. 129.)
 773 Livia,* Head of.

See also the Series of Coin Portraits, pp. cxxviii, cxxix.

BRONZES.

Archaic.

- 575 Athena Promachus.~ Statuette. Ath. Nat. Mus.
 1270 Armed runner.* Three views of a statuette. Tübingen. (*Jahrb.* 1886, pl. 9.)
 3639 Ephebus holding an apple ~ Three views of a statuette. Ligornio. (Gardner, fig. 39.)
 3643 Head~ from Acropolis in Aeginetan style. (Gardner, fig. 43.)

Fifth Century.

- 5952 The Delphi Charioteer.~
 5953 „ „ „ Head of.~
 764 Bronze leg.~ B.M. (*J.H.S.* vii. pl. 69.)
 1018 Statuette of Marsyas~ after Myron. B.M.
 3587 Male figure with chlamys~ from Cythera. (Cf. *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 205, fig. 2.)

Fourth Century.

- 3586 Nude male figure~ from Cythera. (Cf. *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 205, fig. 1)
 4869 Aphrodite.* Castellani Head in B.M.
 1263 The 'Idolino.'
 4504 Aphrodite Pourtales.* Statuette. B.M. (Cf. Murray, *Greek Bronzes*, fig. 29.)
 4505 Head of Hypnos.* B.M. (Cf. Murray, *Greek Bronzes*, pl. facing p. 72.)
 767 „ „ † two views.

Hellenistic.

- 3588 Hermes of Cythera,* upper part before restoration. (Cf. *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 206, fig. 3.)
 3589 „ „ *lower fragments before restoration. (Cf. *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 206, fig. 1.)

TERRACOTTAS.

exix

- 5161 Hermes of Cythera,* the completed figure. ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1902, pl. 7.)
 5162 „ „ * head of. ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1902, pl. 10.)
 765 Spinario. Mus. Cap.
 93 Bronze bust of a young Satyr.~
 1382 Head of boxer from Olympia.

TERRACOTTAS.

- 5118 Archaic bearded head* from Cyprus.
 5130 Two archaic heads~ from Cyprus.
 5105 Group of toys and idols* from Cyprus.
 1107 Female head~ of fine style, from Tarentum. (J.H.S. 1886, pl. 73. 1.)
 1794 Head+ from Paphos.
 691 Tanagra statuette. The game of *Ephedrimos*.
 775 „ „ Dancing girl.* (Burlington F.A.C. *Ceramic Art*, No. 263.)
 5889 „ „ Ladies conversing.* B.M.
 739 „ „ Eros.* B.M. No. c. 287.
 692 „ „ Eros and Psyche. (*Sabouroff Coll.*?)
 7141 Actors wearing comic masks.~ B.M.
 550 Panel. Dionysos and Icaros.~ (B.M. *Terracottas*, pl. 25.)
 842 „ Bacchus in mystic basket.* B.M.
 774 Grotesque group. Draught-players. (Baumeister.)

Note on the Section on Sculpture.

~ denotes that the photograph is taken direct from the original or from an adequate photographic reproduction.

† denotes that the photograph is from a cast.

Where, for any reason, the photograph is from a drawing or engraving the fact is noted in the text.

In some cases doubtful attributions of works of art to particular sculptors have been adopted for convenience of cataloguing.

VASES.

For pre-Mycenaean, Mycenaean, Geometric, and Orientalising Vases, see the pre-Hellenic Section, pp. civ, cv, cvii.

Note.

* denotes a photographic view of the whole vase from the original.

† denotes a reproduction of the picture subject only from an adequate illustration.

The rest are mostly outline drawings retained in the Collection for the interest of the subject depicted, where other reproductions are not available.

BLACK-FIGURED VASES.

Panathenaic Amphorae.

- 119 Group of Panathenaic Amphorae. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 60.)
- 240 Athena Promachus.† Burgon, B.M. B 130. (Cf. *id.* fig. 61.)
- 1070 Athena Promachus.† Leyden. (Cf. *id.* fig. 62.)
- 3287 „ „ Tyrannicides on the shield of Athena.

The François Vase, by Clitias and Ergotimus. Florence.

- 959 General view of reverse. (Cf. Baumeister, pl. 74.)
- 160 General view of obverse. („ „ „ „)
- 3179 Top frieze. The Calydonian Boar.
- 1032 Peleus and Thetis frieze. Peleus, Chiron, etc.
- 1033 „ „ „ Muses, Hera.
- 1034 „ „ „ Hermes, Zeus, Muses.
- 955 Troilus frieze, general view.
- 1036 „ „ Apollo, Fountain.
- 1037 „ „ Rhodia, Thetis.
- 1038 „ „ Thetis, Hermes, Athene.
- 957 „ „ Troilus.
- 956a „ „ Antenor, Priam.
- 956b „ „ Priam, Hector, and Polites.

Deities.

- 144 Sacrifice to Athene.† (Rayet and Collignon, pl. 7.)
- 145 Athene and Bull at Altar.† (Gerh. *A. F.* 242.)
- 244 Athena and Posidon,† from an amphora by Amasis. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 56.)
- 723 Dionysus, Ariadne, Citharist. Drawing of complete vase.
- 5689 Dionysus and Maenads.† Amphora by Amasis. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.
- 5832 Triptolemos, bearded.

Heroes.

- 958 Amphiaras (above). Various contests below.† Berlin, 1855. (Wien. Vor. 1889, pl. 10.)
- 5687 The Dioscuri.† Amphora by Exekias. Vatican.

- 874 Heracles as an infant brought by Hermes to Chiron. (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1876, pl. 17.)
 862 „ and Hydra. (Baumeister, 724.)
 894 „ bringing up Cerberus. (Baumeister, 730.)
 898 „ drawing wine of Pholus. (Baumeister, 726.)
 857 „ binding Cretan bull. (Baumeister, 727.)
 1028 „ and Triton.☞ (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 57.)
 750 „ and Geryon.☞ From an amphora by Exekias. Louvre. (Gerh. *A. V.* 107.)
 5833 Apotheosis of Heracles.☞ Rayet and Collignon, pl. 8.)
 17 Theseus, Minotaur, Ariadne and Chorus. (*Gaz. Arch.* 1884, pl. 1.)

Trojan Cycle (non-Homeric).

- 851 Atalanta and Peleus wrestling. (Baumeister, 158.)
 147 Peleus, Thetis and Cheiron (above). Ajax in conflict (below).☞ Munich. (Gerh. *A. V.* 227.)
 184 Achilles brought to Cheiron (above). Heracles and Lion (below).☞
 978 Peleus bringing Achilles to Cheiron.☞ B.M. B 620. (*J.H.S.* i. pl. 2.)
 149 The choice of Paris.☞ (Gerh. *A. V.* 172.)
 148 Hermes leading the 3 goddesses to Paris.☞ (Gerh. *A. V.* 171.)
 5834 „ „ „ „ „ (Gerh. *A. V.* 173.)
 150 Achilles and Penthesilea (above). Memnon and Aethiopians (below).☞ B.M. B 209.
 (Gerh. *A. V.* 207.)
 327 Achilles and Penthesilea (above).☞ Achilles and Memnon (below).
 31 Achilles and Penthesilea (above). Dionysus and Oinopion (below).☞ From a vase by Exekias.
 B.M. B 210. (Gerh. *A. V.* 206.)
 960 Achilles, Polyxena, Troilus.* Hydria. B.M. B 324.
 644 „ „ „ (above).☞ Three heroes (below).
 329 Shade of Achilles (above). B.M. B 240. Tomb of Patroclus (below).☞ Berlin.
 330 Death of Astyanax.☞ (Baumeister, 797.)
 331 Ajax and Cassandra.☞ (*J.H.S.* pl. 40.)
 332 Aeneas and Anchises. (Baumeister, 32.)
 778 Death of Achilles. (Birch, *Anc. Pottery*, (1873), p. 193.)

The Iliad.

- 980 Hector and Andromache. (*Mon. d. I.* 1855, pl. 20.)
 971 Dragging of Hector. (Overbeck, *Gallerie heroisch. Bildw.* pl. 19, fig. 6.)
 5688 The heroes playing draughts.* Amphora by Exekias. Vatican.

The Odyssey.

- 171 Odysseus and Ram.* Crater.
 170 Companions of Odysseus with Rams. (*J.H.S.* iv. p. 261.)
 779 Blinding the Cyclops.☞ From a Cyrenaic vase. (Birch, *Anc. Pottery* (1873), p. 409.)
 606 „ „ ☞ From an Attic vase.
 780 Odysseus and Circe,☞ burlesqued. (*J.H.S.* xiii. pl. 4.)
 781 „ and Sirens.☞ (*J.H.S.* xiii. pl. 1.)

Scenes from Daily Life.

- 847 Athletes running. (Baumeister, 2359.)
 819 Athletes jumping with halteres.
 823 Athlete with halteres.
 1096 Acrobat.☞ (Schreiber, *Atlas*, pl. 24. 2.)
 3911 Armed Footrace.☞ (Baumeister, 2360.)
 146 Procession of Musicians.☞
 7114 Chorus dressed as birds, walking (*J.H.S.* pl. 14a.)
 7115 „ „ „ dancing (*J.H.S.* pl. 14b.)
 5022 Marriage procession, burlesqued.* Seyphus. (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 137.)
 141 Ships by Nicosthenes.☞ (*J.H.S.* pl. 49.)

RED-FIGURED.

293 Fragment shewing red-figured technique.

Olympian Deities.

- 612 Assembly of Gods. From a vase by Sosias. (Muller-Wieseler, no. 210.)
 975 Gigantomachy,* from a cylix by Aristophanes. (Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gef.* pls. 2, 3.)
 792 Aphrodite on the Goose.* A *white-grounded* cylix by Euphronios (?). B.M. D 2.
 5693 Apollo and Artemis slaying the Niobids.* Crater. Louvre.
 5692 Athene and Heracles.* Amphora. Vatican.
 976 Athene, the birth of. B.M. E 410.
 142 „, seated with owl.* Interior of cylix by Duris. (Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gef.* pl. 13, but cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, p. 88.)
 27 „, and Hephaestos.* Fragment from Acropolis.
 140 „, receiving Erichthonios. (*Mon. d. I.* x. pl. 39.)
 690 Dionysus Dendrites and Maenads.* Stamnus. Naples.
 7140 Dionysus.*
 604 Dionysiac dance.* (*Sabouroff Coll.* pl. 55.)
 992 „, „, „* from a cylix by Hieron. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 80.)
 783 Hermes, Apollo, and Cattle. (Baumeister, 741.)

Chthonic Deities.

- 5 Persephone and Pluto. (Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* Atlas. pl. 18, fig. 11.)
 21 „, the return of.* (Strube-Brunn, *Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, pl. 3.)
 952 Mission of Triptolemos. By Hieron. B.M. E 140. (*Mon. d. I.* ix. pl. 43.)
 289 „, „, „*
 15 „, „, „ Vase in relief. Baumeister, 520.)
 858 The Underworld. (Baumeister, 2042 A.)
 1039 „, „, „ Tarentine Vase at Karlsruhe. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1843, pl. 11.)

Miscellaneous Mythology.

- 617 Erichthonius.* Figure on the upper part of a rhyton supported by a sphinx. B.M. E 788.
 730 The making of Pandora.* B.M. D 4.
 105 Eos and Tithonus. By Hieron. (*Mon. d. I.* n. pl. 48.)
 5871 Selene riding, adapted from a vase. (Harrison and Verrall, fig. 42.)
 995 Toilet of goddesses. (*Mon. d. I.* iv. pl. 18.)

Heroes.

- 852 Heracles myth. Alcmena on pyre,* by Python. B.M. F 149. (*J.H.S.* xi. pl. 6.)
 985 „, as a child. Amphitryon, Athene, Alcmena. (*Mon. d. I.* xi. pl. 43, 2.)
 972 „, and Apollo contending for tripod,* by Andocides. (Gerhard, *Trinksch. u. Gef.* pl. 19.)
 973 „, and Eurystheus, from a vase by Euphronios. (Klein, *Euphr.* 2 p. 59.)
 135 „, and Geryon, from a vase by Euphronios.
 853 „, and Nemean Lion. Munich Amphora. (Baumeister, 723.)
 785 „, madness of, by Assteas. (*Mon. d. I.* viii. pl. 10.)
 586 Perseus and Gorgons.* (*Rev. Et. Gr.* 1878, pl. 2.)
 5840 Theseus myth. Aegeus and Themis.* (Gerh. *A. I.* 327.)
 784 „, Athene, Amphitrite,* from a cylix by Euphronios. (Klein, *Euphronios*, 2 p. 182.)
 5841 „, „, „, „, slightly restored. (*J.H.S.* xviii. pl. 14.)
 39 Theseus and Arithia. Odysseus, Diomedes, and Palladion. Conversation. By Hieron. (*Mon. d. I.* vi. pl. 22.)
 1170 Theseus, the labours of.*
 961 „, „, „, „ by Chichryllion.
 137 „, „, „, „ by Duris.* B.M. E 48. (Gemm. *A. I.* 234.)

The Trojan Cycles (other than Homeric Poems).

- 159 Peleus wrestling with Thetis. From a cylix by Peithinus. (Gerhard, *Trinkschalen*, pl. 9)
 139 Peleus and Thetis, from a polychrome vase from Camirus. B.M. E 424.
 156a Judgment of Paris, by Hieron. (*Wien. Vorl.* Ser. A 5.)
 5844 Judgment of Paris. (Sabouroff Coll. pl. 61.)
 995 Judgment of Paris, from a crater. Paris, Bibl. Nat.
 993 Leading away of Helen, by Hieron. (*Wien. Vorl.* Ser. A, pl. 5.)
 37 Achilles and Penthesilea.
 745 Achilles and Troilus, from a vase by Euphronius. (Klein, *Euphr.*² p. 220.)
 5851 Achilles seizing Troilus, from a vase by Euphronius. (Klein, *Euphr.*² p. 214.)
 974 Memnon and Achilles. Hector and Achilles. B.M. E 468. (Gerh. *A.V.* 204.)
 5852 Eos and Thetis before Zeus. (Overbeck, *Gallerie heroisch. Bildw.* pl. 20, fig. 10.)
 1366 Eos and Memnon, from a cylix by Duris. Louvre. (*Wien. Vorl.* vi. pl. 7.)
 996 Odysseus and Diomedes with Palladion, by Hieron. (*Mon. d. I.* pl. 22.)
 969 Orestes slaying Aegisthos. Stammus. Berlin. (Overbeck, *Gallerie heroisch. Bildw.* pl. 28, fig. 10.)

The Iliad.

- 995 Achilles and Briseis. (*J.H.S.* pl. 3.)
 1023 „ „ „ from an amphora by Euxitheus. B.M. E 258. (Gerh. *A.V.* 187.)
 34 The taking of Briseis, by Hieron. (Baumeister, 776.)
 1052 Paris and Helen. (*Compte Rendu*, 1861, pl. 5, fig. 1.)
 163 Walls of Troy. Achilles and Hector, Priam, Hecuba, Achemen. (Gerh. *A.V.* 203.)
 30 Trojans arming. (Klein, *Euphr.*² 215.)
 234 Warriors arming, by Duris. (Baumeister, 2207.)
 966 Parting of Hector and Andromache.
 177 Odysseus in tent of Achilles. (Baumeister, 781. Hypnos and Thanatos.)
 3175 Achilles and Diomedè, by Euphronius. (Klein, *Euphr.*² p. 241.)
 994 Odysseus, Diomedes, Dolon. (Overbeck, *Gallerie*, pl. 17, fig. 4.) B.M. F 175.
 1009 Murder of Rhesus. (*Wien. Vorl.* Ser. C, pl. 3, fig. 2.)
 587 Patroclus bandaged by Achilles. From a cylix by Sosias. (Müller-Wieseler I. no. 210.)
 871 Nereids bringing armour. (Heydemann, *Nereiden*.)
 1069 Nereids with arms of Achilles. (*Mon. d. I.* iii. pl. 20.)
 749 Priam taking leave of Hector. Gerh. *A.V.* 188.)
 3174 Achilles and Hector in combat. (Gerh. *A.V.* 202.)
 3173 Achilles at supper. Body of Hector. (*Mon. d. I.* viii. pl. 27.)
 3177 Hermes and Achilles. (Gerh. *A.V.* 200.)
 36 Priam in the tent of Achilles, from a scyphus by Hieron, Vienna. (Baumeister, 791.)
 3176 Priam as suppliant to Achilles. (Gerh. *A.V.* 197.)
 164 Redemption of Hector. (*Mon. d. I.* v. pl. 11.)
 981 Sacrifice of Trojans at pyre of Patroclus. (*Mon. d. I.* ix. pl. 32.)

The Odyssey.

- 334 The Trojan Horse. Gerh. *A.V.* 229, 230.)
 5691 Iliupersis. Hydria. Naples.
 1046 Iliupersis. B.M. F 160.
 41 Iliupersis, from a cylix by Brygos. (*Wien. Vorl.* Ser. B. viii. 4.)
 859 Odysseus and Companions tied to masts. (*J.H.S.* iv. fig. 3a. p. 252.)
 173 Comrade of Odysseus and Circe.
 175 Penelope's web.
 174 Odysseus and Anticlea.
 176 Odysseus with bow.
 172 Odysseus slaying the suitors.

Scenes from Daily Life, &c.

- 5855 Palaestra scene. B.M. E 6.
 845 „ „ (Gerh. *A.V.* iv. 271.)
 747 „ „ (Klein, *Euphr.*² p. 284.)

- 1097 The Pentathlon, various events.
 873 „ „ Jumping. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1884. pl. 16.)
 1099 „ „ Running: the start.
 748 „ „ Throwing the discus. (Klein, *Euphr.*². p. 285.)
 1268 „ „ „ „ marking the throw.
 1269 „ „ Throwing the spear.
 1266 „ „ Boxing. B.M. No. E. 39.
 1267 „ „ „ Binding on the caestus.
 1098 „ „ Crowning the Victor. (Schreiber, *Atlas*, pl. 25.)
 5856 The Hoplite Race: the start. (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 270.)
 5860 „ „ „ the turn reconstructed from various Vases. (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 279.)
 5858 „ „ „ the runners. (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 277.)
 5862 „ „ „ the finish. (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 285.)
 5863 „ „ „ the victor. (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 286.)
 234 Youths arming. (Baumeister, 2207.)
 896 Youths with horses, by Euphronius and Diotimus.
 953 „ „ (*Arch. Zeit.* 1885, pl. 11.)
 3910 „ „
 2716 Hoplite arming. (Reichel, *Hom. Waffen*,² fig. 32.)
 968 Marriage procession. (Stackelberg, *Graber*, pl. 42.
 963 „ „ (*id.* continued.)
 977 School scenes, by Duris. (Rayet and Collignon, fig. 72.)
 110 Youth pouring libation. (*J.H.S.* x. pl. 1.)
 982 Revellers. From a cylix by Euphronius. (*Burlington Fine Arts Coll.* no. 8.)
 4507 Preparation for a satyric drama. (Baumeister, pl. 5, left hand portion.)
 4508 „ „ „ „ (Baumeister, pl. 5, right hand portion.)
 7113 Chiron, burlesqued, from a Phryx vase. (Cf. Baumeister, fig. 903.)
 786 Comic Scene from a Vase by Assteas. (Millingen, *Vases grecs*, pl. 46.)

WHITE ATHENIAN FUNERAL LEKYTHOI.

- 284 Interior of a Coffin shewing the disposition of lekythoi round the body.
 5010 Complete view of two specimens* in Ath. Nat. Mus.
 722 Three views of the design on one Vase:—(a) female mourner, (b) male mourner. (c) the tomb. (Cf. *J.H.S.* xix. pl. 2.)
 1144 The female mourner only from the preceding vase.
 789 Lady with wreath. (*White Athenian Vases*, pl. 4).
 790 Prothesis. B.M. No. D 62. (*White Athenian Vases*, pl. 7.)
 791 Hypnos and Thanatos. B.M. No. D 58. (*White Athenian Vases*, pl. 11.)
 787 Deposition of a woman by Hypnos and Thanatos. (Dumont and Chaplain, i. pl. 27.)
 504 Three representations of Charon and his boat. (*Antike Denkm.* pl. 23.)
 986 Charon and girl. (*Antike Denkm.* pl. 23, fig. 3.)
 3178 Three figures and shade, at a tomb. (Rayet & Collignon, fig. 87.)

SHORT STYLISTIC CATALOGUE OF VASES.

Note.

The vases catalogued above being in subject order a short list is here appended in chronological order to illustrate the development of style in vase painting in the black-figured and red-figured periods. The full references are here omitted, but the artist's name, where known, is given in brackets.

BLACK-FIGURED VASES.

Sixth Century.

- 160 François Vase (Clitias and Ergotimus.)
 240 Athena Promachos. Burgon Vase.

VASES.

CXXXV

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5687 Amphora.* Dioscuri. (Exekias.) | 5689 Amphora.* Dionysus. (Amasis.) |
| 5688 Amphora.™ Heroes. (Exekias.) | 244 Athena and Posidon.☞ (Amasis.) |
| 750 Heracles and Geryon.☞ (Exekias.) | 150 { Achilles and Penthesilea.☞ } (Amasis.)
{ Memnon and Ethiopians.☞ } |
| 960 Hydria. Achilles, Polyxena, and Troilus.☞ | |
| 147 Peleus, Thetis, and Chiron. Ajax.☞ | |
| 171 Crater, Odysseus and Ram. | |
| 329 Shade of Achilles. Tomb of Patroclus.☞ | |

RED-FIGURED VASES.

Circa 510—460 B.C.

Kylikes.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 748 Discobolus. | 784 Theseus, Athena, Amphiurite.☞ (Euphronius.) |
| 142 Athena and owl.☞ (Duris.) | |
| 1366 Eos and Memnon.☞ (Duris.) | 982 Revellers.☞ (Euphronius.) |
| 159 Peleus and Thetis.☞ (Pithinus.) | 992 Bacchantes.☞ (Hieron.) |
| 1324 Achilles and Patroclus.☞ (Sosias.) | 41 Iliupersis. (Brygus.) |

Vases of Various other Shapes.

- | | |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 972 Strife for the tripod.☞ (Andocides.) | 5692 Amphora.* Heracles and Athena. |
| 1023 Achilles and Briseis.☞ (Euxitheus.) | 36 Redemption of Hector. (Hieron.) |
| | 5691 Hydria. Iliupersis. |

Circa 460—425 B.C.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 5690 Stamos.* Dionysus Dendrites. | 3177 Hermes and Achilles.☞ |
| 749 Priam, Hector, and Hecuba.☞ | 985 Infant Heracles and snakes. |
| | 5693 Crater.™ Niobids. |

Circa 425—400 B.C.

Red-Figured Vases.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 975 Gigantomachy.☞ (Aristophanes.) | 969 Orestes slaying Aegisthus.☞ |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|

White Attic Lekythoi.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 5010 Two lekythoi.* | 789 Lady with wreath.☞ |
| 791 Sleep, death, and the dead.☞ | 1114 Lady mourning.☞ |

Circa 400—350 B.C.

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 139 Peleus and Thetis.☞ | 995 Judgment of Paris. |
| | 1052 Paris and Helen. |

LATER APULIAN VASES.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1046 Amphora.™ Iliupersis. | 852 Alemene on the pyre.☞ (Python.) |
| | 858 The underworld. |

Note.

* denotes a photographic view of the whole vase from the original.

☞ denotes a reproduction of the picture subject only from an adequate illustration.

The rest are mostly outline drawings retained in the Collection for the interest of the subject depicted, where other reproductions are not available.

COINS.

Towns in Alphabetical Order.

- 5301 Abdera .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 3.)
- 5302 Abydos .R. (B.M. Cat. *Troas*, etc. p. 2. 10.)
- 5303 Acanthus .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. B 8.)
- 5304 Acarnania .R. (B.M. *Guide*, v. B 13.)
- 5305 Aegina .R. (B.M. *Guide*, i. B 29.)
- 5307 Aenos .R. shewing primitive statue. (Gardner, fig. 7.)
- 5306 Aetolia .R. (B.M. *Guide*, v. B 16.)
- 5308 Agrigentum .R. (Munich specimen.)
- 5310 Amphipolis .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 7.)
- 5311 Andros .R. (B.M. 1901, 7. 6. 2.)
- 5312 Arcadia .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, pl. 32. 12.)
- 5313 Argos .R. (B.M. *Guide*, B 36.)
- 5314 Athens .R. fifth century. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. B 20.)
- 5315 „ „, circ. 407 B.C. (B.M. 1892, 6. 11. 24.)
- 5317 „ „, circ. 190 B.C. (B.M. Cat. *Attica*, pl. 10. 2.)
- 5316 „ „, time of Sulla. (B.M. 1893, 4. 6. 1.)
- 5356 „ „, E. contest of Athene and Poseidon. (*J.H.S.* pl. 75, Z xiv.)
- 5392 „ „, E. Athene with shield and thunderbolt. (*J.H.S.* pl. 75. AA xiv.)
- 2626 „ „, E. statue of Apollo of Delos. (Gardner, fig. 26.)
- 5318 Boeotia .R. Epaminondas. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 26.)
- 5319 Byzantium .R. (B.M. *Guide*, v. B 3.)
- 5320 Camarina .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. C 17.)
- 5321 Camrus .R. (B.M. *Guide*, i. A 30.)
- 5322 Carthage .R. (Cf. Head. *Hist. Num.* p. 737.)
- 5323 Carystus .R. (B.M. Cat. *Central Greece*, p. 103. 17.)
- 5324 Chalcedon .R. (B.M. 1900, 4. 2. 1.)
- 5325 Chalcis .R. (B.M. *Guide*, v. B 31.)
- 5326 Chersonesus Thracia .R. (B.M. Cat. *Thrace*, etc. 9.)
- 5327 Chios .R. (B.M. Cat. *Ionia*, p. 331. 23.)
- 5357 Citium (Cypr), .R. Baalmelek I. (B.M. Cat. pl. 2. 11.)
- 5328 Clazomenae .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. A 26.)
- 5329 Cnidus .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. A 32.)
- 3516 Cnidus, etc. .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Caria*, pl. 14. 7.)
- 5334 Cnossus .R. (B.M. Cat. *Crete*, etc. p. 18. 2.)
- 5429 Cnossus .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Crete*, etc. pl. 5. 2.)
- 5330 Colophon .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. A 20.)
- 3600 Coreyra .R. (B.M. *Guide*, i. B 18. ii. B 14.)
- 5332 Corinth .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Corinth*, pl. 9 : 19.)
- 535 „ „, E. Aphrodite with shield, and Eros. (*J.H.S.* pl. 53, G exxi.)
- 3593 „ „, E. Aphrodite in temple. (*J.H.S.* pl. 53. G exxvi.)
- 5333 Cos .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. A 36.)
- 5335 Croton .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. C. 19.)
- 5336 Cumae .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. C. 2.)
- 5358 Cyne Aeolid .R. (B.M. *Guide*, vi. A 14.)
- 3594 Cyprus .E. Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos (several examples) : Roman.
- 5359 Cythera .E. (B.M. 1891, 7. 4. 25.)
- 5360 Cyzicus .EL. (B.M. *Guide*, i. A 12.)

- 5338 Delos, .R. (B.M. 1890, 7. 2. 43.)
 5339 Delphi, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B. 25.)
 5331 Dyrhachium, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Thessaly, etc.* pl. 13, 13.)
 5342 Elea Epini, .E. (B.M. Cat. *Thessaly to Actolia*, p. 100, 4.)
 5341 Eleusis, .E. (B.M. Cat. *Attica, etc.* p. 113. 12.)
 5395 „ .E, Triptolemos in snake-chariot. *J.H.S.* pl. 77, EE xx.)
 5243 Elis, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, pl. 14, 2.)
 3654 „ .R, Olympian Zeus. (Gardner, fig. 54.)
 3655 „ .R, Olympian Zeus. (Gardner, fig. 55.)
 5344 Ephesus, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Ionica*, pl. 9, 8, 10, 2.)
 5345 Epidamnus-Dyrhachium, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, vii. B 12.)
 5346 Epidaurus, .R. (B.M. 1891, 10. 5. 2.)
 5347 Epirus, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, v. B 12.)
 5348 Eretria, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, i. B 25.)
 5349 Eryx, .R. (B.M. 1896, 6 1. 7.)
 5352 Gela, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, ii. B 22.)
 5353 Haliartus, .R. (B.M. Cat. p. 49, 12.)
 5354 Heraclaea, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, iv. C. 16.)
 5355 Hermione, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, p. 160.)
 5356 Himera, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. C. 25.)
 5361 Lampsacus, .A. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. A 19.)
 5362 Larissa, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 19.)
 5363 Lebedos, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, vi. A 18.)
 5364 Lemnos, .E. (B.M. Cat. *Thrace, etc.* 7.)
 5365 Leontini, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, i. C. 28.)
 5366 Lesbos, EL. (B.M. Cat. *Troas, etc.* p. 163, 70.)
 5437 „ EL, selected Hectae. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Troas, etc.* pl. 31-33.)
 5367 Leucas, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, vi. B. 21.)
 5368 Locri Opunt. .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 24.)
 5372 Magnesia, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, vi. A 19.)
 5374 Mantinea, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, 6.)
 5375 Massilia, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iv. C. 1.)
 5376 Megara, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Attica, etc.* p. 118, 1.)
 5377 Melos, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Crete and Aegean islands*, p. 103, 1.)
 5378 Messene, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, ii. C. 25.)
 5379 Methymna, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. A 27.)
 5380 Miletus, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Ionica*, p. 192, 24.)
 5348 Myra. Imperial coins (Claudius and Gordianus) shewing goddess of Myra.
 5381 Mytilene, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Troas, etc.* pl. 37, 20.)
 5382 Naxos, Ius. .R. (B.M. *Guide*, i. B 34.)
 5382 „ Siciliae, .R.
 5384 Olynthus, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 10.)
 5385 Orchomenus, Boeotiae, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Central Greece*, p. 54. 24.)
 5389 Pherae, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 21.)
 5390 Phocaea, .A. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Ionica*, pl. 33.)
 5391 Phocis, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Central Greece*, p. 15, 15.)
 5392 Plataea, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Central Greece*, p. 58, 1.)
 5393 Priene, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Ionica*, p. 229, 3.)
 5394 Proconnesus, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iv. A 28.)
 5395 Rhegium, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Italy*, p. 375, 23.)
 5396 Rhodes, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Carian and islands*, pl. 38. 3.)
 5397 Salamis, .E. (B.M. Cat. *Attica, etc.* p. 116, 2.)
 5398 „ (Cypr), .R. (B.M. Cat. *Cyprus*, pl. 11, 1.)
 5400 Samos, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Ionica*, pl. 35, 2.)
 5401 Segesta, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. C 31.)
 5402 Selinus, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, ii. C 32.)
 5403 Sestos, .E. (B.M. Cat. *Thrace, etc.* 12.)
 5405 Sicyon, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, pl. 7, 171.)
 5406 Sinope, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Pontus, Paphlagonia, etc.*, p. 97, 14.)

- 5407 Smyrna, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, vi. A 20.)
 5408 Sparta, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, v. B 27.)
 3606 „ .Æ. Statue of Apollo. (Gardner, fig. 6.)
 5410 Syracuse, .R. Gelo. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. C 33.)
 5409 „ .R. Dionysius. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, iii. C 29.)
 4533 „ .R. Phillistis. (B.M. *Guide*, v. C 33.)
 5411 Tanagra, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Central Greece*, p. 61, 23.)
 5413 Tarentum, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. C 7.)
 5412 „ .R. four varieties of the same types.
 5414 Tegea, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, p. 200, 1.)
 5415 Tenos, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iv. B 27.)
 5416 Teos, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. A 33.)
 5417 Thasos, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. B 7.)
 5436 „ .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Thrace, etc.*, p. 216, 2, 218, 29.)
 5418 Thebes, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Central Greece*, pl. 13, 9.)
 5422 Thurii, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, iii. C 17.)
 5423 Thyrs, .Æ. (B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, 5.)
 5425 Trapezus, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Pontus, etc.*, p. 40.)
 5426 Troezen, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, p. 166, 2.)
 5427 Zacynthus, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 34.)
 5428 Zancle, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, i. C 29.)

Kings or Dynasts (Alphabetical).

- 5371 Alexander the Great. .R, .A. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, iv. B 8, 9.)
 4525 *a, b* „ „ other specimens.

For portraits of Alexander, see the coinage of Lysimachus of Thrace below.

- 3547 Alexander of Epirus. .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 23.)
 5370 *f* Antigonus Doson or Gonates, .R. (Cf. *Hist. Num.* p. 203, fig. 145.)
 5868 *d* Antimachus of Bactria. (B.M. Cat. *Gk and Scythian Kings*, pl. 5, i.)
 4531 *e* Antiochus I of Syria, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Seleucid Kings*, pl. 3.)
 5370 *a* Archelaus I of Macedon, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Macedon, etc.*, p. 164, 4.)
 5369 Croesus, .A. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, i. A 16.)
 5866 Cunobelinus, Cymbeline, .R, .Æ.
 5386 Darius, .A. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, iii. A 1, 2.)
 5370 *d, e* Demetrius Poliorketes, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, iv. B 16, 17.)
 4531 *u* „ „ .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, iv. B 16.)
 5868 *b* „ „ „ „ „ „
 3545 *u* Demetrius II of Syria, .R. (Cf. B.M. Cat. *Seleucid Kings*, pl. 21, 6.)
 5409 Dionysius of Syracuse, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, iii. C 29.)
 5318 Epaminondas, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. B 26.)
 5399 Euagoras of Salamis, .R. (B.M. Cat. *Cyprus*, pl. 11, 17.)
 5410 Gelon of Syracuse, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. C 33.)
 4527 *a* Juba of Numidia, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, vii. C 38.)
 4678 Lysimachus of Thrace, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iv. B 20.)
 4525 *c, d* „ „ „ .A. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, iv. B 19.)
 5868 *u* „ „ „ „ „ „
 5868 *e* Mithradates IV of Pontus, .R. (Cf. *Hist. Num.* p. 427, fig. 263.)
 4532 *b* Mithradates VI the great, of Pontus, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, vii. A 2.)
 5868 *c* „ „ „ „ „ „
 5370 *u* Perseus of Macedon, .R. (Cf. B.M. *Guide*, vi. B 9.)
 4532 *u* „ „ „ „ „ „
 5387 Pharnabazus, .R. (B.M. 1892, 7. 3. 1.)
 5370 *b, c* Philip II of Macedon, .A, .R. (Cf. *Hist. Num.* p. 196, fig. 138.)
 1074 „ „ „ .A stater.
 3544 „ „ „ Gallie barbarisation.
 5864 „ „ „ Gallie barbarisation carried further.
 5865 „ „ „ British barbarisation.

- 5370*h* Philip V of Macedon, .R. (Cf. *Hist. Num.* p. 205, fig. 148.)
 4531*b* Philetairus of Pergamon, .R. (Cf. *B.M. Guide*, v. A 9.)
 4533 Philistis of Syracuse, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, v. C 33.)
 4531*c* Ptolemy Soter, A. (Cf. *B.M. Cat. Ptolemies*, pl. 3. 5.)
 4526*b* " " " " " " " " " "
 4526*a* .R, Seleucus I of Syria. (Cf. *B.M. Guide*, iv. A 13.)
 5420 Scuthes of Thrace, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, ii. B 5.)
 5421 Tereus of Thrace, .R. (B.M. *Cat. Thrace, etc.* p. 202. 1.)
 5373 Themistocles (*Struck at Magnesia*), .R. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)
 4532*c* Tigranes of Armenia, .R. (Cf. *B.M. Guide*, vii. A 13.)
 5388 Tissaphernes, .R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. A 27.)

Style in Numismatic Art.

Note.

The coins above being arranged alphabetically without regard to their chronological sequence a short list is here appended to illustrate the development of style in numismatic art. References will be found in the larger series above.

Early Archaic Period.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 5334 Chossus. | 5391 Phocis. | 4517 Thasos. |
| 5390 Phocaea. | 5436 Thasos. | 5369 Croesus. |
| 4518 Selected coins of Posidonia, Lete, Orrescii, Sardis. | | |

Late Archaic Period.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| 5303 Acanthus. | 5352 Gela. | 5365 Leontini. |
| 5349 Eryx. | 5356 Himera. | 5410 Syracuse. |
| 4519 Selected coins of Selinus, Athens, Lesbos. | | |

Early Fine Period.

- | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| 5308 Agrigentum. | 5335 Croton. | 5401 Segesta. |
| 5310 Amphipolis. | 5383 Naxos. | 5409 Syracuse. |
| 4522 Selected coins of Thebes, Larissa, Lesbos, Gortyna. | | |

Late Fine Period.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 5343 Elis. | 5354 Heraclea. | 5375 Massilia. |
| 5344 Ephesus. | 5355 Hermione. | 5427 Froconnesus. |
| 4524 Selected coins of Heraclea, Velia, Syracuse, Elis. | | |

For the earlier and later decline of numismatic art the portrait coins of the kings and dynasts catalogued above are suitable; also the following:—

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| 5358 Cyme. | 5363 Lebedus. | 5407 Smyrna. |
| 5347 Epirus. | 5372 Magnesia. | 4533 Syracuse. |

- 4528 Reminiscences of statues on coins: selected coins of Aenos, Argos, Rhodes, Demetrius Poliorcetes.

GEMS.

A short series arranged to illustrate the Development of Style in Gem Cutting.

For Mycenaean Gems see the Prehellenic Section, p. 25.

- 5695 Archaic Scarabs: B.M. Cat. Nos. 271, Capaneus: 274, Achilles: 278, Perseus and Medusa.
- 4437 Archaic Cypriote scarab: Athena with spoils of the Gorgon. (Murray, *Handbook*, pl. facing p. 152, fig. 9.)
- 5696 Later Scarabs: B.M. Cat. Nos. 289, Satyr: 333, Heracles: 355, Machaon and Philoctetes.
- 5697 Gems of the finest period: B.M. Cat. Nos. 466, Flying crane: 549, lotos flower pendant with design of Sirens and boys in pairs: 556, Lady reading.
- 5698 Later gems with earlier types: B.M. Cat. Nos. 570, Bearded head of Zeus: 720, Apollo after Canachus: 722, Apollo Sauroctonos.
- 5699 Graeco-Roman Gems: B.M. Cat. Nos. 1146, Nike: 1102, assembly of the gods: 1281, Heracles.
- 4426 Graeco-Roman Gems: Ares and Aphrodite.
- 5700 Portraits: B.M. Cat. Nos. 1518, Aristippus: 1526, Demetrius Poliorketes: 1620, Faustina the younger.

MISCELLANEA.

- 817 Plan of Homeric house. (Jebb, *Homer*, p. 58.)
- 892 Homeric House, Plan. (P. Gardner.)
- 7161 Portrait of Dr. Schliemann (Schuchardt, *Frontispiece*).
- 3605 The 'Chest of Kypselos': diagram. (Gardner, fig. 5.)
- 3541 The 'Chest of Kypselos' restored. Small scale. (*J.H.S.* xiv. pl. 1.)
- 470 Shield of Achilles, restoration. (Murray.)
- 3604 „ „ diagram. (Gardner, fig. 4.)
- 2717 'Boeotian shield': early types. (Reichel, *Hom. Waffen*², figs. 13, 14, 15.)
- 3540 An early Attic warrior. painted tablet: Acropolis.
- 2719 Greaves: early example from Enkomi. (Reichel, *Hom. Waffen*², figs. 30, 31.)
- 822 Athlete with halteres (outline drawing of bronze disc).
- 821 Halteres (drawing).
- 7134 Votive strigil. B.M.
- 799 Ladies playing knuckle-bones: painted tablet. (Robert, *Knochenenspielereien des Alexander*.)
- 798 Painted architectural terracottas. (Le Bas (ed. Reinach), *Arch. Ath.* II. 1, 2.)
- 800 Silver vessels from Bosco Reale.
- 1085 The battle of Issos. Mosaic. (Baumeister, p. 21.)
- 1083 Central portion of preceding on larger scale.
- 1100 Pugilists: mosaic.
- 763 Ivory panel (Byzantine). S.K. Museum. (*Jahrbuch. d. K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1897.)
- 3291 Ivory statuette, tragic actor. face in profile. (Cf. *Mon. d. I.* xi. 13.)
- 7183 Another view of preceding.
- 7139 Comic mask. two views. (Cf. *Mon. d. I.* xi. 32.)
- 7112 Simplified ground-plan of a Greek theatre.
- 1053 Brahlnd. the Greek theatre, view of the stage.
- 1054 Scene from the Agamemnon at Bradfield.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus κ should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs *υ*, *αι*, *οι*, *ου* by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ου* by *-us* and *-um*. and *-πος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved: also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-c* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-πος*, as *Λέαργος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonöia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g. *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *ægis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions:—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Prologues* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line: e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
'Εφ. 'Αρχ. = 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inscripfen.
Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, *H.N.* = Head, Historia Numorum.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Muller-Wies. = Muller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

- | | | | |
|-------------|------|---|----------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I. | = | Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores. |
| ,, | II. | = | ,, aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| ,, | III. | = | ,, aetatis Romanae. |
| ,, | IV. | = | ,, Argolidis. |
| ,, | VII. | = | ,, Megaridis et Boeotiae. |
| ,, | IX. | = | ,, Graeciae Septentrionalis. |
| ,, | XII. | = | ,, insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. |
| ,, | XIV. | = | ,, Italiae et Siciliae. |

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.

Num. Chr. = Numismatie Chronicle.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

- [] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.
 - () Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.
 - < > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
 - . . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.
 - - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.
- Uncertain letters should have dots under them.
- Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.
- The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ^h.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

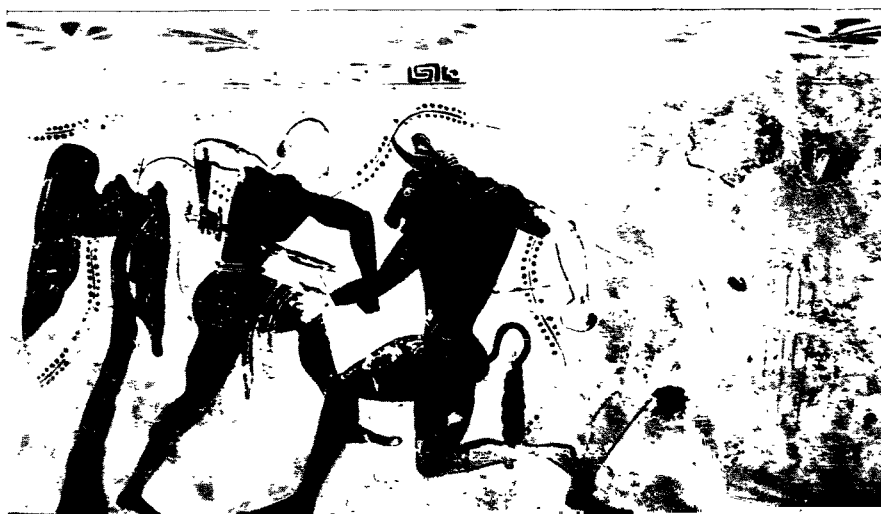
The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

- () Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
- [[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.
- < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

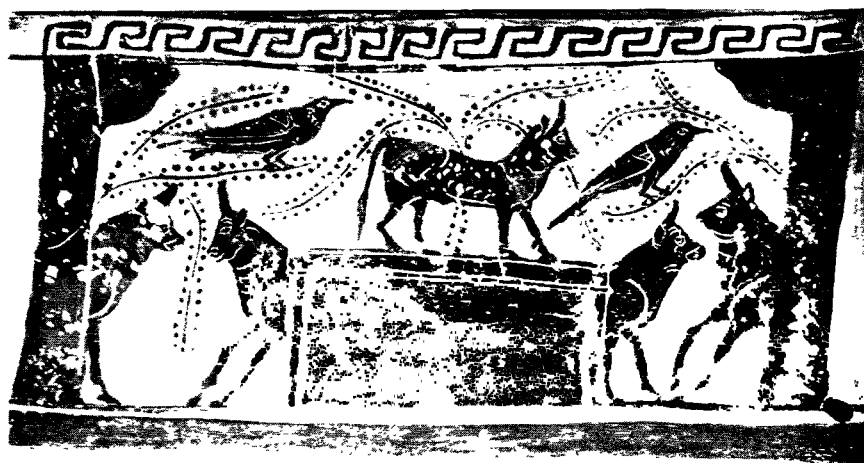
The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.



512



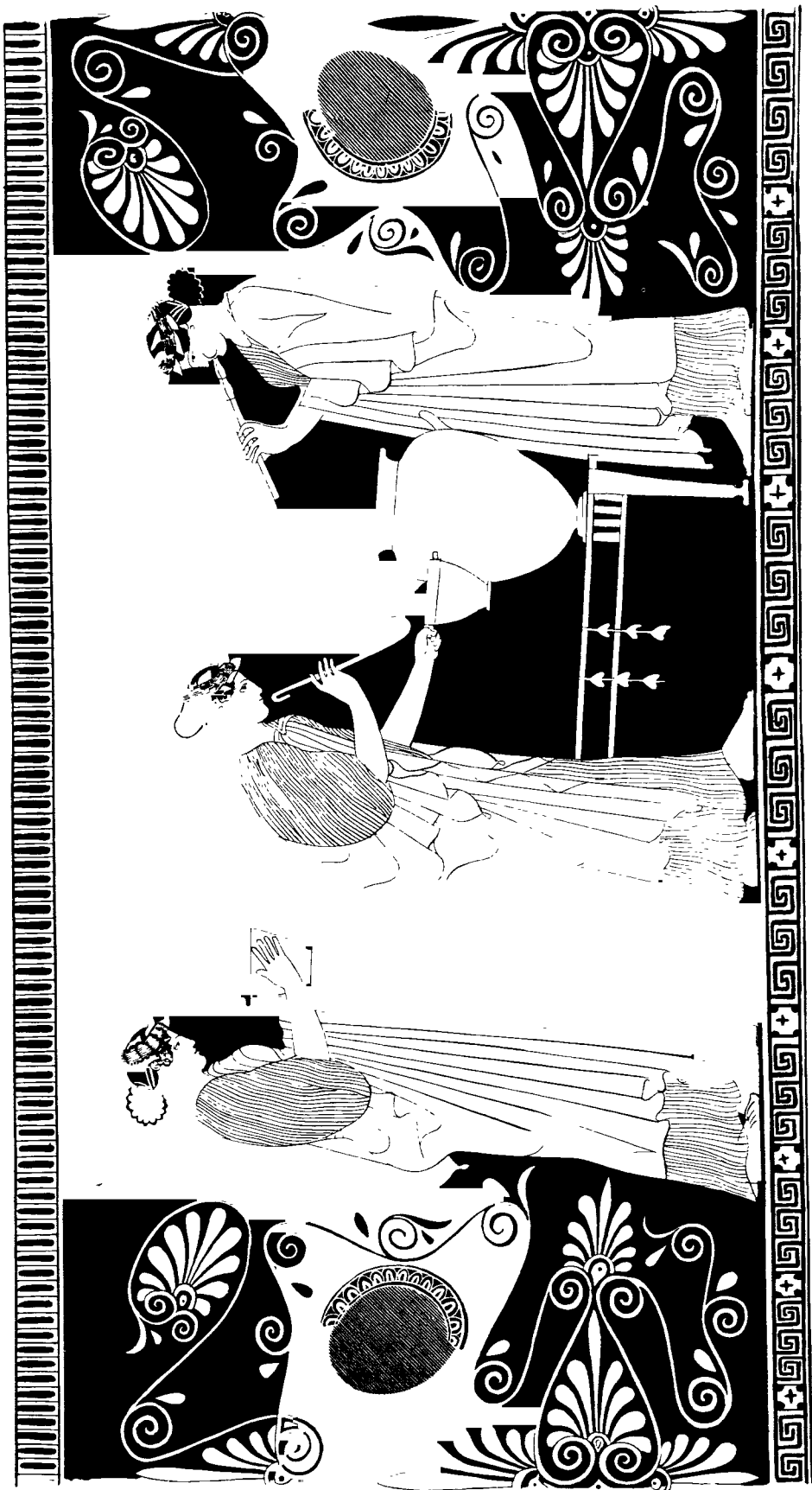
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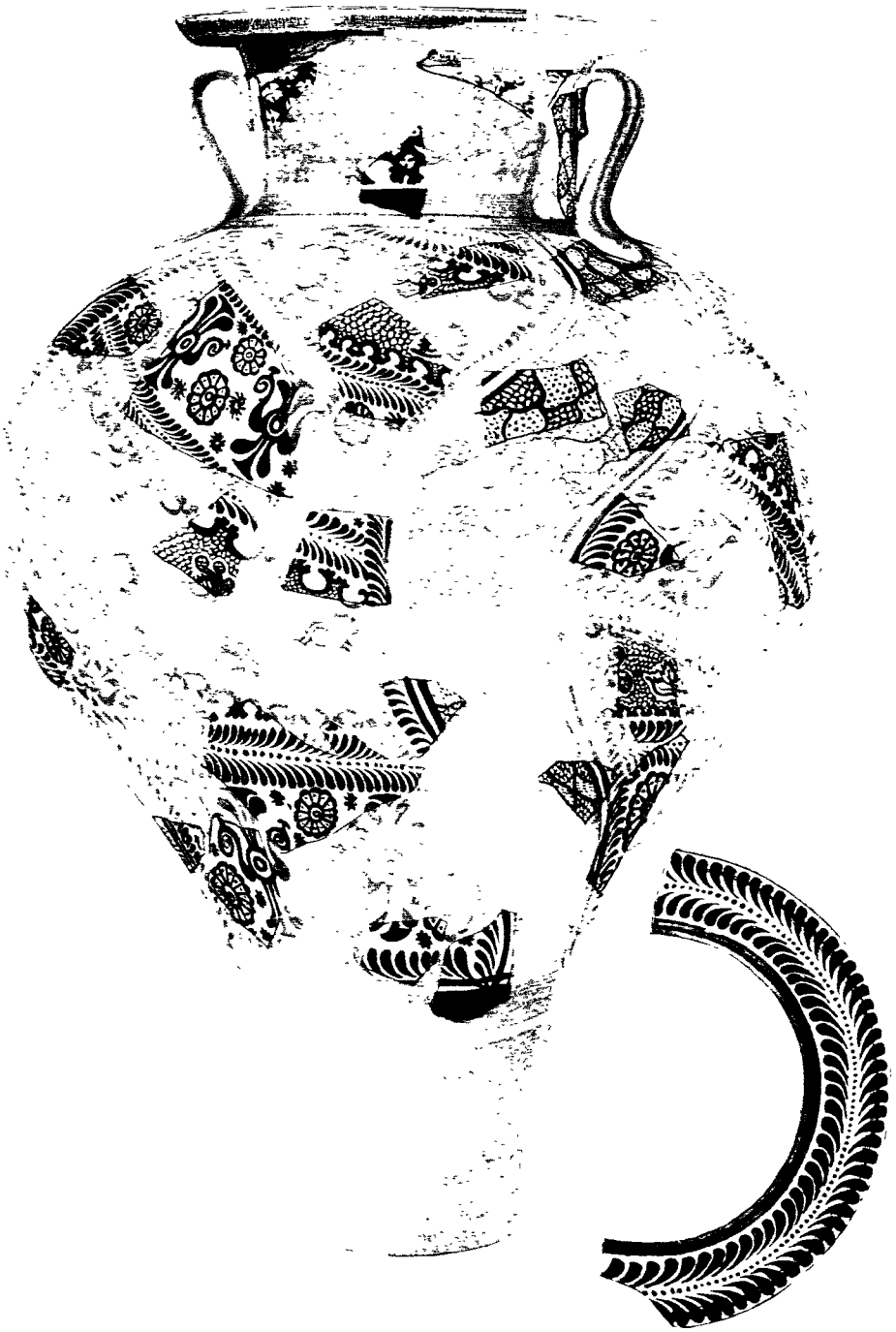
STAMNOS IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM (522).



STAMNOS IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM (523).



STATUE OF "SARDANAPALUS" IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.



RECONSTRUCTION OF A VASE FROM FRAGMENTS FOUND IN THE TOMB AT VAPHIO.
Scale 1 : 6



a

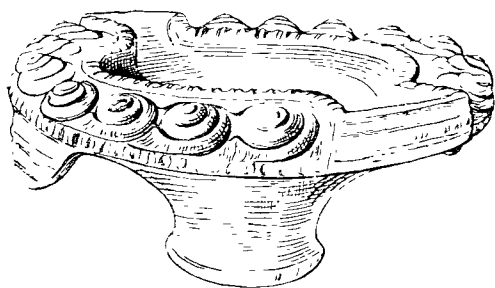


b

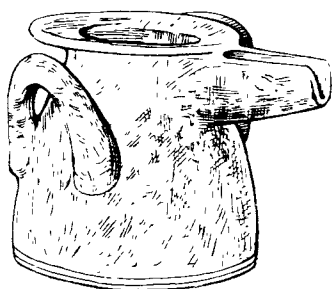
VASES WITH MARINE DESIGNS FROM PHYLAKOPI.
Scale 1 · 2



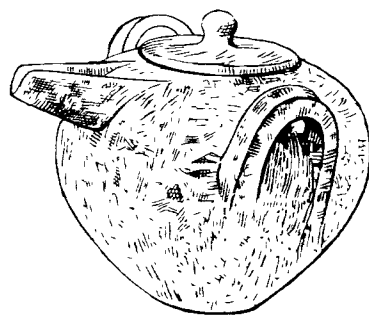
VASE OF THE PALACE-STYLE FOUND IN A TOMB AT MYCENAE.
Scale 1 : 6.



a ($\frac{1}{3}$)



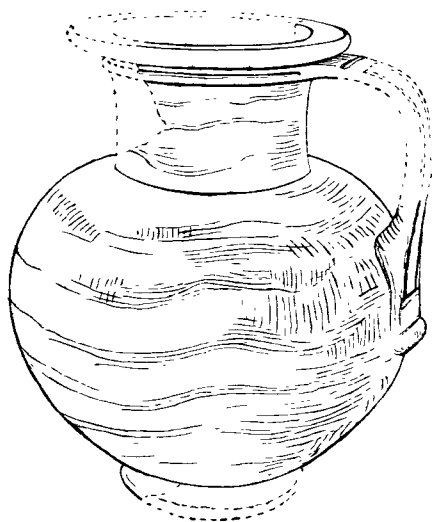
c ($\frac{1}{4}$)



d ($\frac{1}{4}$)



b ($\frac{1}{3}$)



e ($\frac{1}{4}$)



f ($\frac{1}{3}$)

STONE VESSELS FOUND IN A TOMB AT MYCENAE.

a-d, Steatite; e and f, Alabaster.

2

2
✓

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